

STATE LIBRARY OF PENNSYLVANIA

main,sts

205Ev13

Lutheran quarterly.

v.29 1899 Lutheran quarterly

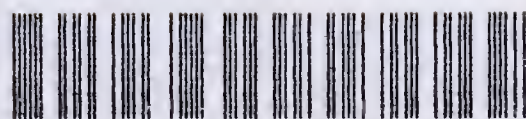


0 0001 00658531 7

REFERENCE



COLLECTIONS



04-79-821-1



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from

This project is made possible by a grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services as administered by the Pennsylvania Department of Education through the Office of Commonwealth Libraries

THE
LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

CONDUCTED BY

M. VALENTINE, D. D., LL. D. PHILIP M. BIKLE, PH. D.
JAMES W. RICHARD, D. D. THOMAS C. BILLHEIMER, D. D.

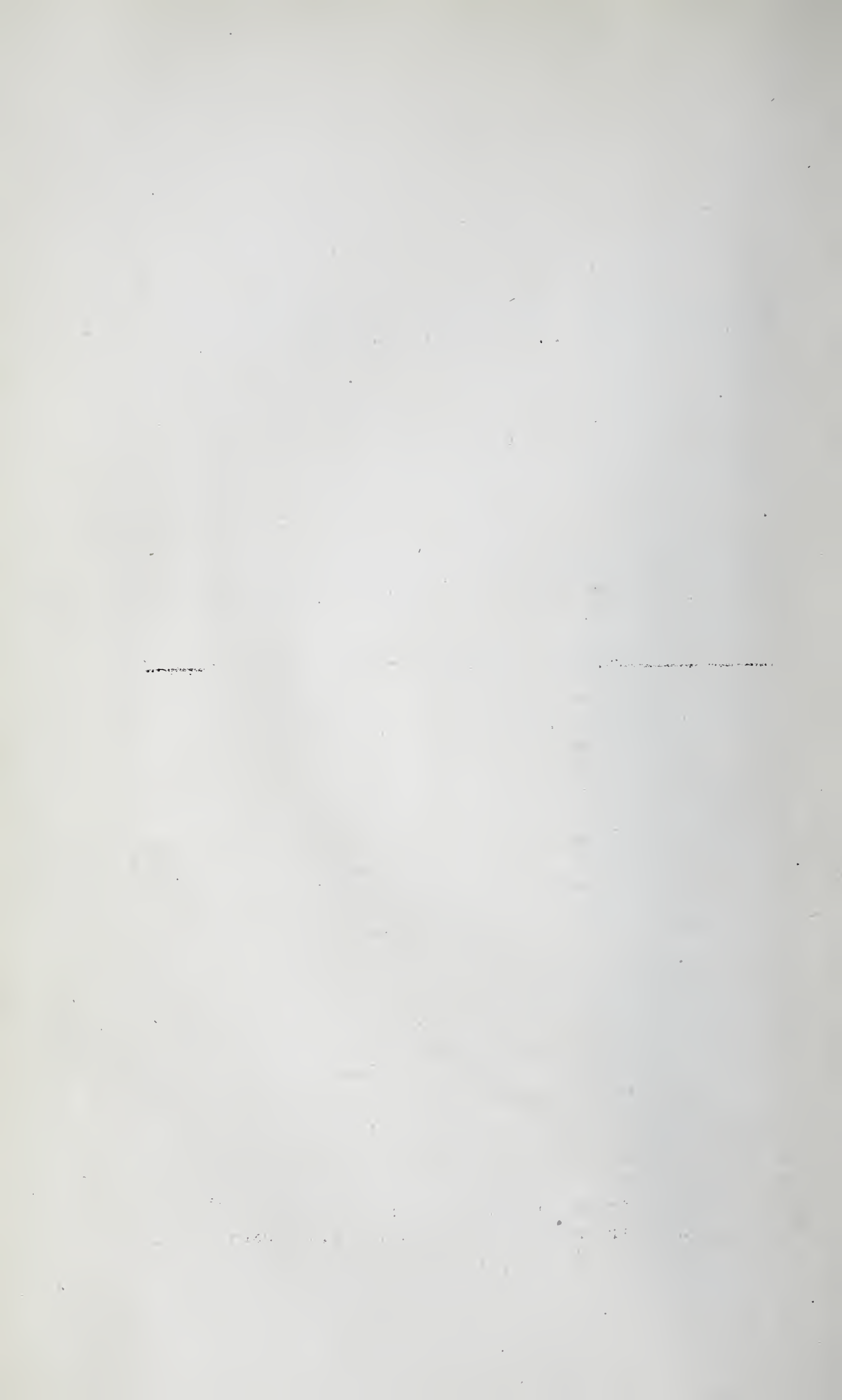
WITH THE SPECIAL CO-OPERATION OF

PRES. S. A. ORT., D. D., LL. D. PROF. F. D. ALTMAN, D. D.
PROF. ALFRED HILLER, D. D. PROF. JACOB YUTZY, D. D.

NEW SERIES—VOL. XXIX.



GETTYSBURG:
THE J. E. WIBLE PRINTING HOUSE, CARLISLE STREET (SECOND SQUARE).
1899.



INDEX TO VOL. XXIX.

- After Death Probation, 326.
 Angels and Wild Beasts, 301.
 Augsburg Confession, Lecture on the, 334.
 Augsburg Confession, Luther and the, 497.
 Ball, Rev. J. W., Art. by, 82.
 Baptismal Forms of the Evangelical Church of Prussia, 178.
 "Baptized Without Believing," Review of, 167.
 Bauslin, Dr. D. H. Arts, by, 113, 283, 421, 570.
 Beneficence, The Measure of, 419.
 Book Notices, 132, 297, 435, 593.
 Brown, Dr. J. A., Art. by, 277.
 Brubaker, Rev. J., Art. by, 326.
 California, Spanish Missions of, 82.
 Christianity, Early, and Education, 89.
 Clare, Rev. R. H., Art. by, 167.
 Clutz, Dr. J. A., Art. by, 553.
 Common Cup, A, or Individual Cups? 221.
 Common Service Committee, Art. by, 178.
 Cups, Individual, Communion, 221, 236, 247.
 Current Theological Thought, 113, 283, 421, 570.
 Day of Crucifixion and the last Passover, 251.
 Delk, Rev. E. H., Art. by, 374.
 Denominational Colleges and State Universities in the West and Northwest, 553.
 DeYoe, Rev. L. E., Art. by, 247.
 Early Christianity in its Relation to Education, 89.
 Education Among the Early Lutherans of America, 273.
 Faith, The, of Our Children and Their Regeneration in Christian Baptism, 150.
 Fischer, Dr. W. E., Art. by, 390.
 Fox, Dr. L. A., Art. by, 453.
 Gladhill, Rev. J. T., Art. by, 361.
 Gospel, The, for a World of Sin, 528.
 Gruver, Rev. O. H., Art. by, 381.
 Hades, 401.
 Hay, Dr. C. E., Art. by, 334.
 Hefelbower, Rev. S. G., Arts. by, 123, 292, 587.
 Henry Timrod, 415.
 Historical Library, The, 564.
 History of Premillennariaism, 60.
 Holman Lecture, 334.
 Hull, Dr. W., Art. by, 491.
 Individual Communion Cups, 221, 236, 246.
 Infant Faith, 1, 150, 167, 183, 194.
 Infant Faith—Addenda, 194.
 Infant Faith, Before and After Baptism, 183.
 Inspiration of the Preached Word, 361.
 King, Rev. H., Art. by, 401.
 Knowledge, Sense- and Spirit-, 390.
 Knubel, Rev. F. H., Arts. by, 46, 183.
 Kunzman, Rev. J. C., Art. by, 251.
 Lambert, Rev. W. A., Art. by, 564.
 Last Passover, The, and the Day of Crucifixion, 251.
 Library, The Historical, 564.
 Luther and the Augsburg Confession, 497.
 Luther and Free Will, 453.
 Lutherans of America, Education Among the Early, 273.
 Measure of Beneficence, 491.
 Missions of California, Spanish, 82.
 Movements and Organizations Outside of the Church, Relation of Ministers to, 374.
 New Book of Worship, The, 381.
 New Testament Theology, The What, Why and How of, 46.
 Ort, Dr. S. A., Art. by, 528.
 Preached Word, Inspiration of the, 361.
 Premillennarianism, History of, 60.
 Probation After Death, 326.
 Prussian Union Baptismal Forms, 178.

- Rahn, Dr. S. S., Art. by, 236.
 Regeneration of Children in Chris-
 tian Baptism, 150.
 Relation of the Ministers to Move-
 ments and Organizations Outside
 of the Church, 374.
 Repentance, 334.
 Review of "Baptized Without Be-
 lieving," 167.
 Review of Recent Literature, 132,
 297, 435, 593.
 Rev. Solomon Schaeffer, 277.
 Richard, Dr. J. W., Art. by, 497.
 Schaeffer, Rev. Solomon, 277.
 Scherer, Dr. J. A. B., Art. by, 415.
 Seebach, Rev. J. F., Art. by, 89.
 Sense-Knowledge and Spirit-Know-
 ledge, 390.
 Severinghaus, Dr. J. D., Art. by, 150
- Sherck, Rev. C. Rollin, Art. by, 60.
 Son of Man the Son of God, 541.
 Spanish Mission of California, 82.
 Stahley, Dr. G. D., Art. by, 221.
 State Universities and Denomina-
 tional Colleges, 553.
 Steiner, Dr. B. C., Art. by, 273.
 Taylor, Rev. A. B., Art. by, 541.
 Timrod, Henry, 415.
 Valentine, Dr. M., Arts. by, 1, 194.
 Was the Son of Man the Son of God?
 541.
 What, Why and How of the New
 Testament Theology, 46.
 Wild Beasts and Angels, 301.
 Will, Free, Luther and, 453.
 World of Sin, The Gospel for a, 528.
 Worship, The New Book of, 381.
 Wynn, Dr. W. H., Art. by, 301.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JANUARY, 1899.

ARTICLE I.

INFANT-FAITH.

BY M. VALENTINE, D. D., LL. D.

Our examination of the subject of infant-faith thus far* has conducted us to a definite adverse conclusion as to the existence of such faith before baptism and as a pre-requisite to its valid administration. This is the distinct question brought before the Church in the proposed formula for infant baptism. It is proper, before going further, to recall the indisputable facts which determined and compelled the conclusion. The notion of such faith was not only not accepted, but was positively repudiated by the whole Christian Church from the beginning down through all the centuries to the Reformation. Exegesis failed to find it in the Scriptures, and the Councils and Creeds failed to formulate it. The suggestion of it, at the time of the Reformation, to meet a supposed demand of harmonization with the material principle of Protestantism, failed to carry it into the confessional requirement of the Church, and it still stands outside of such requirement in the Symbols of Christendom. As regards the Lutheran Church, it has not only no standing ground in the demands of its theology, but is positively disallowed by its leading or fundamental principles and doctrines. It is thoroughly at variance with the anthropological view which this theology places at the basis of the work of redemption and grace, according to which children in their natural state are without love

*LUTH. QUARTERLY, Oct. 1898.

or faith toward God. It is in conflict with the Lutheran doctrine of "the necessity of the means of grace," the word and sacraments, for spiritual or saving effects, such as faith and renewal—this mistaken notion crediting the infant with faith before there has been any application or use of these means. It is contrary to the teaching of Lutheran theology as to "baptismal grace" itself—placing before baptism the great grace of faith which that theology declares to be sought *through* baptismal grace. And the assumption of personal faith in an unconscious babe is explicitly excluded by the steady confessional *definitions* of faith, as, necessarily involving a knowledge of the gospel truths and promises and a trusting intelligent acceptance of them. Our examination has further shown that there never was any real necessity for the introduction of the idea of child-faith, as Lutheran theology has had from the beginning and apart from this idea a full evangelical basis for infant baptism in the office, given by the "everlasting covenant,"* to the parental faith in the divinely established solidarity of the family organism. God has provided the faith that is to cover and act for the unconscious life and its interests among his people, in a clear covenant order that, without fiction, seals, through baptism, as in place of circumcision, "the righteousness of faith" to the infantile life in the believing family and Church.

But we reach a second form of the question, viz., the question of infant-faith *as an immediate product of the baptismal administration*. The hopeless strife of the first form of it with fundamental teachings of our theology, has led, as we believe, most of the advocates of infant-faith to adopt this second form. Conceding with Luther's final conclusion that the child is to be baptized, not because it *has* faith, but on the ground of the divine command, and that it may come to faith, the sixteenth and seventeenth century dogmaticians generally, if not universally, taught that baptism in and by its very administration works faith in the child.

This is certainly a great gain on the other view. It unloads much of its open and irreducible disloyalty to fundamental Lu-

*Gen. 17 : 7; Acts 3 : 25; Col. 2 : 11, 12.

theranism and Biblical doctrine. But those who have maintained it have still been under the pressure of difficulties yet involved. It is of these difficulties that we wish to remind ourselves, and at the same time to exhibit the conclusion being reached on the subject by the leading conservative and confessional theologians of our Church.

1. As opening the way to this it is very important to recall and remember that the same adverse judgment of the whole Christian Church, which, through the entire fifteen centuries before the Reformation, repudiated infant-faith before the administration of baptism, stands equally against it as an immediate product of it. For the ground on which the rejection of the idea of such faith was based was not its relation of priority to the sacrament, but the immaturity of the child-age. By the very reason of the infant's unconscious condition it was unable to "believe unto righteousness," or to believe anything—whether before baptism or at once after. In their whole manner of writing of the matter the theologians of the Church never for a moment limited the recognized impossibility to the period before baptism. They everywhere conceive of no personal faith arising before the time of developed understanding and knowledge. As with respect to the first theory, so here, neither exegesis nor creed-making found or formulated personal faith in the baptized infant. Though the tendencies of the times were strongly toward an exaggerated view of the effects of baptism, pushing on into the theory of *ex opere operato* efficacy, yet the act was not regarded as conferring immediate faith in the unconscious period. Though a doctrine of effective sacramental "infusion" of grace was taught and accepted, the matter (the *res*) of the infusion was designated "grace" and "virtues," not "*faith*." The elements of *intelligence* and *voluntariness*, held as constituents of this, forbade its inclusion as the form of the infused grace. The whole range of theological representation declined to credit any of the state of infant unconsciousness with personal faith. It is true that the baptized children were called "believers" (*fideles*). They were *numbered* or classed among believers. But the theologians explained the use of the

term *fideles*, so applied to them after baptism, as simply meaning that baptism placed them in the believing Church, within the organism of faith, sealed under the *sacrament* of faith. For instance, *Augustine*, in the letter to Bonaface, already quoted in our examination of the first theory, in seeking to justify the sponsor's answer as from the child: "I believe," or on the child's behalf: "he does believe," adds: "He is called a believer, not because he assents to the truth by an act of his own judgment, but because he receives the *sacrament* of that truth. When, however, he *begins to have the discretion of manhood*, he will not repeat the sacrament, but *understand its meaning, and be conformed to the truth it contains, with his will also consenting. During the time in which by reason of youth he is unable to do this*, the sacrament will avail for his protection against adverse powers, and will avail so much on his behalf, that if before he arrives at the age of reason he depart from this life, he is delivered by Christian help, namely, by the love of the Church commending him through this sacrament unto God, from that condemnation which by one man entered into the world."*

This representation of Augustine plainly includes three things: 1. That the baptized child, though classed as a believer, is not to be considered as at once having personal faith, which is always made to rest in knowledge and volition. 2. That only when the child reaches the age of understanding can it possess such faith. 3. That through the whole of this unconscious or non-intelligent period, it has, in its baptism, the status of covenant adoption and the divine grace of an accepted child of God, and is secure under his saving love. A similar representation is given by *Thomas Aquinas*: "Certain ancients have taught that to children graces and virtues are not given by baptism, but the character of Christ is impressed on them; when they come to perfect age they obtain grace and virtues." But this appears to be doubly false. First, because children, just as adults, are in baptism made members of Christ; whence it necessarily follows that from the Head they receive an inflow of grace and virtue. Secondly, because according to it, children dying after baptism

*Letter xcviII, 10. (Italics ours.)

would not attain to eternal life, because as Rom. 6 says, The grace of God is eternal life. And so it would not have been salvation to them that they had been baptized. But the cause of the error was that they did not distinguish between *habitude* and *act* (*habitus et actus*). And thus, seeing children to be incapable of *acts* of virtue they regarded them, after baptism, as not yet having virtue. But the impotence for doing does not pertain to children by want of *habitude*, but from bodily hindrance [*i. e.* immature growth]; just as also persons sleeping, although they may have the *habitude* of virtue, are nevertheless hindered from *acts*, on account of sleep. Therefore it is to be said that *faith* and *love* consist in the *will* of men, so, nevertheless, that the *habitude* of these and other virtues require the *potency* of will, which is in children, but *acts* of virtue require an *act of will which is not in children*. And in this manner Augustine says in his book on the baptism of children, that not that *faith*, which stands in the will of believers, but the *sacrament* of the faith (which indeed causes a *habitude* of faith) makes the *child a believer*."* Here again, in Thomas Aquinas, in whose day sacramental grace was magnified to the highest, baptismal grace was still not exalted high enough to conceive of it as at once starting into activity the dormant faculties of the infant soul essential for personal faith. Its efficacy, *ex opere operato*, was held competent, indeed, to confer forgiveness of sins, bestow adoption, and infuse interior grace and virtues—a basis for the doctrine of baptismal justification as a '*making-righteous*' by infusion of new life—but not for that spiritual act of consenting acceptance of, and self-surrender to the Saviour, to which the gospel calls men in its message of grace and truth, and which is recognized as '*faith*.'

2. And this suggests to our attention another important thing, to be fixed in our minds—that in the early Church which framed the forms of baptism that in leading features have been perpetuated, less stress and prominence was laid upon the *entire subjective side* of the effects of baptism than their language and the language of early and mediaeval writers naturally suggests to us in our day. Not only is it true that the extreme

*Summa, Part III. Quest. 69, Art. 6. The italics are ours.

conceptions of sacramental efficacy failed to attribute to it an instantaneous working of personal faith, but that subjective effect which our protestant theology designates as "regeneration" was by no means counted the *prime* and *chief immediate gift of baptism*. The facts in this relation need to be recalled, not only because of their connection with infant-faith itself, but because of their close practical bearing on the question of proper forms in the Order of Baptism. The facts are not always remembered—perhaps not thought of at all.

Those who are familiar with the history of doctrine know that the word 'regeneration,' or 'to regenerate' was, in the early Church and down through the scholastic period, used in a much more generic and comprehensive sense than in our modern protestant theology. It was a far broader term and of more inclusive scope. It was employed in a wide diversity of relations and applications. It was applied sometimes as a designation of baptism, sometimes to the restitution of physical nature at the end of the world, sometimes to the renovation of man, both soul and body, sometimes to the resurrection of the body.* Even when used in the more restricted application to personal salvation it was a term of very general and wide inclusion. It indicated no distinction whatever between the objective and the subjective parts of the grace of salvation, between the pardon of sin and the inner change of heart. Sheldon, in his *History of Christian Doctrine*, says respecting the first three centuries: "The fact that remission was closely associated with regeneration in the minds of many writers, indicates that there was no such decisive distinction drawn between the terms *justification* and *regeneration* as is made, in the main, by Protestantism."† Of the later period, till the beginning of the eighth century, he adds: "As in the previous period, no broad contrast was drawn between regeneration and justification. The former being identified with the baptismal grace, was made to denote in particular the remission of sins, though the idea of a certain moral renovation was not excluded."‡ The *London Quarterly*

*For illustrative quotations from ancient writers, see Suicer's *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, pp. 550-554. †Vol. I. p.128. ‡Ib. p. 262.

Review, of Jan. 1874, in discussing the innovations of sacerdotalism in the Anglican Church, and explaining why the ancient church-writers are so often misunderstood, says: "Our modern technicalities concerning 'justification,' 'sanctification,' and 'imputed righteousness' were not known to them. They held simply that baptism conferred what we now call justification and sanctification as one gift from God." It requires an effort, in our day and with our habits of thinking under modern definitions, to understand and appreciate the full latitude and comprehension in which the term 'regeneration' was applied. It was by no means a specific designation for the inward or subjective change of heart, but a general expression for the entire transition from a state of sin and condemnation into the *status* of a believer and the saving grace of Christ. It was all-inclusive. It meant the total severance of the person from the condemning past and his entrance into all the grace of redemption and the blessings of the Christian life. And as baptism was the public formal act in which the transition expressed itself, setting the person across from the state of sin and condemnation into that of divine acceptance and renewing grace, the sacrament itself took the name of 'regeneration' or 'illumination.' To be baptized was, ideally, to be 'regenerated.' But the grace involved was *all* the grace involved in the transition. But we will be short of the full truth as to the force of the term until we add another equally unquestionable fact. The primary place and chief emphasis as to the immediate effect of the baptismal grace belonged, *not* to the inward spiritual or ethical renewal, but to the *objective removal of the condemnation of sin, the establishment of a relation of divine acceptance in Christ, under the enlightening presence and power of the Holy Spirit.* With a distinctness that is clear and an iteration that is impressive, the early writers, in their accounts of 'regeneration,' and of baptism as conferring it, set in the front these parts of the saving work. *Justin Martyr* explains its intent: "In order that we may not remain children of necessity and of ignorance, but may become the children of choice and knowledge, and may obtain in the water the remission of sins formerly committed."* *Cyril*, of Jerusalem defines

*First Apology, ch. LXI.

baptismal grace to be : 1) "remission of sins," 2) "adoption," 3) "purging our sins," 4) "the gift of the Holy Ghost," 5) "the counterpart of Christ's suffering," *i. e.* "buried by baptism into his death."* *Augustine*, referring to Rom. 6 : 1-11, says : "Baptism in Christ is nothing else than a similitude of the death of Christ, and the death of Christ on the cross is nothing but the similitude of the pardon of sin ; so that just as real as is the death so real is the remission of our sins ; and just as real as is his resurrection, so real is are justification. He [Paul] says : 'What shall we say then ? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound ?' For he had previously said, 'But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound.' And therefore, he proposes to himself the question whether it would be right to continue in sin for the sake of the consequent abounding grace. But he answers, 'God forbid,' and adds, 'How shall we that are dead to sin live any longer therein ?' Then, to show that we are dead to sin, he says, 'Know ye not,' 'that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death.' If then, the fact that we were baptized into the death of Christ proves that we are dead to sin, it follows that even infants who are baptized into Christ die to sin, being baptized into his death. For there is no exception made." * * To those who are baptized into the death of Christ, then—and this class includes not adults only, but infants as well—he says, 'Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin but alive unto God through Jesus Christ.'† It will be observed how, almost wholly, *Augustine* here makes baptismal grace consist in *forgiveness of sins*, and this *forgiveness*, or what in modern terminology would be 'justification,' is placed as the breaking of the bond to sin and the initiation of the rising with Christ into the new life of obedience and holiness. Not that the subjective side of grace is left wholly out of view, but that the remission of sins is placed as leading the train of baptismal grace. *Augustine* specified more definitely than other ancient writers on this point, and in various passages he teaches that while baptism, which he terms

*Catechetics, Lect. XX.

†Enchiridion, ch. LII.

'regeneration,' wholly removes the *guilt* or *condemnation* of sin, both actual and original, it does *not* wholly remove the natural corruption. Under the *new relation*, in union with Christ and under the Holy Spirit, its dominion is broken. While the depravity remains, *its condemnation is removed through a sealed pardon*. Dr. Koestlin, whose eminence in fair historic interpretation is conceded, after mentioning the type of thought among the eastern or Greek theologians with their milder view of original sin and consequent stress upon the positive gifts of helpful grace and strength to merely weakened human nature, says: "In Augustine, on the contrary, the new birth, completed in baptism, appears now with *forgiveness of guilt*, with the 'mortification of original sin,' and with the impartation of the Holy Ghost, already in the children, in sharp antithesis to the condition of the natural man. But he also *plainly knows of no ethical effect of this process in the subjects*."* This accords substantially with the representation, by Streitz, in the first edition of Herzog's Real Encyclopedia: "If we ask what sins are forgiven in baptism, we find in the books of Augustine against the Donatists and particularly in the treatise *De Baptismo*, everywhere they are only those really committed, as the actual sins of which the man has made himself guilty through his own offenses. First in his later writings does he by preference bring into view original sin; against this the grace of baptism is given, by which the stain descending from birth is taken away through regeneration; however with it (as per accidens) all sins are removed which were committed in heart, mind, or deed, (Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. 43). The blotting out of original sin is thence the especial aim of baptism. *The working of the forgiveness of original sin, however, consists rather in this that the corruption, the concupiscence, belonging to the man by birth, which before baptism was reckoned to him as sin, is to the baptized person no longer charged as such; it remains truly in him, but only in its actuality,*

*Herzog's Real Encyc. vol. XVII, p. 84. (Italics ours).

*not in its guilt, not as something substantial, but as an affection of bad quality."**

These views of Augustine, which are thoroughly representative of the most positive teaching of that period, justify us in accepting Sheldon's statement of the substantial consensus of the early Church: "Valid baptism was universally regarded as the rite of regeneration, and as such efficacious for the complete removal of the *condemnation coming from foregoing sin, whether original or actual*. It was also regarded as conducive to a certain inward illumination and renovation."† In full agreement with this account is the representation of Thomasius, a Lutheran authority of first rank: "The *forgiveness of sin* and the *impartation of the Holy Ghost in reference to regeneration* are designated as the effect of baptism. The *forgiveness extends to all sin prior to baptism*, and the whole sinful past of the subject. This (*initio prima*) can be otherwise supplied only by martyrdom. The impartation of the Holy Spirit works purification and regeneration of the human spirit, a renewing into the image of God, eternal life, in soul and body. This, without exception is the teaching of the early Church. There is no other point which has so completely the consent of the fathers."‡

We might accumulate an immense testimony on this point. The early church writers abound in declarations placing the forgiveness of sin, original and actual, full incorporation under the accepting grace of God in Jesus Christ, in the forefront of the meaning and effects of baptismal regeneration, together with the impartation of the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of the whole regenerate life. It is to be borne in mind, too, that nearly all the declarations of the writers had reference to the *baptism of adult believers*, well-instructed catechumens, with the full intellectual and moral requisites for the full spiritual effects. These effects are, therefore, described in their *ideal* fulness and completeness, without any modification or adaptation to the case of infants in their unconscious state, conceded to be as yet without the personal faith which in believing adults intelligently and voluntarily

*Herzog's Real Ency. vol. XV. p. 438. (Italics ours).

†Hist. of Christian Doc., I, p. 272. ‡Dogmengeschichte, vol. I., p. 414.

appropriates the renewing grace which comes in the Spirit and the word. But yet, as Dr. Koestlin tells us, "the magical conception fully entered in the case of infant baptism," and with "all the subjects born in the Church regeneration was now thought to be realized purely by the miraculous divine act."* It is true, that besides the foregoing carefully guarded theological definitions of the gifts of baptism, there are found in many of the fathers high-wrought rhetorical expressions of enlightenment, transformation, and purity wrought in and through the laver of regeneration. All perfections are conferred by it. At the same time the homilies or sermons of their day addressed these same baptized church-members as marked, many of them, by very immoral and unsanctified lives, hardly recognizable as Christians except by their appearance in their assemblies. The incongruity is easily explained. These glowing delineations of the immaculate purity and perfect blessedness conveyed by baptism, are at once understood, when we remember, as we must, that they were framed upon the general and broad comprehension of the term 'regeneration' in that period, and that the perfect holiness and spotless righteousness affirmed as the immediate result to the baptized were not thought of as their inwardly wrought personal purity, but the perfect forgiveness which took away the guilt of all their sins and the perfect righteousness of Christ which became theirs in putting on Christ. Such delineations were perfectly consistent with, as they are explained by, their theological latitude in the use of the word regeneration.

But we must remind ourselves of the thoroughly different situation in our day. That old broad sense of the term regeneration has passed away in protestant theology. The terminology of Protestantism, and with peculiar distinctness and emphasis that of the Lutheran Church, refuses now to confound regeneration with justification. In the Reformation, in order to overthrow the dreadfully misleading and corrupting teaching of Rome which held justification to mean a 'making righteous' by sacramental infusion of grace and virtue into the soul and through 'good works,' and in order to establish and maintain the pure Scripture

*Herzog's Real Ency. vol. XVII, p. 84.

truth of salvation by *grace* alone, in *justification by faith*, the reformers fixed the term "justification" as, not the act or process of internal renovation, but the whole *objective side* of the saving action of grace. It was a forward step in strict defining terminology, thoroughly sustained by the word of God. Justification was defined, not as an ethical change wrought *in* us, but as *objective* and *forensic*. It consists in the *forgiveness of sin, adoption, the imputation of Christ's perfect righteousness* and heirship to eternal life.* This took position as the doctrine decisive of a standing or falling church." Thus Lutheran, and in general all Protestant theology, *took out from the meaning of the once broad term 'regeneration' all the objective part of the saving work by which we are made Christians, all that was first and most emphasized in the ancient use of the term, and left in the term only the inward spiritual or ethical renewal to which that old usage gave only secondary and less emphatic assertion.* The earlier terminology, if used to-day, confuses and misleads, and throws a false and unfair emphasis. The entire force of the word is thrown upon the internal spiritual or ethical change of the heart—and *upon this alone*. There can be no question that when that terminology is connected with baptism and made declarative of the immediate effect of the sacramental grace, it conveys to the mind of our day, saturated as it is, especially the Lutheran mind, with the Protestant definitions, a form of baptismal regeneration unthought of in the early Church.

This indubitable truth has a bearing on the determination of the proper form of our baptismal service. There is nothing more reasonable—few things more clearly imperative on the Church—than that it should harmonize the terminology of its baptismal formulas with the terminology of its theology and of its pulpit—that they should speak in the language of to-day. If theology and the pulpit use words in one sense, and these formulas use them in another—with widely different accent—misconception and error must be the result. If the adjustment has not been truly made, it *ought* to be. The baptismal formula now proposed for adoption—declared in general to be over

*Form of Concord Part II., chap. III., 25.

a "thousand years old"—moulded in the ancient terminology, does not stand on the definitions of the theology of our Church. 'Regeneration' is given the leading position in the first prayer, as the blessing the child "desireth." It is the first thing brought to attention in the invocation with imposition of hands. It is the foremost thing referred to as *accomplished*, in the after prayer of thanksgiving and intercession. This is the thing that is made to subordinate every other aspect of baptismal grace, the thing upon which the eye is set, and kept set, in the service—as if we were living under the old terminology of fifteen centuries ago—almost as if oblivious to the decisive discriminations by which the Reformation restored and fortified the integrity of the great basal truth of justification by faith. With the modern meaning and application of 'regeneration,' exclusively designating the subjective heart-change, the formula teaches a baptismal regeneration greatly different from, and interiorly more thorough, than was ever entertained in the early Church, in the original use of the formula, while at the same time it fails to do full justice to the prominence and purity of baptismal *justification*, or the forgiveness of sin and the soul's investment in the perfect righteousness of Christ—giving the inward ethical side disproportionate and exaggerated emphasis.

And this fact has serious vital bearings, and calls for further consideration. For Lutheran theology, if correctly conceived and fairly exhibited, is a self-consistent system. Its parts cohere in orderly relations, and will not permit inversion or confusion. It all rests in the comprehensive truth: "*By grace are ye saved through faith.*" As to the way of its appropriation or its passing into realization in men, the great truth of *justification by faith* determines the place and relation of all doctrines. Unlike the system of Calvinistic predestinarianism, it recognizes the human will as having to bear the responsibility for failure of salvation, and teaches that prevenient grace through the word under the Holy Spirit enables the faith needed to enter into justification. Through this faith and justification the believer reaches regeneration—the free forgiveness of sin, as an act of divine love, dissolving the bond that bound to unhappy guilt,

and, through the Spirit, quickening the heart into love to a pardoning God. And so the theology of our Confessions and early theologians framed an order of salvation (*ordo salutis*): “*faith, justification, regeneration.*” Personal faith receives and experiences all parts of salvation. And this faith is not a mere passivity, as some have most strangely misunderstood it, only passively receptive, but through its confiding trust and self-surrender to God, becomes an *energy*, an *active* principle, (a true *principium*) which through the word of God and the Holy Ghost, works spiritual renewal and all sanctification. This primacy of faith and justification is unmistakably fixed and controlling in the theology of Luther and Melanchthon as well as of the Confessions. The *Augsburg Confession* says: “By faith alone is apprehended remission of sins and grace. And because the Holy Spirit is received by faith, our hearts are now renewed, and so put on new affections, so that they are able to bring forth good works.”* The *Apology* declares: “It is impossible to love God unless the remission of sins be apprehended first by faith.”† “When we have been justified by faith and regenerated, we begin to fear and love God, pray to him,” etc.‡ “We are compelled to hold that by faith we are justified, reconciled and regenerated.”§ The Smalkald Articles: “What I have hitherto and constantly taught concerning this I cannot in the least change, viz., that by faith (as St. Peter says) we acquire a new and clean heart.”|| Faith is always made to precede regeneration. Never, in the early Lutheran teaching, was the order reversed. Dr. Luthardt, whose Lutheran and conservative confessionalism has been so marked, thus interprets this point in that theology: “The mixing of truth and error in this [the Thomist doctrine of effecting justification by an infusion of a new life] was corrected by Luther’s doctrine of Faith and its two-fold operation, viz: to *justify* and to *renew*, and indeed, so that the second of these follows upon the first. First, ‘we in Christ,’ after that ‘Christ in us.’ First, faith that through the blood of Christ we are redeemed from sin and have forgiveness; secondly, if we

*Art. XX. 28, 29. †Chap. II, Art. IV, 36. ‡Chap. III, Art. VI, 4–8.

§Chap. IV, Art. VI, 192. ||Part III, chap. XIII.

have faith, that we shall afterwards become different men and walk in new life.' The chief good of salvation I must have first. If, however, my sins are forgiven, etc., then I say, one is to be pious etc.' Concerning the inner renewing operation of faith, compare the celebrated passage from the Preface to the Romans: 'Faith is a work of God' in us which divinely changes and regenerates us, kills the old Adam, makes us altogether different men, in heart, mind, sense and power, and brings with it the 'Holy Ghost.' So also Melanchthon: 'With faith terrified minds are comforted; at the same time the 'Holy Spirit is given and brings forth a new life in the heart, in harmony with the law of God,' (Loci). Faith brings the Holy Spirit and produces a new life in the heart, (Apol. 83). The Form of Concord: 'Indwelling follows preceding justification by faith.'* *Dr. Koestlin, says:* "We have already called attention to Luther's designation of the righteousness of the believer as twofold, *i. e.*, the foreign essential righteousness appropriated in faith, and his own, unfolding itself in his life and work. Luther means to make the same discrimination when he now speaks of the '*justitia passiva*,' which we receive by grace through faith, and of the '*justitia activa*,' which falls within the sphere of morals and works. The former, says he, must precede."†

It is needless to present any further evidence of this prior and conditioning place of justification with respect to regeneration in normal Lutheranism. It is woven into its very texture and appears everywhere. But in the seventeenth century, from the time of Calovius, there appeared a perversion of this pure evangelical teaching, an inverting of this order and a putting of the subjective regeneration before justification, in the interest of an intenser type of baptismal regeneration. Calovius himself maintained, essentially, the evangelical order. He declared: "For the sake of each end we are baptized into the death of Christ, so that we may by the death of Christ be both freed from the guilt of sin, and the Holy Spirit may be poured out upon us, by virtue of which we may be delivered from the dominion of sin, that dead to sin we

*Compendium Der Dogmatik, pp. 284, 285.

†Theol. of Luther, (Dr. Hay's Trans.), p. 440.

generation *to* faith and justification. The scheme, falling over into what looks like Calvinistic disregard of the human will as a factor in the experience of grace, as always involved in an act of faith, places, by an absolute supernatural power, the sinner directly in the experience of the new life and passes him ethically 'into the kingdom of heaven,' thus regenerating *before* faith and *to* faith, and making this subjective 'regeneration' the *principium*, the active principle, for working not only faith but also justification, or forgiveness of sins, adoption, and the imputation of Christ's righteousness. It is apparent that this order, making this new or regenerate life instrumental for justification, seriously encroached upon the integrity of the reformation principle of justification by *faith alone*. No wonder that the conservative confessional Lutheran theologians of this century have been refusing to recognize the legitimacy of this inverted order, with its deep and unevangelical strife with the material principle of the Reformation. No wonder that Luthardt calls attention to the changed doctrine and turns from it as a lapse into the scholastic notion of justification as a '*transmutatio*'. No wonder that Philippi declares: "This view is *prominently antagonistic to the evangelical order of salvation*," and adds that according to it, "even in the case of adults there appears—torn loose from the justifying effect of the word and independent of it—the operation of salvation, consisting in *gratia infusa*; and it cannot be denied that this doctrine, notwithstanding that with it, faith and justification are in themselves evangelically determined, yet so far as the sacramental conception is concerned leans to the Romish side.* *Thomasius*, than whom there is scarcely a higher authority in history of doctrine, says of it: "The modern view that the principle of the *new life* which is contained in faith is properly the ground of justification is entirely rejected both by Melancthon and Luther."† Confessional conservatism is emphatic in protests. *Sartorius* says: "The new birth, no less than the

*Kirchliche Glaubenslehre, vol. V., p. 159.

†Quoted from History of Doctrine, footnote, part translated, by Dr. E. J. Wolf, in LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Vol. X., p. 210.

natural birth, pre-supposes generation, which in the wider sense forms part of its notion ; while in the narrower, *justification is that which generates*, and sanctification, as the new life, that which is born" * * "Without this faith there is no regeneration, no new creature, but everything remains in the selfish state of the old Adam."* *Thomasius* declares : "As this faith is on the one hand an operation of the Spirit of God through the word, so it is itself on the other hand, 'a new light and life, an active force which renews heart, mind, and spirit and makes of a person a changed man, a new creature,' as the Apology expresses it."† One of the Hanoverian pastors, *Rev. Paul Althaus* of Brüggen, has just published a book, *Die Heilsbedeutung der Taufe im Neuen Testament*, universally commended and approved by the conservative Lutherans of Germany. He quotes, with approval, *Philippi* as saying : "The idea of *παλιγγινεσία* [regeneration], in Titus is, (in opposition to a religious and ethical restoration), *to be limited to justification alone*, which as a translation from a state of wrath, servitude and death to a state of free adoption and life, may very well be named a spiritual re-birth or a new birth. For the context of the passage in Titus allows us to expect distinctly an independent presentation of *justification as the primordial effect of baptism*."‡

Unquestionably the pending forms for infant baptism, by their giving first and most prominent position to the inward moral regeneration, are in close and practical affinity with that now disappearing un-Lutheran order of salvation. This is the more evident when we remember that the baptismal administration is looked upon as immediately working 'faith.' The sacramental efficacy, in the unconscious babe, at once becomes the *new-life*, with faith, and a resultant justification or status of forgiveness and adoption, in secondary place and dependent relation. Thus *justification* is thus made to stand either as a mere *post hoc* of regeneration or as a real consequence of it. On either alterna-

**Doctrine of the Divine Love*, pp. 241, 248.

†*Hist. of Doc.*, part translated by Dr. E. J. Wolf, LUTH. QUARTERLY, April, 1880.

‡Page 274.

tive, it cannot fail to be apparent how truly the whole setting of things by these formulas is out of harmony with the order of grace—justification and regeneration *through* faith, as taught in our Confessions. Examination thus reveals two facts of non-adjustment to Lutheran theology. First, in that, in the formulas proposed, the old generic term, 'regeneration,' which, when placed there and normally employed for centuries, laid the foremost and chief stress on the objective action of saving grace, forgiveness, adoption, and the conferring of the Holy Spirit, but which, *now*, under the distinct and fixed definitions of our Church is no longer an equivalent term, but *expresses only the subjective side* and thus gives it a disproportionate emphasis—an emphasis at once beyond that given in the early Church, and teaching an exaggerated type of baptismal regeneration, in excess of the teaching of the Augsburg Confession. Secondly, in that this disproportionately emphasized part, 'regeneration,' is falsely placed in relation to faith and justification, *before* both faith and justification and the instrumental cause of both, in conflict with the evangelical and confessional order of salvation. Of course, when the term 'regeneration' throws its whole force on this single thing, viz., the *inward* effect of baptism, and that effect is understood to *be* the instant production of "faith," the formula cannot fail to require us to believe in 'infant faith' in unconscious babes. But "infant faith is not a confessional doctrine." Yet the supposition of it is made logically plausible and defensible by the introduction of this seventeenth century "order of salvation," so deeply at variance with original and genuine Lutheranism—an order which, ceasing to rely on 'the word' for the working of faith, resorts to sacramental infusion of it into the unconscious infant soul.

3. But there are some more direct difficulties in this doctrine of infant-faith, even in the second position, than those thus brought to view in the unevangelical order of salvation which has been employed to provide for, and explain, its appearance. *It still fails to come naturally or normally under the Lutheran doctrine of the means of grace.* This is easily seen. The doctrine of these means not only makes them essential for spiritual ef-

fects or working grace in men, but in marked and emphatic way, makes "the word" the chief, all-comprehensive means, and maintains that *the sacraments work their results only through the word*. This is a commonplace in the theology of our Church. We need refer only to Luther's statement in the Smalcald Articles: "In those things which concern the spoken, outward word, we must firmly hold that God grants his Spirit or grace to no one, except through or with the preceding outward word."* But the word is inapplicable in the case of infants. For "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God," or as Luther in one place has rendered it: "Faith cometh by hearing, and the word cometh by preaching." But the hearing or reception of the word is an action of the understanding. It is uniformly represented as an intelligent comprehension of the gospel message and its promises. "Paul teaches," says the Apology, "that we are justified not from the law but from *the promise which is received only by faith*."† The Smalcald Articles: "To this office (of the law) the New Testament immediately adds the consolatory *promise of grace through the gospel which must be believed*."‡ Faith must have an object, a truth discerned, a promise understood, a Saviour known. Without an intellectual apprehension of the message of the gospel, there is nothing to be believed, nothing at all to make faith as an act or state of self-surrendering confidence a possibility. To credit this intelligent apprehension to infants is too fantastically absurd to be thought of, when not a single faculty of the understanding has yet awaked, when, by consent of all, they know nothing of what has been done to them. "Faith cometh by hearing;" but the nursling does *not* hear in the sense of any moral act; and to imply that the mere resounding vibrations of air on the ears, without any more meaning to its mind than the murmurings of the forest winds or the noise of the cataract, is efficient as a faith-begetting hearing, is a degradation of the whole working to the absurdity of magic, incantation or superstitious charms. To suppose that the Holy Spirit uses the word—audible or visible—in that way, is without

*Part III., Art. VIII., 3.

†Apology, Chap. III., Art. VI. 173.

‡Part III., Art. III., 4.

the least warrant of Scripture. It was through Timothy's "knowing the Scriptures" from his childhood that faith was wrought in his heart. For personal faith a genuine knowledge of the word and promise of the gospel by the baptized is absolutely needed, and is provided for in the covenanted nurture and admonition of the Lord, with its gradual enlightenment and power under the Holy Spirit, as the child becomes able to hear and understand. But it is plain that this fundamental doctrine of the means of grace, according to which the sacraments work their grace through the word of promise appropriated in faith, provides no way for sacramental production of faith till the faculties for understanding the word awake into action.

And this brings us to a further element of contradiction, in this view of infant-faith from baptism, to our evangelical doctrine of the means of grace. It returns to the Romish doctrine of the *opus operatum*, or a magical infusion of virtue. For faith is not something objective, like remission of sins, imputation of Christ's righteousness, adoption, and sealing to eternal life, but is an inward spiritual action or state of the soul. It marks a distinct psychological change, in the sphere of ethical free-agency. It is this even under the theory of intensest predestinarian monergism. Now the fiction of the *ex opere operato* efficacy is that the sacraments effectively confer their grace without faith on the part of recipients, provided only that they *oppose no obstacle* or positive obstruction. The Lutheran and the entire Protestant theology, while rejecting the Romish doctrine of the *opus operatum* as an 'impious and pernicious opinion,' holds nevertheless that the sacraments are *genuine* and *valid* independently of the faith of the recipient, by virtue of their own divine appointment and constitution; and that should their reception occur without faith, the covenant grace offered and sealed in them abides for future faith, whenever this may arise and avail itself of the covenanted privileges and salvation. "If you have not believed," says Luther, "then believe now."* But while the recipient's faith does not make the sacraments, and is not essential to their validity, it is necessary for the appropriation of their

*Large Catechism, Part IV., 56.

promises and of the immediate fulness of the grace they offer. In the case of adults unbelief receives nothing. In the case of children, God's covenant order holds the infant offspring of His Church, through all the generations of His people, within the inclusion of the parental faith, by virtue of which they are entitled at once to the sacraments of faith, and through baptism, sealed and accepted as God's covenant children, under adopting, forgiving, and saving love. They are 'justified'—through the faith divinely designated in the covenant itself as the faith that is in reality to cover them, and act for holding the infant life of the Church in the status of covenant acceptance and salvation. Their own spiritual activity is not required for this part or effect of baptismal grace. And this *status* of covenant acceptance, forgiveness of original sin, adoption, and position under the Holy Spirit, to whom as well as to the Father and the Son the child is dedicated, was the main thing signified by 'regeneration' in the early Church. But *faith* is a *personal act*, a subjective mental and moral change—something far different from those objective acts of grace which establish the status of a forensic 'justification.' It is conceded that the infant is *without* faith *before* baptism. If then we affirm that, coming thus without faith, knowing yet nothing of the gospel, or indeed of anything else, a psychological and ethical change is immediately wrought by the sacrament, we run right into the magical *opus operatum*, which our theology absolutely and strenuously discards as an abomination. This is especially apparent when we recall that this 'faith' is commonly supposed to be effected in and *through* the great inward spiritual *change of heart*. How actual and great this internal psychical and spiritual efficiency, upon the unconscious babe, is sometimes represented to be, is illustrated in the representations, say, of Gerhard and Quenstedt, the former of whom declares the faith to be "*not a naked and inert condition [otiosus habitus], destitute of action and energy, but living and efficacious,*" and the latter making it consist in "*spiritual knowledge, assent, and confidence, or apprehension and application of the merit of Christ.*" To relieve the strain of this difficulty, the ex-

planation is sometimes added, as by Luther himself, that in the case of infants there is a peculiar openness or receptivity for the grace of faith, in that the child's 'reason' has not yet been aroused into its natural opposition to grace, and that therefore there is less hindrance to the action of the sacramental grace. But this explanation carries its own condemnation in that it distinctly and in very form falls back on and adopts the Romish condition of "not opposing an obstacle," while it breaks to pieces against the fundamental Lutheran teaching which holds 'original sin' itself an 'obstacle' and that faith comes only by the hearing of the word of the gospel, through which the Holy Ghost makes Christ known, enabling men to call him Lord. And when we add to all these things the clear and emphatic definition of faith, as including the positive psychological elements of "knowledge, assent, and confidence," as its "essential" *constituents*, we are compelled to regard the opinion that baptism immediately works faith in the unconscious infant, as not only involving a psychological inconceivability, but as at variance with some of the foundation teachings of our Lutheran Confessions and theology.

But now in view of these difficulties, especially that connected with faith's psychological content, special definitions of faith for infants have been offered, to suit this total absence of intelligence, consciousness, and knowledge in their condition. It has sometimes been represented as only a *passive susceptibility* to grace, or an infused *habitus* or condition, an "unconscious faith," existing after the manner of faith in the adult believer when he is asleep, or in a swoon. When asleep the adult believer may still, indeed, be said to be a believer or to have faith, although not conscious. But this simply passive susceptibility or unconscious condition drops out every element of faith which the careful definitions have put in and insist on as essential. An "unconscious faith" is as complete a contradiction in terms as "unconscious intelligence" or a "circular triangle." If the adult is a personal believer even when asleep, we can understand how he became such. He attained actual personal faith through waking apprehension of the word and promises under the Holy

Spirit. It involved one of the most profound and actual psychological experiences of his life. Of course, having the *status* of a believer before God by his intelligent acceptance of Christ as his Saviour, he *abides* in that status, whether waking or sleeping, living or dying. Yet even he is not actually believing while in sleep or swoon. He is then, psychically or morally, doing nothing—either to make or break his Christian condition or choice of faith. But *had he never had* consciousness, he could never have attained the reality or state of faith. And how is the infant, never having a glimmer of intelligent consciousness, to attain this *status*? The explanation which explains the adult believer's faith in his unconscious condition of sleep affords no solution of problem for the babe. The reasoning is inapplicable; for the two causes are not parallel, but contrasts.

But another account of infant-faith is found in Chemnitz, and largely adopted by the dogmaticians, viz.: "There is no doubt that, through the washing of water by the word, Christ operates by his Spirit in children who are baptized, and causes their reception into the kingdom of God, although we do not understand in what manner this is done. For baptism is the laver of regeneration and the renewal of the Holy Ghost who is poured out upon those baptized, that being justified they may become heirs of eternal life; *and this is called the faith of infants.*"* In further explanation, it is said that since infants have sealed to them the righteousness of faith and please God and are saved, they must be credited with faith, "although faith cometh by hearing in another way, in intelligent, sensible, willing adults, than in infants, not yet having the use of their reason." But the question is: *Is this faith*—when it is without a single element which faith essentially includes, when the very things that *make* faith are wanting? Men may "*call*" this faith; but is it right to call it so, or at all permissible for scientific theology to apply the term to that which, psychologically or morally, has not a solitary one of the components which the term as defined calls for? Is it self-consistent scientific theology that makes careful definitions, so as to guard the conception of saving faith,

*Loci, Part III, De Baptismo, II.

and then wipes out all its own explicit and thousand-times reaffirmed requirements? Is it self-consistent scientific theology that, in fundamental formulations, 1) declares what faith *presupposes*, a sense of sin; 2) what faith *includes*, knowledge, assent, and trust; 3) *how faith is wrought*, through the word and promises of the gospel apprehended under the Holy Spirit, to defy all these formulations by predicating the existence of personal faith in the unconscious infant whose condition precludes every one of the things demanded? But the gravest question of all is, whether it is right, or at all an innocent proceeding, *to attribute the baptized child's given status of justification*, viz.: its forgiveness, adoption, and participation in the grace of the kingdom and eternal life, *to its own personal faith*, when, by so doing, *it hides out of view or denies the true, real, divinely established and clearly set forth way and order of this so great grace*, viz.: *the great, abiding, gracious order through which all the blessings of faith reach infants, the way and method of God's covenant love, in which the child is covered by the faith of the believing parents, the way and order which says to the believing parent: "I will be a God to thee AND thy children?"* In his foundation covenant with his people, the very charter of infant membership in his Church, passing from the Old Testament dispensation into the new when the Church's gates were opened to all nations, with baptism superseding circumcision as the seal of the righteousness of faith, God has himself solved the problem of the way of safety and salvation for the time of the helpless incapacity of infancy in his Church. He has pointed out the personal faith that is to act for the infantile period. The worst feature connected with this notion of an individual personal infant-faith is that it displaces what *God* has established as the divine provision for his grace to the children of his people. This insistence that the nursling believes *for itself*, during the non-rational period, forgets God's plan, and obscures, if it does not deny, the fundamental charter of infant church-membership and covenant grace for children.

The occasion of all this pressure for the notion of child-faith

is an exegetical failure to keep rightly clear the distinction between what the Scriptures say concerning adults and concerning infants. A first principle of interpretation requires every statement to be read in the light of its context and of the situation of the persons addressed. It is utterly illogical, leading to erroneous theology, when exegesis stretches the application of Scripture language over conditions of human life which do not possess the characteristics in view of which it was written and took its form. It is spurious dogmatics which takes passages out of their connection and forces an application to conditions not in the mind of the sacred writer and which do not possess the elemental features that the passages pre suppose. It will be admitted that the New Testament writers have given but very little in the way of specifically and distinctively defining the doctrine of *infant* baptism as such, or declaring its immediate effects. It is a matter of fact which every man can verify for himself, that the New Testament does not contain a single passage directly declaring that baptism at once works personal faith in an infant—not one that even directly assigns to baptism the office of creating faith. Indeed, only indirectly, and by building on the principles of the constitution of the Church in the Old Testament dispensation, passing on into the new, are we assured of a normal place for infant baptism at all. Not by conceptions of it was the language of the New Testament moulded. It will be conceded that both Christ and his apostles addressed their message to adults, and that naturally, if not necessarily, their statements of the meaning, working, and effects of baptism were shaped to the conditions of such as were to receive, or had received, the sacrament in the full knowledge and faith of the gospel. Their representations were adjusted to the requirements and possibilities in adult baptism. Utterly without right is the wholesale application of the measure of demand and effect in believing adults to unconscious nurslings. Yet this is the method that has given us this dogma about infant-faith. Because of the adult, in presence of the gospel opportunity, it is said: "He that *believeth* and is baptized shall be saved," dogmatists have proceeded to demand this "belief" of babes to whom

not a glimmer of vision of the opportunity and duty is yet possible! Because of adults it is declared: "Without faith it is impossible to please God," it is straightway inferred that the baptized child cannot be acceptable to God unless in its unconsciousness it has personal faith! These are specimens of the use of Scripture and the sort of logic constantly repeated by dogmaticians on this question. A hard and fast conception is framed, from what is written about adult baptism, with its just pre-requisites and ideal working under knowledge and capacity for faith; and then arbitrarily applied, without modification, to children that cannot yet know their right hand from the left! It is not surprising that the defenders of this method are so often found falling over into an implicit assumption of a kind of miraculous or magical sacramental *opus operatum*, to enable mere nurslings to meet these supposed necessities and actualize all the parts of the process belonging to intelligent believing manhood!

The truth on this subject is by no means a matter of simply speculative interest, but of the most vital practical importance. For, to imagine the baptized child at once possessed of faith and spiritually regenerate, becomes the occasion of parental neglect in the necessary training in the truth as it is in Jesus which is the Spirit's instrument for a living faith and new life. One of the divinest blessings in this sacrament, is the "nurture and admonition in the Lord" so solemnly covenanted and sealed. Through this the child is to come to know the word, which brings to both faith and regeneration. But the notion taught and credited, that both faith and regeneration have been accomplished in baptism itself, annuls the sense of parental responsibility for these results. *The work has been done!* But the divine law for living discipleship and saving piety is both to "baptize" and to "teach," Matt. 28 : 20. The meaning and intent of baptism is to be realized or become actual in the covenanted teaching and training. The Church, following God's order, binds the duty of this on the parents. If it is neglected the covenant is broken on the human side, and the child is left without the means for personal faith and the new life. If reared in heathenish ignorance, it is vain to expect the unfolding mind

and heart to show Christian faith and holiness. The right results require the parents to know and deeply feel : "Our own teaching and example, our own temper and spirit and guidance, are the instrumentality by which the *word of the gospel*, through which the sacrament works, is to be held in living contact with the developing mind and heart of our child, for the faith and love and new life sealed to it. The baptismal grace must come to its fruitage through *us*." What a solemn and responsible relation ! What a potent incentive to faithfulness ! But make the impression that the faith *has* been wrought, and the renewal has been accomplished, and the sense of responsibility is gone. The impression is a spiritual *sedative*, from which result both neglect in teaching and less care as to Christian living. The whole spiritual tone and effort in the Christian home are lowered, if not lost. The efficacy of baptism in its mere administration is relied on. The true doctrine of baptismal grace is quickening to parental confidence and the spirit of faithfulness. It keeps alive the sense of obligation and responsibility and assures the richest blessing. But the unwarrantable release of the parental conscience from a proper and strong sense of obligation with respect to the actualization of the meaning and fruits of baptismal grace, has brought sad and immeasurable blight and desolation on the Church's heritage in its children. In thousands and thousands of cases the relaxed feeling of responsibility fails to give the needful nurture in the truth, and neither personal faith nor regeneration ever appears. The baptized membership of the Church disappear in the godless world in untold numbers. Infant baptism is discredited, because it fails to present by simple administration the fruit which depends on *keeping* the covenant of faith and grace which it establishes. The Church itself is made to abound in men and women who confound their baptism, which they have, with spiritual regeneration which they do not exhibit ; and a spurious and blighting resting on the simple externalism of sacramental observance is fostered. The Church has often and widely felt the evil of this. The period which called for the spiritual pietistic work of Spener, Franke, and their co-laborers, was brought on largely by a confounding of mere in-

tellectual orthodoxy with saving faith, and a prevalent contentment with the simple reception of the sacraments as immediately effecting all that they signify and should be progressively realized in Christian living. It was a period too satisfied to think of faith and conversion and the new life as realized in the baptismal grace of infancy. It is conceded that the formal orthodoxy did not realize the Church's best estate. But apart from all reference to particular periods in the history of the Church, it is beyond all question true, that always and everywhere the notion that not only is the foundation for personal faith and regeneration laid in infant baptism, but that these effects are then and there accomplished, becomes a blighting relaxation to the parental care and diligence for instruction and nurture in the word as the divinely ordained means for carrying the baptismal grace into its covenant realizations.

Without endorsing every statement or form of expression, we add in this connection a quotation from *Dr. Christlieb*, formerly of the University of Bonn, who is so well-known and highly esteemed for both his Christian activity and evangelical orthodoxy: "On the doctrinal signification of baptism it may be observed here, that the *exaggeration of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration*, the transference of the expression λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας Tit. 3 : 5 from adult baptism (which alone is assumed in the Apostolic age) to our modern infant baptism, as is done, for example, on the strict Lutheran side, is partly an assistance to baptism, and partly leads to a very dangerous state of security in which every one who has been baptized and brought up in the orthodox way regards himself as a regenerate person. On the other hand the view which is becoming more and more prevalent in reformed countries, that baptism is *only the ceremony of reception into the Church*, the dedication of children to the Lord, and in so far, it is true, of benefit to them, but without the communication of any special sacramental grace—is so far void of significance, and weakens so much the importance of baptism that (as is seen from the state of things in England and America) it is not likely to promote baptism any longer. For the question is then naturally asked, why begin so early with the ceremony?

We can dedicate our children to the Lord from their birth, and even before it, in prayer—even without baptism. *The correct view may be supposed here also to lie between the two.* Even baptism has, like the sacraments generally, *a collative force.* We are thereby introduced into the blessing of the covenant of grace in Christ, as in the Old Testament by circumcision into the blessing of the covenant of works. The baptismal grace which is thereby communicated, is a specific gift on the part of the Father, Son, and Spirit, *a living force, a seed of regeneration* in the children, an inestimable counterbalance to original sin, which, even though not exclusively, renders possible the development of man in what is good, notwithstanding his evil propensities; the natural superior force of the latter is thereby in some measure paralyzed, and hence this support and strength for what is good should be afforded to the children from the beginning, so that no portion of the development of their life may be spent without this divine help to what is good. *But seed is not yet fruit;* it may be crushed under foot, or, on the other hand, properly developed into fruit. It is only the personal acceptance and experience of baptismal grace and its power, the victory by means of it over the natural disposition, the domination of this grace in man, that is the actual regeneration, and this can only take place in the personal conscious conflict with the old man, but not in the dawning dream-life of the suckling.”*

If we understand the term “seed” in the sense in which Dr. Christlieb evidently uses it, as a *figurative* expression for the spiritual force established by infant baptism in the *relation of justification there given*, viz.: in forgiveness of original sin, adoption as God’s children, the gift of the Holy Spirit, parental Christian instruction, training and guardianship in the word of the gospel, the whole quotation is suggestive of deep Scriptural and practical truth.

4. A proper account of this question requires us yet to add the conclusions of our later and most recent leading conservative theologians. Their very general and increasing

*Homiletic Lectures on Preaching p. 295, 295.

dissent from infant-faith is impressively significant of what they understand and feel the best loyalty to the evangelical principles of our Lutheran theology requires of its interpreters and friends. With one consent they maintain, in harmony with the unquestionable Lutheran teaching, that "baptismal grace"—the phrase "baptismal regeneration," not occurring at all in the original text of the Lutheran Confessions, as Dr. C. F. Schaeffer informed us more than forty years ago—is to issue, as the child's capacities unfold into the possibilities of personal consciousness and action, in real personal faith, a trustful apprehension of Christ, all the new life of redemption as sealed in baptism. But they cannot consent to the correctness or propriety of representing the blessing conferred on baptism as meaning that the infant at once possesses or exercises faith. We will let them speak for themselves :

Gottfried Thomasius, whom Kurtz's Church History classes among the eminent confessional Lutheran theologians, in his work on the Person and Work of Christ, referring to the statement of Chemnitz about faith in infants, says : "With this I find myself in complete agreement, only that that which Chemnitz calls faith I cannot designate by that name, as Chemnitz himself lays no weight upon the word. For faith, at least in the sense and according to the Scripture way of speaking, is a *conscious* condition, which has personal confiding trust (*fiducia*, *apprehensio fiducialis*) as its real kernel, and contrition as its necessary pre-supposition. If we abstract these factors, as in the case of children we must, there is then lacking exactly that which characterizes the essence of faith. In addition, faith has its *causa efficiens* in the word, but the word is always imparted to the human spirit through 'hearing,' ἡ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀκοὴ διὰ ῥήματος Χριστοῦ. This hearing is of course a conscious reception, and such reception does not yet take place in children in the act of baptism. Hence that which the Holy Spirit works in them we cannot indeed name 'faith.' According to our view there is no need in children of faith as an antecedent condition for the blessing of baptism—for our dogmatists regarded it as antecedent, not in time indeed but in order.

Much rather, we hold, does the *relation* precede, which God's gracious act establishes, and then follows the condition of faith which is first rendered possible through the relation. * * *

But the conscious appropriation follows through personal faith which is created by the word which comes after. If this remains away from the baptized child, then it never comes to that, in its case, which the Biblical phraseology designates as faith."

* * "On the contrary I lay weight on this that the child is implanted in the organism of the congregation, because in it not merely the security but the medium is given whereby the gift of baptism works itself out into personal faith."*

Martensen, professor at Copenhagen, Bishop of Zealand and primate of Denmark, in his *Christian Dogmatics*, pronounced by the same historical authority to be of "thoroughly Lutheran type," accepting Luther's idea that baptism is the establishment of a relation whose force is not all made active and actual at once but operates progressively all through life, represents it as "the institution of the true relation to God," "the starting point of a Christian life, embracing all the fundamental relations with which that life is concerned on earth." "As baptism spreads the hope of God's gracious election over the whole life, it also spreads the all-embracing obligation connected therewith, (1 Pet. 3 : 21), to keep the covenant which is in Christ, and to abide in the fellowship of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." He explains: "Regeneration is by no means concluded with baptism, but the foundation of it is therein laid, and it is not therefore baptism alone that saves, but baptism and faith: 'he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.'" * * "We may therefore say, that the person baptized is not actually regenerate until his pentecost is fully come, until the Spirit establishes within him the new consciousness, and makes the grace of baptism manifest." And he adds: "The fact which experience attests, that many baptized persons are *never regenerate nor believers*, is no argument against the reality of baptismal grace. It only shows that baptism does not work by magic, that baptismal grace is not unconditional, but appears in power and activity

*Vol. II., pp. 381, of 3rd Ed.

only upon certain conditions. * * The Church has often baptized persons regarding whom, humanly speaking, she must have foreseen that the conditions necessary for the development of the gift of grace would be wanting, or for whom he has neglected to provide the appropriate means of enlightenment and awakening."*

Dr. Karl I. Nitzsch, of Bonn, one of the greatest among the the theologians who mediated the restoration to confessional theology, says: "The assertion that the children of Christian parents, as such, may possess adoption, as far exceeds the limits of truth, as its opponents do when they, for example Gerhard, maintain that 'in baptism and through baptism the Holy Spirit kindles faith in infants—however unable indeed we may be to understand in what way that faith of infants can be actualized. Nevertheless we ought not deny in them an operation of the Holy Spirit.' *Without doing the latter, we may nevertheless refuse our assent of the doctrine of a faith of infants.* Infant baptism, performed according to God's word, by a believing Church, clerically, and in the presence of sponsors and parents, is a divine fact in and on the child's life, an act *by and in which he shall believe after attaining, through the word, a knowledge of baptism.*"

* * "The Church is not at liberty to question, in the case of the infant born within the circle of Christian life, its call to the kingdom of God." * * "On the other hand the Church is not at liberty to confer baptism where such cannot as yet be the commencement and surety of a development in its sphere, *and which stands in no living relation to the means of grace in the word.*"†

Oehler, Lutheran theologian and eminent Old Testament scholar, sums up the teachings of the Confessions on the subject: "The simplest answer given by the Symbolical Books collectively to the inquiry (for faith) is that the sacraments exist for the purpose of working faith (*ad excitandum fidem*) Aug. Conf. Art. XIII. Thus grace works through baptism in the subject

*pp. 425, 428.

†Sys. of Chris. Doc. Trans., T. & T. Clark, pp. 352, 354. (Italics ours).

of baptism insertion of a new life-principle, the seed of regeneration, by virtue of which the subject of baptism *when grown up may attain conscious faith.*"*

Höfling, professor of theology at Erlangen and member of the consistory of Munich, though laying high emphasis on infant baptism, felt it necessary to caution against the tendency to separate from it the teaching of the word and to think of the baptismal administration in itself as at once effectual: "*Yea, of Christian children only do we speak, and can we speak, when we speak especially of the capacity and the right of children to the reception of baptismal grace. The two divinely appointed means of 'making disciples' (μαθητεύειν,) the word and the sacrament, dare not, as we have already seen, be isolated, nor separated, nor either be employed merely by itself. Children do not need the prevenient work of the word in order to receive baptismal grace. But if they remain under the laws of this temporal and earthly existence, this grace cannot develop in them to a conscious possession, and cannot be preserved and kept for them under the influences and evils of the world, if the preaching and teaching of the word do not follow.*"†

"Even Zezschwitz," Thomasius declares, "acknowledges that an appeal for child-faith can not be made to the word for working it, as the word pre-supposes a *conscious* hearing."‡

Dr. Hermann Schmidt, of Breslau, a confessional theologian, says: "With what right can the Augustana, in Art. IX., declare in favor of infant baptism and reject Anabaptism? How indeed did it come to pass that the theology of the Reformers even at a time when Anabaptism had not yet manifested its disturbing effects, unqualifiedly regarded infant baptism as the right kind of baptism? First of all, the thought which was expressed in infant baptism seems to correspond wholly to the evangelical conception, that divine grace precedes, and that faith can arise only on the ground of a divine offer of salvation. Faith which lays hold of salvation can only lay hold of it when the salvation is brought nigh to it. Now that God's purpose of salvation ex-

*Symbolik, p. 621. † *Das Sacrament der Taufe*, p. 103.

‡ Thomasius, *Person and Work of Christ*, vol. 2, p. 381.

tends to children also, cannot be doubted. In baptism this divine purpose of salvation is justly extended to children, individually. Not without reason does the Apology limit this right to children in the Christian Church; not because the guide-post marking the way of the divine call to salvation is found in the circumstance that such children were born in the Christian Church, but because only in the case of such does the faith of the community around them furnish assurance that *the baptized children can come to faith*. Exactly when, as we have seen, baptism in its effect is not limited to a definite moment of time, *can the subsequently arising faith* produce the effect, since even the adult could not always be certain about his faith at the moment of baptism." * * * "In the tract on the Babylonish Captivity of the Church, Luther still makes reference to the faith of the sponsors, and also in the Larger Catechism he hesitantly intimates the same; and the justification of this view is found in the passage in the Apology, namely, that the Christian community and instruction furnish the security that the communication of salvation given in infant baptism does not remain isolated, and aims at awakening faith."*

Dr. Carl Buchrucker, Oberconsistorialrath in München, who writes with the authority of high official position, in his *Grundlinien der Luthlichen Katechetik*, after noting different opinions about infant baptism before and during the Reformation, says: "What passed over into the Confessions can be summed up in a few words. The Augustana teaches that 'children ought to be baptized, who thereby are presented to God and become acceptable to him.' The Apology declares that the baptism of young children is not in vain, but necessary and salutary. Of child-faith nothing is anywhere said. Only in the Larger Catechism Luther says: 'We bring the child with the mind and hope that it may believe, and we pray that God may give it faith. But we do not baptize for this reason, but only because God has enjoined it.' Of a spiritual understanding on the part of the baptized child, nothing is here said; and even Chemnitz, who rejected the view that children are without faith or are baptized on

**Symbolik* (1890) pp. 325, 326.

the faith of others, says: 'Baptism is the bath of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, who is poured out upon the baptized children, in order that being justified they may be heirs of eternal life; *and this is called the faith of infants.*' " Dr. Buchrucker, after speaking of Martensen's discussion as a serviceable contribution toward the true solution of the subject, explains the views of *Von Hoffman* as basing the child's receptivity for baptismal grace on the grace by which its nature possesses life at all, or is indeed, despite sin, a living soul, and approves his statement: "*Baptism brings the child and the adult under that divine efficiency which is connected with the setting of the ego into the fellowship of the new Man Christ. In the child this efficiency manifests itself in proportion as the word of God comes to the child; in the adult in proportion as he comes to the word of God. For faith comes through the word.* But both can alike set themselves in opposition to the word which is the self-witnessing of God the Redeemer, as the conscience is the self-witnessing of God the Creator." And Dr. Buchrucker adds: "Recently Polstorf has favored child-faith, and in order to maintain it" has distinguished between conscious and unconscious faith, as Martensen did between the substance of faith and faith itself. But in this distinction lies at once also the condemnation of the view. If the idea be that an antecedent motion exists in the slumbering soul of the child, then must this, as Thomasius declares, be designated by some other name than that which the Epistle to the Hebrews gives to that sure confidence of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen. It is just as possible that the Christian personal life follows reception into the congregation, and with it the beginning of the working of the Spirit of the glorified Christ, as it is possible that it precedes the same. For with that activity of the Spirit within the earthly nature of man with its tendency to personality, the new man is not created, and does not yet exist. But the person has, however, been taken up into the fellowship of the operation of that Spirit who now works in his nature against the evil in it, and prepares for the operation of God through the word."

In another section Dr. Buchrucker puts it this way : "Through baptism the fellowship-relation of God to man has become active in the child. By virtue of baptism the child is placed in that relation. As a child of God the family carries it back to the bosom of the household. But now the *growing and developing child must be brought up so as to realize in himself the fellow-relation of man to God, in order that he may come to the faith which approves and personally appropriates that antecedent relation of grace.* For the Church is the congregation of believers, not merely of the baptized. Only because the child grows up within the Christian family and the Church, where the conditions exist for such bringing-up in faith, dare it be baptized in infancy."*

Dr. Ernest Christian Achelis, for twenty-two years an evangelical pastor, now the most distinguished teacher of practical theology in Germany (Marburg), declares the custom of addressing the child in baptism "a fiction." The confession of faith on the part of an infant at baptism he declares to be "inadmissible;" and that the renunciation and exorcism "in the baptism of Christian children are monstrous," since nobody believes they are possessed by the devil,† He also says : "The theologumenon of infant-faith as a condition of baptism is inapplicable, because untenable. The possibility of infant-faith cannot be established. The assumption contradicts the fundamental evangelical principle, Rom. 10 : 17 : 'Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God,' and the simple consequence of it (infant-faith) would be the Romish baptismal practice in the mission fields."‡

Dr. Frederick Aug. Bert. Nitsch is professor of dogmatic theology in the Schleswick-Holstein Lutheran Seminary of Kiel. After repeatedly naming baptism the sacrament of regeneration, he says : "Baptism is the sacramental rite of reception into the Christian fellowship. It is a symbol and also a pledge. It represents symbolically the process of regeneration by which the Christian *principle* of salvation is applied to the individual, and by which the Christian *life* of salvation is to be infolded. It

*pp. 74, 75.

†Praktische Theologie, Zweiter Teil, 174.

‡Zweiter Teil, 540.

expresses thus symbolically whereunto the one received into the Christian fellowship is called and to what he is pledged, 1 Pet. 3 : 21 : 'The answer of a good conscience toward God.' As an act of the Church it is an *objective* pledge which guarantees that the subject of baptism, by being received into the congregation, comes under the influence of the Christian principle. From this results the legitimacy of infant baptism, which, however, must be completed by confirmation, though the latter is not a sacrament. Infant baptism can not be proved from the New Testament. Neither is anything found there which excludes infant baptism. The child from its birth needs salvation, and every moment its *capability* of being saved increases. If now baptism is a symbol and a pledge of regeneration, there is no reason why it should be deferred to a period of subsequent development which cannot easily be determined. The Baptist custom of baptizing only a regenerated adult is unreasonable; for no one *out of* the Church can develop Christian personality easier than *in* it. The essential acts of redemption are *prevenient*. Hence they can be applied to the child, even though it does not yet have faith or receive it in baptism. For the doctrine of the old Lutheran theologians and even of Luther in regard to infant-faith, can be established neither from the Bible nor from experience, and besides, it contradicts all sound psychology. Not even by the act of baptism can it be said that regeneration is really imparted to the child as a seed—an affirmation made by Martensen. He sees in the baptismal act the implantation of divine grace in the unconscious soil of nature, in the human corporeity, by which the person is connected with Christ not only psychologically, but also organically, not only symbolically, but essentially incorporate with Him. But this is only an hypothesis which is utterly without support, and which borders on the magical. A seminal *fides salvifica*, even though undeveloped, would be a real one. But neither Christianity nor the Bible postulates for the suckling an organ of the soul which renders possible a divine influence of a spiritual nature, so long as the power to think and to will is undeveloped. There can be, up to this time only a kind of receptivity or ca-

capacity of feeling. That such in a suckling is developed in more than a symbolical way, in a really spiritual way, is not affirmed by the Scripture, which does not even mention infant baptism, nor is it compatible with the psychological power of the will. The impartation of the Spirit, if it is not magical, pre-supposes some kind of ethical or spiritual susceptibility. In pure passivity, the Spirit can be received not even seminally. Hence some prefer to speak of passive *receptivity*. Yet receptivity for the Holy Spirit pre-supposes at least spiritual faculties such as the suckling does not yet have. With ideas, such as a seminal and substantial regeneration, we have nothing to do in vindicating infant baptism. Any other than a personal regeneration is inconceivable. But by this it is not affirmed that infant baptism has only a symbolical significance. By it the child of Christian parents receives a divinely attested *claim* to all the means and ordinances of grace granted to the congregation, into the sphere of which it has been already set by its birth, a gift with which is joined a duty on the part of the recipient.”*

Dr. Dorner, though he united with the Prussian State Church, originally belonged to the Lutheran Church and was affiliated mainly with Lutheran theology. In his *System of Christian Doctrine* he treats of this question both historically and doctrinally. We can transcribe only a few of his statements. Referring to Luther's idea of faith being given in answer to prayer, he says: “But there is no exegetical authority for ascribing a consciousness of God or Christ, or Christian faith, to infants who as yet have not even self consciousness. And if a general, mere receptiveness for Christianity were called faith, then all men would be believers by nature. But faith cometh by preaching, not by nature. * * ‘To assign to the intercession such potency as would command with certainty individuals and the origination of faith in them, would only transfer the magical element of the Romish doctrine to the spiritual sphere and act of the Church, instead of the outward act of the priest. The outward *opus operatum* would then, it is true, be averted from infant baptism, in so far as the baptismal blessing itself would not

*Dogmatik, pp. 560-563.

pass to the child by magical means, but only through its faith; but it would be otherwise with the origination of faith itself. Moreover the supposition of a faith before baptism includes yet another danger. Since, according to the common evangelical doctrine, regeneration is originated by faith, it would follow that regeneration as well as faith comes before baptism, and therefore could not be thought of as its effect. If faith and regeneration are already brought to baptism, the only meaning left to the latter is that of sealing what has been done, *i. e.* the prefixing of faith to baptism leads to the Baptist theory." After noting Luther's surrender of the necessity of child-faith before baptism, and his teaching in the Large Catechism that the matter does not depend on whether children have faith, baptism being valid without it, affording its blessings through the faith that emerges later, Dr. Dorner adds: "The *Lutheran* theology of the seventeenth century abandoned the standpoint, that faith must be required *before* baptism, considering it rather, in opposition to Baptist teaching, as the effect of baptism, like regeneration. But this effect of baptism was considered as directly involved in the outward act; and thus the result was a faith produced by the baptismal act, and a regeneration apart from personal self-consciousness, apart from all knowledge of sin or of Christ, and therefore apart from all spiritual intervention on man's side, and the reproach of the *opus operatum* lay again only too close at hand. Certainly the same was not understood by faith and regeneration, which we with the Holy Scriptures understand thereby." As to the specific question of an immediate *faith* produced by infant baptism, it is enough to quote simply his statement: "The natural fellowship of the parents renders this service, that their recollection of the child's baptism is a substitute for the child's own knowledge, and *in due time this knowledge is communicated to the child after self-consciousness is awakened. But the knowledge of Christ's prevenient love is effective and fruitful in bringing about a desire for communion with the Redeemer, and therefore regeneration, through faith.*"*

The statements of *Dr. Julius Koestlin*, so eminent in scholarly

*Vol. IV., pp. 282, 283, 295, (Italics in last two sentences ours).

ability and love of truth, well known among us as the author of "Luther's Theology," are clear and distinct: "Thus administering baptism to our children we cannot say that the regeneration which it signifies is thereby already effectuated in them, has already taken place. For the inward personal change must indeed follow with the faith which, awakened by the message of grace, appropriates the proffered grace. And it can arise only when the message of grace is brought to the consciousness which has become active. Thus only after the Christian instruction which follows the infant baptism.

"In regard to the present question we dare not by ecclesiastical authority or imaginary and only humanly devised unbiblical mysteries, or even through fear of Anabaptism, be turned away from the truth which from the whole content and connection of the evangelical doctrine of salvation surrenders itself before us. The new genuinely evangelical principle which our reformer, Luther, expressed in regard to infant baptism, was that for the inner impartation of salvation to children and their regeneration their own faith is required. Their regeneration by baptism, he thought, could be explained when in baptism under the promise of the divine word and the prayers of the Christian congregation, faith was begotten in them. For this we have neither a Biblical proof nor his own explanation. The moderns who lay claims to Lutheran orthodoxy have, in opposition to Luther and the Scriptures, wished to find baptism as an act, even without faith, sufficient for regeneration; or they have thought of the idea of a substantial regeneration in distinction from the personal, whereas the Scriptures, without exception, know of only the latter, and we can consider that the figure of the birth of a person can be intelligently applied in the spiritual realm only to the formation of a new personality.

"But baptism retains its significance even though we cannot say that the baptized new-born child is already regenerated. For it is the whole future development of a new personality in him and for the whole future Christian life, and this significance is too little considered practically among us. For even that

whole activity which must be exerted upon the child by means of the word, should signify that God has presented his grace to him, has forgiven his sins, has laid his fatherly hand upon him, in order by His Spirit to make him a believing child of God. The baptized, from the beginning of his morally religious consciousness and life, should hold on thereto and should know that he is pledged from the first to the love of the heavenly Father.”*

Dr. Luthardt, of Leipzig, in the very forefront of confessional Lutherans, treating of infant baptism, says: “According to the teaching of our Church it is the word which forms the bond between the earthly element and the heavenly gift. But the word is the object of faith. Hence even the baptism of children seems to require faith. The objection of the Anabaptists in the time of the Reformation, and of the Baptists of our day, is directed against this point. In opposition to this Luther proposed the faith of infants even in baptism. He says: ‘We bring the child with the purpose and hope that it may believe, and we pray God to give it faith,’ that is, as the fruit of our prayer, in order that thereby it may become fit and receptive for the benefit of baptism. But there are difficulties here. For how can we speak of an infant-faith when as yet there is no relation to the word, because no hearing, no understanding, no thinking, no willing, etc.? It is going beyond bounds when our old teachers attribute to the so-called ‘infant-faith’ the usual definition of faith, as knowledge, assent and confidence. In distinction from these we must agree with those who (as Chemnitz, the dogmatician of the sixteenth century) distinguished the faith of children from that of adults, in such a way as to mean that children are not to be regarded as unbelievers in the sense of non-Christians, but who deny that there is in them that which belongs to the realm of consciousness, so that by it is understood only the general working of God’s grace, that which is possible and conceivable, since there is no resistance. Hence we will have to regard the Apostles’ Creed which is employed in the baptism of children, not as a declaration of present faith, but as a pledge and pro-

**Der Glaube*, pp. 226, 227.

mise of future faith, which the present working of the Spirit in the heart of the child contemplates as the goal. For provision for the future is made in the present.”*

Pastor *Althaus*, from whom we have already quoted, treating of the baptism of children, says: “While on the one hand the saving significance of baptism is unjustifiably depreciated, on the other hand it is too energetically emphasized when it is said that there is no ordinary means of regeneration except baptism. By a miraculous operation of the Holy Spirit in baptism faith is said to be implanted in them, a faith which is not yet the full and conscious faith of adults (*fides reflexa*), but nevertheless a real faith, which some theologians describe by attributes which do not differ from the attributes of a self-conscious activity of faith, and which actually destroys the child-nature. It is known that Luther gave an impulse to the hypothesis of child-faith. After he had abandoned his earlier view that faith is given to children before baptism, he turned to the view that the gift of faith must be regarded as following in and with baptism. Luther thought that only in this way could he oppose the application of the *opus operatum* to infant baptism. But exactly this conception, especially in connection with the later false notion of regeneration, has opened again the door to the *opus operatum*. *Baptism as an infusion of faith becomes a magical act, a physical process of salvation and transformation.* For a moral or *habituelle* change supernaturally wrought in man without consciousness and will we call magical.”†

Althaus sums up his long argument in a conclusion of which the following is the central thought: “What faith *desires before* baptism, that *is given* to it *in* baptism. In that which God imparts to the subjective receptivity by means of baptism in an objective-real way, of this the sinner first gains the firm support needed by him *in reaching the certainty of a conscious appropriating faith*. ‘Our blind guides, however, will not see that faith must *have* something which it believes, to which it holds and on which it stands. Faith clings to the water and believes it is ‘baptism, in which are

*Die Christliche Glaubenslehre, p. 570.

†Die Heilsbedeutung der Taufe, p. 295.

salvation and life.' 'They are so insane as to separate faith and the thing to which it adheres, although that object is external' (Luther). Thus the *prius* is not faith, but baptism; and *baptism does not pre-suppose faith, but faith pre-supposes baptism*. 'I will not base my baptism on my faith, but I will base my faith on baptism' (Luther). First then, when God by means of baptism has performed his gracious act on man, *the* faith arises which brings the comfort of the salvation that has been presented. Such is the *fides salvifica*, which no longer hopes that God *can* and *will* help, but which lays hold of the salvation *experienced*, and confidently supports itself upon the same. With full right, therefore, has baptism been called the 'sacrament for the founding of faith,' not as though in baptism, by a miraculous operation of the Holy Spirit, faith were 'infused'—apart from the word, as though even already in unconscious children by means of the sacrament the gift of faith (*donatio fidei*) were consummated. Much rather does the word preached always remain the God-appointed way in which the Spirit of God conducts the human heart to faith. Just as by the *κήρυγμα* (preaching) of the New Testament he awakens in man the faith which *desires* salvation, so by the *κήρυγμα* he drives him to the salvation presented in baptism."*

By the courtesy of Rev. S. Gring Hefelbower, of Manheim, Pa., we have the pleasure of presenting the following statement recently received from *Dr. Kirn*, the successor of Dr. Luthardt, in Leipzig University. Like Luthardt, who indeed suggested him for the place, Dr. Kirn is a conservative. His statement was made in answer to a request for his view about infant-faith at baptism, and sent with the understanding of a possible public use. He says: "I can have no sympathy with the intention to introduce into a new church Liturgy the doctrine of child-faith. Luther himself always held that child-faith was possible, but after 1528, reiterated and especially emphasized the fact that we must not base the validity of child baptism on this pre-supposition, but simply on the promise and command of God. Thereby he freed the doctrine of baptism from an assumption which is cal-

*pp. 303, 304,

culated to renew uncertainty, and which, for this very reason, according to my opinion, should not be set up again."

We have no room for further quotations. And no more are needed. These are representative of the mind of the most eminent conservative theologians of the century now closing. They interpret to us the conclusions required by a consistent maintenance of the great fundamental principles and teachings, alike of the Holy Scriptures and of our Confessions, with respect to infant faith and baptismal grace.

We make no apology for the length of this discussion. The importance of the subject and the interests of truth in the present crises justify all the space given to it. A formula of child-baptism, framed originally for the baptism of adult believers, and transferred to the baptism of infants without true adjustment to the infant condition, which the patriarchs of the Lutheran Church in America a century and a half ago displaced from use among us, is sought to be set up again. The occasion calls for a full and distinct reminder of the thorough and hopeless strife of the language of this formula with the fundamental principles and teachings of our Lutheran Confessional theology. The reminder is made in the interest of truth and for the integrity of our Lutheran faith. But a second formula, placed as an alternative to the first, is found to be almost equally at variance with the genuine, unperverted teachings of our Church. For, besides its assumption of acts of intelligent 'desire' and 'seeking' in the unconscious babe, even before baptism, its ancient terminology of 'regeneration,' with emphasis of place and repetition, understood according to our fixed specific Lutheran definitions at once misleads into conceptions of baptismal grace false to our theology—conceptions exaggerating in a one-sided way its instant *subjective* effects and obscuring its rich *objective* endowment—and inverts the true 'order of salvation' so as to overthrow the Biblical and Lutheran position of *faith and justification*, introducing again a false sacramentalism which brings back the Romish doctrine of *gratia infusa* and the *opus operatum*. It is plainly adapted to have the practical effect of a blighting relaxation of parental or sponsorial training in 'the word,' through which the

capacity for faith may come to actual faith. Baptismal grace cannot be rightly appreciated unless seen in its true light. Infant baptism itself cannot bear its true precious fruits when the formulas of its administration obscure the conditions and way of their appearance and relax the necessary sense of responsibility for the use of the divine means for their actualization. The Church is under solemn obligation to hold its sacramental formulas in unambiguous harmony with its fundamental principles and teachings as to the way and order of salvation.

ERRATA:

Page 26, thirteenth line, for 'we' read were.

Page 31, thirteenth line, for 'on' read in.

Page 37, fourteenth line, for 'Nitsch' read Nitzsch.

ARTICLE II.

THE WHAT, WHY AND HOW OF THE NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

BY REV. F. H. KNUBEL, A. M.

Our subject might be just as well, although more lengthily and less concisely expressed as "The Definition, Defense and Method of New Testament Theology." "What" is definitive and explanatory. "Why" is defensive and apologetic. "How" is methodical. It is our intention, however, to discuss the What and Why only so far as is necessary to make the How thoroughly intelligible. It is our chief aim to investigate the *method of division* to be used in the study of New Testament Theology, establishing finally what seems the only proper, since it is a divine principle of division. We believe that thus and thus only does the study of New Testament Theology lose all of its dangerous, negative and harmful tendencies, and become a mighty helper to the reverent lover and student of the New Testament.

Biblical Theology, as a distinct department in theological science, is but now making its way (especially New Testament Biblical Theology). It is the youngest among all the departments and stands as yet very largely upon the defensive, con-

tending for its right to existence. Such right it may perhaps be said to have gained, but it continues to be looked upon as a suspicious youngster by many a positive theologian. This is almost natural, since an examination of its short history reveals that it was born near to the camp of rationalistic ideas and has been a wicked tool in the hands of negative men ever since. It is sufficient to note that the old Tübingen school, with Pauline and Petrine antagonism, tendency writings and much other such exploded rot, reached its conclusions by the study of New Testament Theology.

Now as to the definition. Biblical Theology contends for the idea of development in the Scriptures; that God's revelation to man was progressive; that what stands fully open to view as a truth at the end of the Bible may be traced back step by step through a disappearing haziness, until it is all but lost in a mere suggestion of the truth at the beginning of the Bible, scarcely understandable but for the course that has been pursued. It is the work of Biblical Theology to show what that development has been. The value of the results is beyond compute, for these bear directly upon almost all the mooted abstract and concrete subjects of the day.

In grasping the idea of the subject, however, two common errors must be avoided. First, Biblical Theology is not properly the idea of evolution applied to the Scriptures. Far too many have such a conception of it and have thus treated it, to their own misleading and to the discredit of God's truth. Evolution properly is a gradual development, in which there must be no "missing links," even though some of the links may not be known. Such an idea cannot be predicated of God's revelation. The progress in God's revelation comes by *periods*, by successive, distinctly marked steps, each one caused by a new and miraculous interposition on the part of God. God suddenly turns new light upon truth, as man may be able to bear it, and then leaves him to examine the truth thus more clearly revealed, until, man's eyes having grown accustomed thereto, a still brighter and at first dazzling light is thrown. There may be evolution *within* the periods, in man's examination and understanding of

truth as revealed; but every new revelation, every new light thrown upon truth by God breaks the evolutionary chain and marks a new period. Indeed, the very idea of revelation, while it does not exclude progress, excludes evolution. Evolution may be postulated of what comes from *man's* mind. In God there is no evolution. But the idea of revelation is the idea of truth which it would be utterly impossible for man to ascertain himself, to which God must point him directly. The idea of revelation includes what we call the miraculous, an extraordinary interposition on the part of God. Each new interposition, each new pointing out to man by God marks an *abrupt* advance which is not evolution, which produces a new period. Let this first error be carefully avoided. It is just thereby that we hope to establish the true method of division for the study.

The second error to be avoided is that Biblical Theology has not as an object, nor should there be included in it a *system* of Theology, drawn from the Scriptures. That would be merely a Biblical Dogmatic, a systematic arrangement of theological truth drawn from the Scriptures as the only source, with no reference to Christian consciousness and the development of doctrine in the Church as subordinate sources. Biblical Theology must exhibit the *progress* in periods. Let the distinction between Biblical Theology and Biblical Dogmatic be ever in mind, as distinct branches of theological science. Many works have been published, entitled Biblical Theology or New Testament Theology, which should have been named Biblical Dogmatic or New Testament Dogmatic.

Having aimed to settle our definition clearly, let us remind ourselves that such progress in revelation has from time immemorial been recognized as existing in the passage from the Old Testament to the New. Yet further, Christ and His Apostles were the first Biblical theologians so far as the Old Testament is concerned; they have in numerous passages distinguished for us the steps there—such steps as the period before Abraham, the period of the Promise, that of the Law and that of the Prophets. It has been the effort to establish such progress within the New Testament that has caused trouble. Yet, taking

the Lord and his inspired followers, in their treatment of the Old Testament, as our examples, may we not by the guidance of the same Spirit, although not by far with their fulness of the Spirit and therefore not with conclusive authority—may we not seek the steps, the periods, in their disclosure to us of the truth of God, as given in the New Testament.

Thus far as concerns the what and the why, the definition and defense. It will now be possible, by an examination of the history of the study and of the methods of division used by various scholars, to reach that principle of division, which only seems legitimate and which leaves every Bible student free to examine and determine for himself the progressive steps in God's disclosure of truth to us in the New Testament.

Biblical Dogmatics (excluded above from this department of theological science) of all kinds have been published since the days of the Reformation. The emphasis then and since then rightly laid upon the Word of God as always the norm, the only infallible source and judge of doctrine and practice, has led many scholars to write a Dogmatic, which paid no attention to the development of doctrines in the Church nor to that which the consciousness of a Christian tells him. At times they omitted even the mention of developments of doctrine which, while they are not directly taught in the Scriptures are the natural outgrowth of what is directly taught therein, and are consequently in harmony therewith. Such was, for instance Melancthon's celebrated *Loci* (drawn however chiefly from the Epistle to the Romans). In modern times the best known is perhaps Hofmann's "*Schriftbeweis*."

The first step towards a true Biblical Theology, showing the progress in revelation, was made in 1789 by Johann Gabler, a professor at Altdorf. He delivered there an academical address, in which he demanded and explained the clear distinction between Biblical Theology and Biblical Dogmatic; the task of the former he defined as being an exhibition of the religious conceptions of the *sacri scriptores*, arranged historically according to periods and individuals. There should be a division first ac-

cording to periods, and then a subdivision according to individual writers. He himself did not work the idea out, and evidently his principle of division, if faithfully followed is not perfect. There would be no opportunity thereby for an exhibition of the teachings of Jesus, since Jesus was not one of the *sacri scriptores*—he wrote nothing that is in our Scriptures. The teaching of the four Gospels would thus be represented according to their authors the rationalistic idea evidently being that each Gospel contains the author's subjective conception of the teaching of Jesus,—holds his real teaching in a solution of their own ideas, as it were. Nevertheless, Gabler's idea is a distinct advance upon everything that had gone before.

In the years following some aimed to work out his idea (*e. g.*, Lorenz Bauer), but, although advances were made, none seemed to undertake it thoroughly. Many (*e. g.*, De Wette, Nitzsch, Beck), practically returned to the old Biblical Dogmatic.

Turning our attention now to the Biblical Theology of the New Testament only, we discern finally, emerging from the chaos of method, two quite distinct streams. Gabler had demanded division according to periods and according to individuals. The two streams are represented in their emphasis upon the one or the other of these two divisions. To the one lot, laying especial emphasis upon the division according to individuals, belongs Neander (*Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der Christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel*). Here also may be placed Chr. Fr. Schmid (*Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*). The latter's work is yet to-day of great value and has been translated into English. To the second lot emphasizing the division according to periods, belongs the whole Tübingen school, headed by Ferd. Chr. Baur. His divisions are: Earliest Apostolic Teaching; Anti-Judaistic Paulinism; Attempts at Reconciliation. He practically turns New Testament Theology into the first part of a History of Doctrine; the New Testament writers are looked upon as theologians. His ideas were overturned by Albrecht Ritschl, a member of the same school, but the method of emphasizing periods has been followed by Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer and (very recently) Holtzmann.

Thoroughly independent and prominent to-day are the works of Bernhard Weiss and Beyschlag. Weiss may be said to have carried out Gabler's ideal. He has first the division according to periods: I. The Teaching of Jesus, according to the Earliest Tradition; II. The Original Apostolic Teaching (before Paul); III. Pauline Teaching; IV. The Original Apostolic Teaching (after Paul); V. The Johannean Teaching. Under each of these divisions, he subdivided according to authors; *e. g.*, under II: The Speeches in the Acts, 1 Peter, James; under IV: Hebrews, 2 Peter and Jude, Revelation, the Historical Books. Our objection to this method is naturally (since it is Gabler's ideal) that above stated against Gabler's principle: the teaching of Jesus (Division I) is a deposit from the pre supposed solutions of the Synoptic Gospels; John's Gospel is totally excluded therefrom. (Naturally this arises from Weiss' critical and dogmatic standpoint.) A further objection to Weiss is that he splinters the subdivisions to an almost ludicrous extent; for instance, in Division III, the Pauline teaching is marked in four grades: a. The Two Epistles to the Thessalonians; b. The Four Great Epistles; c. The Imprisonment Epistles; d. The Pastoral Epistles. One might at such a rate attempt further hair-splitting. Our further objection will be seen as we proceed finally to define what seems the only proper division.

Beyschlag corrects much that has been objected to in Weiss. He does not so ridiculously subdivide Pauline teaching. He finds place for the teaching of Jesus. But in other respects, his division follows Gabler's suggestion. His nationalistic and negative critical standpoint naturally causes the introduction of very much that is objectionable.

Of works written in the English language, Bernard's "Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament" has a superficial division according to the arrangement of the books in the New Testament: I. The Gospels; II. The Acts of the Apostles; III. The Epistles; IV. The Apocalypse. Dr. Weidner's New Testament Theology follows generally the method of division according to individuals.

This brief survey of the history of the study and examina-

tion of some of the most prominent publications treating thereof prepares us to suggest a method which rests upon conservative dogmatic views, involves no negative critical ideas, and corrects Gabler's original principle. Nor would we neglect here to give credit to the scholar who suggests the correction upon Gabler; whether it was gained by his own devout study or received from others, we do not know. It is Prof. Kunze of the Leipsic University, a young man, who is rapidly earning distinction as a New Testament student and as an investigator of the history of early Christian symbols, particularly the Apostolicum.

Gabler's error was, as we have seen, that by his demand concerning the *sacri scriptores*, he practically excluded any division for the teaching of Jesus or left only such a division for it as Weiss has given us. His error was that which is the fundamental error of all nationalism, too great an emphasis upon the human element in the Scriptures. Let us not forget that the Scriptures are not a collection of the religious ideas of individual writers. All who claim to be Christians will admit, at the very least, that the Scriptures contain a revelation from God. And let it not be forgotten that the task of Biblical Theology is to exhibit the progress *in that revelation*. It is true that the revelation has come to us through individuals, whom we know to have been inspired of God—how, we cannot say. But the progress is not always marked nor can it be exhibited simply by differences or advances in the writing of those individuals. Some writers may have the same teaching on certain points. One writer may belong to two different periods. And surely anything but the most negative view would object to the consideration of what the Gospels (at least the synoptic Gospels) teach under the head of the writers thereof. They must be considered as the teaching of Jesus, even though he wrote not one word of them. Nor will it satisfy any but the negative critic to use one's own subjective ideas in an attempt to extract from those Gospels what was the limited original (!) teaching of Jesus (thus Weiss) leaving the large remainder to be credited to the writer of the Gospel. These and many more reasons are the strong objections to Gabler's "*sacri scriptores*" demand. The

distinction between writers will receive proper regard in a true division, as will be seen in the division below.

Was then the Tübingen school right in their special emphasis upon the periods? Yes, only that again they introduced their own subjective ideas in marking the periods. There was rationalism again, overestimating the human element in the Scriptures. In this also we find a common error existing throughout the history of New Testament Theology,—the division by period has been to a great extent regulated in accordance with subjective ideas. What is the proper method of marking the periods of progress then? Turn back here, if necessary, to what was said concerning the exclusion of the idea of evolution from revelation. Revelation is objective for man, is entirely from God. If then it is progressive, if God did not show the truth clearly at his first placing of it before the eyes of men (because man's eyes could not endure it), if he successively turned stronger lights upon the truth—if this be so (and such is the claim, we remember of New Testament Theology), then the division into periods, the points of progress, may be marked only at places where there is clear evidence that God did grant stronger light. We must search for the places where his hand interposed (in what we call miracles) and there draw our division lines. This renders the method of division objective, which is right, since revelation is objective. Wherever a student of the Scriptures can point to a miracle or a series of them, which by their nature or accompanying words mark a distinct advance in revelation, there New Testament Theology must mark a new period—there and there only. Is it not evident now that this principle is the right one, since it is an objective one and the divine one? Is it not evident that thus the negative and dangerous tendencies of the study are destroyed? Does it not induce new attractiveness in the study of the Scriptures? Will it not render New Testament Theology very helpful to other branches of theological science—to exegesis, to dogmatics, bearing finally upon many a topic in practical life?

Let us now devote the remainder of our consideration to an

application of the principle, showing the divisions which must be made in studying New Testament Theology.

In the first place, a broad distinction must be made between the teaching of our Lord and that of His Apostles. There is progress in revelation there. What are the miracles, the interpositions of the Divine hand to mark it? There are the death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus, which threw new light upon the truth; but, of greatest importance, there was the sending of the Holy Spirit. See also the remarks which accompany and concern these miracles. There is that mention concerning some of the "*sacri scriptores*," the Apostles (John 12 : 16): "These things understood not the disciples at first; but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him." But as concerns that which especially marks the progress, the sending of the Holy Spirit, read John 16 : 12, 13 : "I have yet many thing to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth." Likewise other such passages. But we need no further evidence that this division is to be made. It is the greatest one in the study. It is commonly recognized. It is from this point on that especial care must be exercised.

Taking the teaching of Jesus in view, it is as a whole to be considered as one period, or are there marks of progress within it? We believe there are. We do not mean to imply thereby necessarily that Jesus himself, in the years of his active ministry, passed through several stages in HIS recognition of the truth; we are not involving any discussions of the Kenotic theories. It is merely the evidence that there were stages, periods, in his *teaching* to the disciples and to us—consequently, stages in God's revelation, as brought directly through him, the divine-human personage. The miracles of his death and resurrection mark one division; there is a distinct advance in his teaching, as the arisen One, over what there had been before. Such passages as the following spoken of him after his resurrection, justify the view: (Luke 24 : 27) "Beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself;" (Luke 24 : 45) "Then opened he

their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures." There are also many passages to show that the disciples had clearer understanding of the truth after the resurrection. It was but natural that this should be so. There was a decided progress in revelation because of and through that miracle. A new period must be marked there. Now, another division in the teaching of Jesus must be noted. Do we not see that a new stage has been reached, when we read (Matt. 16 : 21): "From that time forth began Jesus to show unto his disciples, how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief-priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day." It is only necessary to recognize the importance of the words: "From that time forth began Jesus." See also the parallels. That point marks the beginning of his teaching concerning his passion, and the period ends at that passion, a new period beginning with the resurrection, as we have seen. But where is the miracle that will mark this point of division. It is there—the transfiguration, which occurred just at that time. It is not necessary for us here to discuss the meaning of the transfiguration; is it not sufficient for us to note that practically all students of the life of Jesus (including the devout Edersheim) recognize in the transfiguration a crisis-point in our Lord's life. There was a distinct advance then, marked by this miracle and the words quoted above (with the parallels).

Thus we are compelled by our principle to divide the teaching of Jesus into three periods. These are: I. His activity as a teacher in a special sense of the word teacher, lasting until the transfiguration; II. His proclamation of his sufferings, lasting until the resurrection; III. The instructions of the arisen One. We might, in a somewhat inexact, but sufficiently fitting way, head these three divisions as: I. Jesus, the Prophet; II. Jesus, the Priest; III. Jesus, the King.

We may now look at the teaching of the Apostles. Are we to mark periods, divisions, here also? According to the old (Gabler's) ideas, the individual writers are to be treated separately, and indeed it is here that we may allow some exhibition

of the teaching of the various ones. But again we cannot mark periods of revelation thereby, for the very simple reason that in many fundamental doctrines there is complete and exact unity of teaching on the part of all the writers. They all agree in their teaching concerning the Old Testament as God's Word; concerning the fulfilment of those Scriptures in Jesus; concerning his death and resurrection as the result of God's purpose; his coming again at the end of the world; etc. Even if periods are to be marked in the teaching of the Apostles, one of those periods must exhibit all that upon which the Apostles stand as a unit. In one division must be contained the common testimony of the Apostolic Church.

There did arise a distinction in their teaching, however. There must be a clearly new period in revelation which must be marked. This new period developed in the founding of the Gentile Church. According to our principle, we find the new period introduced with a series of significant miracles, the directing hand of God. There were the incidents in connection with Philip's work in Samaria (Acts 8 : 5 ff) and his transactions with the Ethiopian eunuch; there were Peter's experiences with the conversion of Cornelius, including the preceding scene on the roof of Simon's house; there was the conversion of Paul and the commission he received; see also Acts 15 : 12: "Then all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul, declaring what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them." Surely we see the demand for a new period. There arose, as a result, a distinction between the Apostles some standing more especially as Gentile missionaries, others as Jewish missionaries. This distinction is often noted by all the writers, and is clearly evidenced in such passages as Gal. 2 : 7-9 where Paul says: "When they saw that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the Gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter; (For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles;) and when James, Cephas and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the

right hands of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision." It was inevitable that there should be distinctions in the teachings; it would be necessary to speak of the Law from a different standpoint to Gentiles than to Jews; it would be unnecessary to speak to the Jews concerning the first article of the creed and much else that Gentile preaching involved. We find teaching, therefore, to the Gentiles which would never have been uttered to Jews; see, *e. g.*, Acts 14 : 14-17 and 17 : 23ff. There is need therefore of divisions in New Testament Theology for a statement of the special Apostolic teaching both in Israel and among the Gentiles.

Let it not be inferred, however, as the old Tübingen school inferred, that there was opposition, contradiction in these teachings. There was distinction; that is all. There existed a complete and well understood harmony. Examine carefully, to this end, such passages as the following: Acts 15 : 9-11; Rom. 10 : 9-15; 1 Cor. 3 : 11; 1 Cor. 15 : 3-11; Gal. 1 : 6-9; 2 : 9 ("right hand of fellowship"); Eph. 2 : 11-22; 1 Pet. 1 : 12; 1 John 2 : 24-27.

We have thus divided the teaching of the Apostles into: I. The Common Testimony of the Apostolic Church; II. The Special Apostolic Teaching in Israel; III. The Special Apostolic Teaching among the Gentiles. Within these last two periods it is at last possible to let the "*sacri scriptores*" be considered separately. Here such subdivisions may in part be made. There is need, however, of adding a fourth division to this teaching of the Apostles, which shall exhibit what every Bible student recognizes to exist, a special teaching from John. We feel that there is advance here. Much of his teaching belongs with Division I., The Common Testimony of the Apostolic Church; but that which is peculiar to him can scarcely be placed under either II or III. So we must have IV., The Special Johannean Teaching. However, we dare not make such a new division, without following our principle of division. Is there anything of the miraculous which justifies us? Surely it is sufficient to note what took place on Patmos, in order that we may recognize our right.

Thus we have according to our principle, subdivided both the teaching of Jesus and the teaching of the Apostles. Will we have included under these divisions all of the revelation in the New Testament? Seemingly, yes. But there is one little period, for which a separate place in New Testament Theology is needed. Hofmann was the first to call attention to this need. We refer to the teaching of John the Baptist. Certainly his teaching is not the same as that of Jesus, nor can it be included in it. He proclaims a kingdom near at hand; Jesus at once proclaims that kingdom arrived. We see distinctions made between his work and that of Jesus in such passages as Matt. 21 : 25 ; "The baptism of John, whence was it?" etc. If the miraculous to mark a division as asked, that which occurred at the baptism of Jesus is sufficient. See Acts 1 : 22, where this is marked as the starting point for considering the teachings of Jesus : "Beginning from the baptism of John, unto the same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection." It may be said then, however, that John's teaching should be included in the Old Testament portion of Biblical Theology. He is one of the prophets, often so recognized in the New Testament; he is Elias. Truly he was a prophet, but nevertheless we cannot place his teaching in the Old Testament. He was also, as Jesus himself said, "more than a prophet." There are numerous passages also, which distinguish him in such a way, as to render his inclusion in the Old Testament improper, and as to demand his admission under New Testament Theology. See Luke 16 : 16 : "The law and the prophets were until John; since that time the kingdom of God is preached"; Matt. 11 : 12-13 : "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence * * for all the prophets and the law prophesied until John." The miraculous, to separate his teaching as a distinct period from the Old Testament, may be found of course in abundance in all of the miraculous with which the New Testament opens—in that which precedes and accompanies the birth of both John and Jesus.

Thus we complete our division, having applied the objective,

divine principle throughout, proving its adaptibility.

We give therefore the scheme, mentioning under each head some of the subjects properly to be discussed there :

I. THE TEACHING OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

- { The coming Kingdom ; its characteristics ; its King ;
the conditions of admission—repentance and baptism. }

II. THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

A. JESUS, THE PROPHET—TO THE TRANSFIGURATION.

- { The Kingdom of God—Its nature, characteristics.
Its King—The Christ, the Son of Man, the Son of God.
Its Subjects—Condition of Admission. Their Possessions. Their Privileges. }

B. JESUS, THE PRIEST—TO THE RESURRECTION.

- { The explanation and purposes of His death. The Lord's Supper. Relation of the Gospel to the Gentiles. The Parousiā. }

C. JESUS, THE KING—TO THE ASCENSION.

- { New Teaching concerning His Being. Foundation of the Congregation. The Coming Holy Spirit. Baptism. }

III. THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES.

A. THE COMMON TESTIMONY OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

- { Concerning the Scriptures.
“ Jesus—Son of God. Eternal Divinity.
Real, Sinless Humanity.
“ Salvation—Purpose of Jesus' death. Holy Spirit. Word of God and Baptism.
“ Eschatology. [Conditions] }

B. THE SPECIAL APOSTOLIC TEACHING IN ISRAEL.

- { Peter, James, Epistle to Hebrews, etc. }

C. THE SPECIAL APOSTOLIC TEACHING AMONG THE GENTILES.

- { Conversion of Paul. Freedom from the Law. Sin. The Flesh.
Justification. Purpose of Jesus' death. }

D. THE SPECIAL JOHANNEAN TEACHING.

ARTICLE III.

HISTORY OF PREMILLENARIANISM.

BY REV. C. ROLLIN SHERCK, A. M.

The dogma of the premillennial advent of Christ has again been obtruded upon the credulity of the Christian public, accompanied by the same claims of orthodoxy, that were put forth in its behalf a half century or more ago, and flaunting the banner of infallibility in such a manner as to beguile the unwary and credulous into the belief, that what the Church has taught from apostolic times down to the present in Creed and Liturgy, and systems of theology has scarcely if any foundation in the word of God, and must therefore, be repudiated in order to the acceptance of a doctrine that has warrant for existence and belief, not only in the divine word, but finds ample confirmation in tradition concerning apostolic teaching and the orthodoxy of the Church during its best and purest days.

Far be it from us to say that those who have made such claims were not honest and honorable men; for there have been among them some of the most pious and godly, of which the Church may be justly proud. But it must be admitted that with but few exceptions they have belonged to that class of religious enthusiasts whose emotional natures predominated over the logical and rational; a condition and temperament of mind in which the imagination has been allowed more than ordinary sway, and which, (be it said with due deference to their piety), has led many ardent lovers of the word, to entertain false notions respecting the interpretation of unfulfilled prophecy, and blinded their eyes to the most apparent truths in regard to both history and fact. The prophetic portions of Scripture have been their favorite camping ground, and so persistently have they tarried there at the utter exclusion of the plainest utterances of the didactic portions of the word, as to become absolutely narrow in their perspective, and unduly emphasize what the inspired wri-

ters held in reserve, and were loath to express in the plainest terms of speech. These speculative tendencies whenever they have made their appearance in history, have led many unconsciously into dangerous extravagances and caused their votaries to appear in strange light. Whenever the connecting links were wanting to complete the chain of evidence, they have been readily supplied by an imagination always fertile and always infallible. The strange procedure in vogue with many is to read the word in the light of preconceived notions and theories, instead of going to the word, independently, and reading out of the word what is therein contained. And this accounts in large part for the lack of unanimity so frequently displayed.

Another fact very much to be deplored, and which savors somewhat of dishonesty, is the utter failure on the part of many premillennialists to properly distinguish between the substance of the second advent and the mode of that advent. This again leads them to make very precarious and unwarranted assertions, which have no foundation in fact, against that great body of earnest believers who do not endorse their peculiar views, among the most conspicuous of these, is the utterly false charge that the great body of Christ's ministry "do not believe in the real, literal and corporeal coming of Christ at all." Consequently they contend that a large majority of the evangelical clergy refuse to press this doctrine into the forefront of preaching and teaching.

This charge is made either in wanton ignorance of the facts, or in wilful misrepresentation in order to swell the ranks of adherents. In comparing the Montanists of the early centuries with the more boastful premillennialists of to-day. We say in the words of principal Cunningham: "In both there is the same assumption of superior knowledge and piety, the same compassion and contempt for those who did not embrace their views and join their party, and the same ferocious denunciations of men who actively and openly opposed their pretensions as the enemies of God and the despisers of the Holy Ghost, and the same tone of predicting judgment upon the community because it rejected their claims." Another charge that is made, though

perhaps lying at the foundation of the former, is to the effect that in consequence of her ministry "*the Church has drifted far from her apostolic moorings.*" As respects what they are pleased to emphasize,—“That blessed hope,” by which, of course, they mean distinctly *the premillennial coming of Christ* in contradistinction to any other coming. Consequently it is incumbent upon them by divine appointment, to call back the Church to the purity and simplicity of apostolic teaching. This fact becomes the more evident when we examine the various calls which usually precede their assemblies. Dr. Duffield, at the Prophetic Conference, held in New York in 1878, said, “that the Apostolic Church was premillenarian as was the Church for more than two centuries immediately succeeding the apostles.” Dr. West at the same conference said “that a true Christian chiliasm was the orthodox faith of the primitive church in its purest days”.

Dr. A. J. Gordan, in *The Independent*, of 1885, says: “The Millennial scheme was the orthodox and well nigh universal faith of the Church during the first and purest ages of Christianity.”

W. E. Blackstone, in his “Jesus is Coming,” says: “The early Fathers and the Christian Church, for the first two centuries of our era, found in it, (he means the millennial coming) their chief source of hope and comfort;” and then he adduces the testimony of Mosheim, Gieseler and Gibbon as evidence that it is the uniform testimony of the best historians. His garbled and mutilated quotation from Mosheim displays a strange perversity of mind. This is what he presumably quotes from Mosheim: “The prevailing opinion that Christ was to come and reign a thousand years among men before the final dissolution of the world, had met with no opposition previous to the time of Origen.”* The following is what Mosheim actually says: “Long before this period (the time of Origen) an opinion had prevailed that Christ was to come and reign a thousand years

*Dr. J. A. Seiss is no less chargeable with having strangely misrepresented Mosheim than W. E. Blackstone. In his “Last Times,” p. 245, his language is identical. Probably Blackstone copied it verbatim from “The Last Times.”

among men before the entire and final dissolution of this world. This opinion which had hitherto met with no opposition was variously interpreted by different persons; nor did all promise themselves the same kind of enjoyments in that future and glorious kingdom. But in this century its credit began to decline principally through the influence and authority of Origen, who opposed it with the greatest warmth; because it was incompatible with some of his favorite sentiments." Comment would here seem almost unnecessary. But if Mosheim meant anything at all, he certainly meant that it was only an "opinion," and that it "prevailed" in the sense of "existed" or was "current" though not in a universal sense, and was not the "prevailing opinion" as Blackstone says which would virtually make him say that it was the dominant and orthodox faith of that time. We might say that "Montanism" prevailed, or Gnosticism prevailed, in the same sense as Mosheim meant and with as much show of reason. But Neander, the great prince of church historians, and with whom neither Mosheim nor Gieseler could favorably be compared, says of that period: "What we have just said however, is not to be so understood as if chiliasm had ever formed a part of the general creed of the Church. Our sources of information from different parts of the Church in these early times are too scanty to enable us to say anything on this point, with certainty and positiveness. Whenever we meet with chiliasm in Papias, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, everything goes to indicate that it was diffused from one country and from a single fountain head. We perceive a difference in the case of those Churches, where originally an anti-Jewish tendency prevailed; as in the Church at Rome. We find subsequently in Rome an anti-Christian tendency. Might not this have existed from the first, and only have been called out, more openly by the opposition to Montanism? The same may be said also of an anti-chilastic tendency which Irenaeus combats and which he expressly distinguished from the common anti-chilastic tendency of Gnosticism. It was natural, however, that the zealots of chiliasm should in the outset be disposed to represent all opposition to it, as savoring of Gnosticism."*

*Church His. Vol I., p. 651, Am. Ed.

Kurtz, equally authoritative as an historian, says: "The doctrine of an earthly reign of the Messiah, in the last times, full of splendor and glory, for his people, arose out of the literal and realistic conception of the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. Asia Minor was the chief seat of these views where, as we have seen, Montanism in its most fanatical and exaggerated form, was elevated into a fundamental article of Christian faith."*

The repeated assertion that the premillennial coming of Christ was the only and orthodox belief of the Apostolic Church during the first three Christian centuries and during the Church's best and purest days, has been perpetuated, and the assertion has been allowed so frequently to pass unchallenged, as to lead many who have not taken the pains to look carefully into the writings of the Church-Fathers, and the formulated creeds of that period, to believe in the accuracy of the claim. We shall endeavor to show in the following pages, the *real source* and history of this premillennial doctrine, tracing it first of all in the false conceptions of the Messiah that were entertained among the Jews in the times of the Roman oppression which are embodied in the Pseud-epigraphical writings of that period. "A new interest is added to the examination of the phrases of the Messianic idea, laid down in the anti-Christian portion of the Literature by the light it sheds on the peculiar shape in which this idea appears in the minds of the co-temporaries of Christ and their objections to his personal mission, as also by the fact, that it shows the true source of the chiliasm which certain of the Church-Fathers sucked through the straw of Jewish Christianity, and now flourishes under the name of premillenarianism."†

The purpose of the writing of these "*Piae fraudes*," seems to be to uphold and strengthen the faithful during those times of severe oppression by the Syrians and Romans; to vindicate the justice of God, and more especially, "to announce the speedy

*Ch. His., Vol I., § 33, pp. 182-3.

†Schodde, *Evangelical Rev.*, Vol. IX., pp. 348-9.

arrival of help." In this connection the punitive justice of God is predicted against all misrule and injustice that have been directed against the faithful—followed by a long period of peace, many features of which correspond with the millennium. The just will then obtain their long desired rule,—the wicked will be utterly suppressed, and from Jerusalem as the centre of the new kingdom all the nations of the earth will be governed.

I. *The Psalter of Solomon*—a collection of songs for the congregation. The date of this collection is probably between 63–45 B. C., as is evident from the contents. A heathen ruler has torn down the walls of Jerusalem and entered and defiled the holy places; has spilt much blood and led many captive. This is a warning to the congregation of the faithful and an admonition to walk circumspectly. The utterances in many of the Psalms, seem to be an expression of the pious under-severe oppression, pointing to the dreadful catastrophe under the Asmoneans in 63 B. C. These godless rulers are soon to be hurled from their seat of power, and soon will come the anointed One, the son of David, the Messiah, and the advent of the kingdom of God, (II., 36, V., 21 sqq). All of these Psalms are full of Messianic hopes. The kingdom is to be temporal and material, and the Messiah is after all to be only a superior man, like an Alexander or Napoleon, and his rulership physical and earthly.

II. *Book of Enoch*.—This book flourished quite extensively during the first century, B. C.; and the 1st and 2nd centuries of our Christian era. It was known by some of the New Testament writers, since Jude evidently quotes from it (Jude 14, 15), and considerable use was made of it by many of the church-fathers. A book so widely read must have stamped an indelible impress upon those early and undeveloped centuries. The Messianic hopes, and the formation of the kingdom constitute the groundwork of the book. Chapters xxxvii, lxxii, embrace parables concerning the kingdom of God, the Messiah, and the Messianic future. God gave his sheep, *i. e.*, the Israelites, into the hands of seventy Shepherds, who should slay, each a certain number of the sheep, until the coming of the Messiah,

(lxxxix–vc.). In Ch. xc., 37, we have the Messiah compared to a white bull, symbolizing one of superior strength and right. The Messiah is again only a great Prince who shall rule the earthly Israel, subdue all the surrounding nations, and all the features of his kingdom are carnal and Jewish, such as were entertained by the Jews in the time of Christ, and which led to his rejection. The earth is to be in the possession of the righteous, and the righteous are to enjoy the good things of the earth with long life and many children. There will be a great abundance of fruit, and prodigies will occur every day, seeds that are sown will yield abundantly—“one measure will bear ten thousand, and one measure of olives will yield ten presses of oil * * the earth also will be clean of all destruction, and of all sin, and of all punishment, and of all trouble.”* Many of these views were held by some of the church fathers, as we shall see later.

III. *The Sibylline Books* deserve also to be mentioned since they bear strong testimony to the heretical views that were prevalent at this time.

Book III. of this collection and which is of greatest importance to us, was written probably at Alexandria (Bleek), about 160 B. C.; or a little later, perhaps 140 B. C., (Hilgenfeld). A personal Messiah is plainly indicated in this book. “The book enumerates successive world powers, though not in the manner of Daniel, and foretells a period of woe, which should be ended by the advent of the Messiah, who will overthrow his enemies, restore Judah, and gloriously deliver the saints.”† God will dwell in Zion and there will be universal peace. This kingdom will be universal and there will be absolute obedience to the law.

IV. *The Assumption of Moses*. In this writing we have substantially the same views expressed, the writer says that the reign of Herod’s sons will be exceedingly short, because the Messianic period is about to come. A description of this period is given in Chapter 10. “Then his kingdom will appear among all creatures, and Satan will have an end; and sadness will dis-

*Chap. 10; 18 sqq. †McClintock and Strong, Vol. IX., p. 724.

appear with him, and a vindication of the just will be effected."

We shall proceed now to examine the writings of the apostolic fathers, and to ascertain to what extent they were influenced by the apocalyptic literature of their own day.

I. *Clement of Rome* (68 or 93 A. D). In his first Epistle to the Corinthians he speaks of the recent death of Peter and Paul (chap. v.), and says: "Peter endured not one or two, but numerous labors, and when he at length suffered Martyrdom, departed to the place of glory due him, and likewise Paul also obtained the reward of patient endurance, * * was removed from the world and went into the Holy Place." He admonished (ch. xxiii) all to be humble, and to *believe that Christ will come again*: "ye perceive how in a little time the fruit of a tree comes to maturity, of a truth soon, and suddenly shall his will be accomplished, as the Scriptures also bear witness saying speedily will he come and will not tarry and the Lord shall suddenly come to his temple, even the Holy One for whom ye seek." In chapter xxiv. he speaks of a future resurrection of which God has rendered Christ the first fruits by raising him from the dead; and his resurrection "is at all times taking place." We shall all rise again (chap. xxvi). In the second epistle falsely ascribed to Clement, there appears (chap. xii.) a warning to look constantly for the kingdom of God. "Let us expect hour by hour, the kingdom of God in love, and righteousness since we know not the day of the appearing of God. For the Lord himself being asked when his kingdom would come replied: "When two shall be one and that which is without as that which is within." There does not appear one word about a Millennium, his eschatology is of a purely orthodox type.

II. *Polycarp*, (150 A. D.), who, according to the testimony of Irenaeus, was instructed by the apostles and was brought up with those who had seen Christ, in his Epistle to the Phillipians, says: "Whoever does not confess that Christ has come in the flesh, is anti-Christ * * and whoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts and says that there is neither a resurrection nor a judgment, is the first-born of Satan," (ch. xiv).

In the martyrdom of Polycarp and prayer (ch. xiv) he thanks

God that he had counted him worthy of the day and the hour of his martyrdom; and that he should have a part in the number of the martyrs in the cup of Christ to the resurrection of eternal life, both of the soul and body through the incorruption (imparted) by the Holy Ghost. God raised up Christ from the dead and gave him a throne at his right hand, all things in heaven and on earth are subject to him. *He will come again to judge the living and dead.* We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ and render an account unto him (Phil. vi). If we please him in this world, he will raise us again from the dead, and if we believe in him (chap. v.), we shall reign together with him." He quotes from 2 Peter and from Paul's Epistles, and his writings breathe the sweet and tender spirit of the Gospel. Nothing can be found anywhere throughout his writings that would even so much as to suggest to us that he believed in a premillennial advent.

III. *Ignatius of Antioch* (130–140 A. D.) There are two Greek recensions, the shorter one of which, scholars have generally agreed, represent the genuine letters of Ignatius. The eight spurious letters received no mention by Eusebius and Jerome. We shall quote from the seven letters which have been pretty well authenticated, at least whose authenticity have been but slightly questioned. In the Epistle to the Ephesians he compared believers to stones in the temple of God "which are drawn up by the substance of Jesus Christ, making use of the Holy Spirit as a rope while your faith is the means by which you ascend, and you love the way which leads up to God." Those that corrupt families shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* Seeing then all things have an end, those two things are simultaneously set before us. *Life and death* and every one shall go unto his own place. All the prophets waited for Christ and he being come raised them from the dead, (chap. ix). Beware of Judaisers and Judaising (chap. x.) and (Thallians, chap. x.) he longs to be exposed to wild beasts; urges his friends (Rom. ch. iii.) to pray that he may attain unto Martyrdom—wants to fall a prey to wild beasts (chap. iv). "Let me become food for

*Ep. Malnesians, Ch. V.

wild beasts, through whose instrumentality I may attain unto God." Invites (chap. v.) all the dreadful torments of hell, if only he may attain to Jesus Christ. "By death I shall attain true life, him I seek who died for us, him I desire who rose again for our sake, (chap. vi). The priest is good but the high priest (Christ) is better. Christ is the door to the Father by which Abraham entered in to God," (Phil. chap. ix). The following quotation is from the larger recension, showing the eschatology therein set forth. (Mag. chap. xi.) "Christ will come at the end of the world with the Father's glory, to judge the living and the dead, and to render to every one according to his works." This is the sum total of the eschatology of Ignatius. He desires to be with Christ and God, but nowhere intimates a millennial kingdom. We have quoted at length from these early church-fathers who are of the first rank, to show that their eschatology is of an entirely different type from that which led to chiliasm. They all look upon the Parousia as near *but for the purpose of judgment*, and are therefore perfectly in harmony with New Testament eschatology. Christ is their king and his kingdom is spiritual and heavenly and they express an intense longing to be with Christ, rather than his coming to them.

There are a number of writings of this period, which, though occupying a subordinate place, deserve to be mentioned.

I. *Epistle of Diognetus*. This is one of the most precious relics from Christian antiquity, hardly equalled in spirit or form by any other works which have come to us from the past apostolic age. The author is unknown, but claims to be a disciple of the apostles, but more likely some apostolic man, who lived not later than the beginning of the second century. In chap. iv. the author severely arraigns the Jewish Christians for still wanting to observe the sacrifices enjoined under the old dispensation and for observing months and days—Christians are found everywhere and are not particular in style or dress or modes of speech, but are sojourners in their own countries, are in the flesh, but do not live after the flesh, (chap. v). The Creator has sent from heaven and placed among men, him who is the truth and the holy and incomprehensible word, and has firmly established him

in their hearts." The lofty spirit and simplicity of faith here displayed marks the epistle as a decided advance upon much that was contemporaneous, makes little of the outward and visible, but much of the inward experiences of the heart, *and knows nothing of a Millennial age*; but looks rather upon Christianity in its historical development and logical consummation and faith, as the instrument by which this great work is to be accomplished.

II. *Pastor of Hermas*—called by Dean Stanley "the Pilgrim's Progress of the Church of the second century."* Blessed are they who practice righteousness for they shall never be destroyed, the Lord is near to them who return unto him. In ch. iii. the tower mentioned in chap. ii., is explained. Six young men are building the tower which is Christ and his Church, and the stones are the members. The stones cast away are the unworthy: Tribulations will come upon men.† * * We have no abiding city here and therefore we ought to seek one to come. You dwell in a strange land, for our city is far away from this one, (Book iii., Sim). As living trees in summer can be distinguished from withered ones, so will the fruits or righteousness be made manifest in that brighter world to come, (Sim. iv). The author speaks (Sim. vi.) further of two classes of bad men—of their death, falling away and the duration of their punishment, the elect and penitent are many kinds; all rewarded according to repentance and good works (Sim. viii.). In (Sim. ix.) the great mystery in the building of the Militant Church is explained. The Church or the kingdom of God is the tower, and this tower stands upon a rock, and this rock is Christ. The gate or entrance is Christ and show good works. Hermas makes no mention of a millennium as may be judged from the above extracts, but takes a decidedly different view and regards the Militant Church as continuing in unabated vigor until the Parousia which was regarded as near at hand. A conception perfectly in accord with the parables of our Lord. The eschatology of this second group of writers is in line with the first. They look upon the advent as near, to be followed by the

*Book I., Visions, Chap. III.

†Vision 4, Chap. I.

general resurrection and judgment. There is also an intense longing to be with Christ rather than his return to them. Christ is their king and his kingdom spiritual and heavenly, and they must work faithfully in order to become partakers of that heavenly kingdom.

Epistle of Barnabas. This epistle was written after the destruction of Jerusalem and very near the close of the first century, probably by a Gentile Christian from Alexandria, with the view of winning back, or guarding from a Judaic form of Christianity, those Christians belonging to the same class as himself. Jewish sacrifices are now abolished, the days are evil, and Satan possesses the power of this world, anti-Christ is at hand (ch. ii.). Beware of Jewish error, for this end the Lord has cut short the times and the days, that his beloved may hasten. Christians and not Jews are to be heirs of the covenant (chap. iv). In (chap. xiii) the author speaks of the spiritual temple which has abolished the old Jewish temple forever. In six days the world will be completed (meaning probably 6000 years), and at the end of that period the Son of God will come again—destroy the wicked, judge the ungodly, change the sun and moon and stars, and rest of the seventh day, and this seventh day will be followed by an eighth day which will usher in a new world (chap. xv). But even here the meaning of the writer is quite apparent. The advent on the seventh day is in order for judgment, and the dissolutions of nature which last would totally obviate a millennial period, and is followed by a day of rest. There is no long period suggested, between the parousia and the general judgment, no binding, and again loosing of Satan. Nothing is said about Christ reigning during a period of a thousand years, *but only of a millennial Sabbath of rest.* The millennialists therefore are by no means justified in concluding that the writer entertained the view subsequently developed and known by the name of chiliasm; for such views of a Sabbath of rest are found elsewhere, and with no thought of charging against those who held them the chiliastic doctrine.

Among all the writers of this period, Papias (153 A. D.) is the the only one who can be truthfully called a pre-millenarian.

But a few fragments of his writings have been preserved to us, chiefly through Irenaeus and Eusebius, and doubtless even these have been somewhat distorted. Eusebius, the father of church history (260) says of him: "He relates many fabulous stories, borrowed from tradition and thinks them true. He says, there will be a certain millennium after the resurrection, and there will be a corporeal reign of Christ upon this very earth, *which things he appears to have imagined, as they were not authorized by the apostles' narrations*, was very limited in his comprehensions as is evident from his discourses."* And he further adds that he was the cause of others of the ecclesiastical writers being carried away by similar opinions.

In Book IV. of the writings of Papias there appears an account of what the Elders who saw John the disciple of the Lord, remembered, as how the Lord had taught: "The days will come in which vines will grow, leaving each 10,000 branches and in each branch 10,000 shoots, and on every one of the shoots 10,000 clusters, and on every cluster 10,000 grapes, and every grape when pressed will yield 25 measures of wine." In like manner would grains and fruits of all kinds yield a superabundance. It is needless to say our Lord never taught such nonsense; for we can find nothing comparable to it in all his recorded utterances, nor anything to approach to such extravagances, nor is it within the range of probability that our Lord would descend to such puerilities. But we do find, where we would naturally expect, passages almost identical with the above quotations in the Jewish apocalyptical and ebionitic writings of this period. In the Apocalypse of Baruch, iv. Esdras and Enoch, and we therefore conclude that Papias in all probability, must have drawn largely from these sources, from whence, as we have already seen, emanated those early chiliastic or millenarian notions. If Papias did not give early form and expression to the Christian chiliasm of his own day and was not the active agent in the propagation of these views as is charged against him by Eusebius, then we are forced to the other alter-

*Eus. Ch. Hist. Book III., p. 126.

native expressed by Eusebius,* in which he cites Caius of Rome, who lays the charge at the door of Cerinthus as being the author of the material reign of Christ on earth: "But Cerinthus by means of revelations which he pretended were written by a great apostle, also falsely pretended to wonderful things, as if they were shown him by angels, asserting that after the resurrection there would be an earthly kingdom of Christ and that the flesh, *i. e.*, men again inhabiting Jerusalem, would be subjective to desires and pleasures. Being also an enemy of divine Scriptures, with a view to deceive men, he said there would be a space of a thousand years for celebrating nuptial festivals." He seems to have combined in his system elements of ebionitism with gnosticism and the Judeo-Christian millenarianism. The exalted claims of this arch-heretic are quite in harmony with many expressions of chiliasts since his day; especially is this true of the Ebionites and Gnostics whose heretical views originated from a false view of Christianity, adopting rather the Rabbinic tendencies and gloss of perverted Judaism, which as we have already seen, were fostered and developed through the instrumentality of the Pseud-epigraphical and apocalyptical literature of that crucial period.

Justin Martyr (cir. 168 A. D.) has been classed among chiliasts, although this claim hangs upon a very slender thread, based upon a somewhat vague and misunderstood passage in his dialogue with Trypho. In his Apologies, however, we find him setting forth a diametrically opposite view, and one strictly in accord with the Christian doctrine. In his first Apology he says: "The prophets foretold two advents of Christ, one which has already been as of a man dishonored and suffering; and the second when it has been declared, he shall come with glory from heaven attended by his hosts of angels, when he shall raise up the bodies of all men, that have been, and shall clothe those of the worthy with incorruptibility, but shall send those of the wicked with the evil spirits into endless suffering of eternal fire." He cites Ezk. 37 : 7; Is. 45 : 23 : 66 : 24, as proving that he will come soon and what the Jews will do and say. Alongside

*Ecc. His., III., 28.

of this we wish to place the following from his dialogue with Trypho: "Unreflecting men not understanding that which is proved by the whole Scriptures, that there are two advents of his proclaimed. The first in which he is set forth liable to suffer and without glory and without honor and crucified; the second in which he shall come from the heavens with glory, whenever the man of apostacy who speaks strange things, even against the most high, shall presume on unlawful deeds upon earth against us Christians."* He still further says: that death will be utterly abolished at his second coming.† "That through this dispensation (of x) the serpent who wrought wickedness from the beginning and the angels who resemble him might be overthrown and *death set at nought at the second coming of Christ*, it might henceforth be utterly deprived of all power over those who believe in him, having no longer any being when the one sort shall be sent into the judgment and condemnation of the eternal fire to be tormented; but the others shall live together free from suffering and corruption and sorrow and in immortality." Now these quotations plainly show that Justin believed the parousia was in order to judgment—in line with the evangelists that the devil will be destroyed, not bound during one thousand years and that the righteous will be in perfect felicity forever.

It is somewhat remarkable that Justin when writing upon this subject, going at some length into detail, should have completely omitted to mention a millennium. The chronological and logical arrangement of the various eschatological events has utterly excluded this from his calculation. We must notice one more statement from Justin: Trypho asks Justin, whether he believes and confesses "that the place Jerusalem shall be rebuilt again, and that his people shall be gathered together and live in rejoicing with Christ and the patriarchs and prophets." He says: "I and many others believe that this will come to pass;" but also adds that "there are many of a pure and devout Chris-

*Donaldson's Ed., p. 206.

†Chap. XLV., p. 125, Donaldson's Ed.

tian mind who are not of the same opinion,"* and what follows plainly shows that Justin was strenuously combatting the Gnostic heresy of a non-resurrection. In the following chapter (81) he says that those who believe in our Christ would dwell a thousand years in Jerusalem, and that thereafter the general and in short, the eternal resurrection and judgment of all men would likewise take place.† Let it be admitted in all fairness that Justin in his Apologies clearly and unequivocally states the orthodox view; but in his dialogue with Trypho in a somewhat confused way he gives expression to the chiliastic view, as he understood it. We are consequently left in a quandary, since he himself has failed to explain his anomalous position. Although Justin is usually classed among chiliasts, yet notwithstanding this classification, we are justly entitled to say, that he no more belongs to them, by reason of the utterances against Trypho, than to those who held the Catholic faith, by reason of his plain utterances in his Apologies.

Not a single trace of chiliasm can be discerned in any of the writings of the other apologists, although Tatian and Melito of Sardis have without warrant been claimed. Theophilus of Antioch, Athenagoras, Hermias, Dionysius of Corinth, Hegesippus, Apollinaris of Hierapolis are of an entirely different school of eschatology. This fact stands as indisputable evidence that the tenet of millenarianism was not the received faith of the Church down to the middle of the second century, and our research among these ancient documents, though scant in some respects, has led us to the conviction that whenever it appeared previous to 150 A. D., this appearance bears the marks of individuals only, and that from the Judeo-Christian wing of the Church in contradistinction to the Gentile.

There are a number of other more or less distinguished apologists who appear during the latter half of the second century, such as Quadratus, Aristides, Aristo and Miltiades; and whilst these writers are silent upon the subject before us, we deem it quite unfair to class them, as some have done among chiliasts;

*¶ 80, p. 173, Donaldson's Ed.

†p. 174, Don. Ed.

for had it been a cherished doctrine of the times, we doubt much their ability to have remained silent upon the subject, especially since they felt themselves called to defend the Catholic faith against the inroads of paganism and the false spirit of Judaism. What becomes therefore of the oft iterated, reiterated and rereiterated claim of many of our present-day millenarians, that the early Church Fathers all held the millenarian view? It certainly shows the lengths to which advocates of some pet theory will go when pressed for argument and reasonable proof, and how unwise it is to affirm that because Papias among the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr, among the apologists held in solution the chiliastic notion, therefore it was the accredited faith of the Church—"during its best and purest days." With as much consistency might we say, that since the great Brugel and Delitzsch among Lutheran theologians, held this view, therefore the great Lutheran Church has always given expression to that belief, and it is therefore her faith. The following one hundred years (150 A. D.—250 A. D.) was the golden age of millenarianism, but as Neander has well said: "Everything goes to indicate that it was diffused from one country and from a single fountain head." Some of the great theologians of this period were chiliasts. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, born very early in the second century (Cir. 115 A. D.) in Asia Minor, that fruitful source of early heresy, was without doubt the most distinguished and called by Theodoret, "the light of the Western Church." His views upon the subject are worthy of the highest consideration, as well as upon other subjects of paramount interest to the Church of the present day. It must be confessed however that Irenaeus expressed a peculiar fondness for Papias, whose pupil he undoubtedly was, and to whom he owes in large part his views upon the subject in hand.

His writings further show that he laid great stress upon the apocalypse of Baruch and John, and quite naturally, since his fervent nature revolted against the gnosticism and extreme allegorising tendencies of his time. In his "Refutation of Heresies" (Bk. v : 34) he speaks of "the times of the kingdom, after earth has been called by Christ to its pristine condition, and Jerusalem

rebuilt after the pattern of Jerusalem above. In the apocalypse, John saw this city descending upon the new earth. This is after the times of the kingdom when there will be a general resurrection and judgment of the dead great and small. Of this Jerusalem the former one is an image, that Jerusalem of the former earth in which the righteous are disciplined beforehand, for incorruption and prepared for salvation." Irenaeus makes the main features of the millennium to be ethical and preparatory,—a transitional stage from the earthly to the heavenly. He does not appear to have accepted (Rev. xx) in all its bald literality since he nowhere refers to the binding and loosing of Satan during that period. His views upon this subject are brought out in his great work (*Adv. Haer.* v., 32–36) where he declares a future reign of saints on earth; arguing that such promises of Scriptures as those in Gen. 13 : 14; Matt. 26 : 27–29 etc., can have no other interpretation.

About this time (150 A. D.) Montanism, a most formidable heresy, arose within the very folds of the Church and seems destined to sweep everything before it and spread generally throughout the Church. It had its origin in Phrygia, that same source whence, we have seen, arose most of the early heresies. In its incipency it was a legitimate reactionary movement against the formalism of the times (*Hanrack*). But the principles upon which it was founded were bad; consequently it led its votaries into unwonted extravagances. "One of these most essential and prominent traits of Montanism was its visionary millenarianism, founded indeed upon the apocalypse and on the apostolic expectation of the speedy return of Christ, but giving them extravagant weight and a materialistic coloring. The Montanists lived under a vivid impression of the great final catastrophe, and looked therefore with contempt upon the present world, and directed all their desires to the second advent of Christ which they believe to be near at hand." "After me" said one of the prophecies, "there is no more prophecy but only the end of the world" (*Epiphanius, Haer.* xlviii, 2). The general demoralizing influence of this movement can scarcely be estimated. Many of the later extravagant and extra-biblical tenets found in

the Church of Rome are directly traceable to Montanism. In the whirl of excitement the great Latin church father, Tertullian, (d. cir. 240 A. D.) was swept away from his apostolic moorings and became our ardent millenarian. He repeatedly speaks of the "new prophecy" of Montanus as if it were of equal authority with canonical writings. In his controversy with Marcion he says: "We do confess that a kingdom is promised to us upon the earth, although before heaven only in another state of existence, inasmuch as it will be after the resurrection, for a thousand years in the divinely built city of Jerusalem, let down from heaven which the apostle calls 'our mother from above'; and while declaring that our citizenship is in heaven, he predicted that it is really a city in heaven (Mar. 3, 24)," cites Ezekiel and John as proof, and adds that the word of the "new prophecy, which is a part of your belief," also adds weight to his argument. Tertullian will hardly be claimed as orthodox for his later writings, especially after his conversion to Montanism, in many respects flatly contradict his earlier and orthodox utterances, and because he elevated the "new prophecies" of Montanism into a fundamental article of Christian belief. These "new prophecies" were early treated as heretical, and it is a fact worth noting that he never returned to the Catholic faith and is never included among the number of her saints. Through the great Carthaginian, these chiliastic views were transmitted to Commodianus, who wrote two poems in a sort of acrostic verse, "institutions" and "Carmen apologeticum," in which he gives out the idea that Nero was the anti-Christ.

Hippolytus (d. cir., 250 A. D.) a disciple, has usually been classed among chiliasts, although there is little in his writings to substantiate the claim. In his "Refutation of all heresies" we find him saying: "For as two advents of our Lord and Saviour are indicated in the Scriptures, the one being his first advent in the flesh, which took place without honor by reason of his being set at naught (Isaiah spake of him afore time). But his second advent is announced as glorious when he shall come from heaven with the host of angels, and the glory of his Father."*

*Ref. Haer. 44, p. 25 Donaldson's Ed.

Again, (62) he declares that Christ is a heavenly king and not an earthly one.

Lactantius, also of the 4th century, gives evidence of chiliar views which he probably received from Tertullian, although he lays great stress upon the Jewish sibylline oracles and quotes them as authoratative. Very little of real worth was added to the development of fundamental Christian doctrine by Lactantius, by reason of his many inaccuracies and flagrant errors. After the year 200 A. D., millenarianism began to decline principally through the powerful influence of the Alexandrian school, under the leadership of Clement and Origen and Dionysius, on the one hand; while its union with Montanism was fatal to it on the other. The cessation of dogged persecutions and of the severities meted out to the early Christians, so changed the circumstances of the times as to force these early millenarian expectations into the back-ground. "The spirit of philosophical and theological speculations and of ethical reflection which began to spread through the churches, did not know what to make of the old hopes of the future. To a new generation they seemed paltry, earthly and fantastic, and far-seeing men had good reason to regard them as a source of political danger."

Judged by the manner in which Eusebius speaks of the doctrine in his day, we conclude that it had quite fallen into disrepute. Had it been the accredited faith of the Church, we can hardly explain the attitude of the renowned "father of Church history." Its blooming period lasted about one hundred years, and it never had stronger supporters than Irenaeus and Tertullian. If these men could not clothe it in sufficient respectability to make it acceptable to the Church of their day, how much may we hope from those who are its advocates in our day? After the montanistic controversy (220 A. D.) chiliasm was, through the strenuous efforts of Dionysius, excluded from the Greek Church, and has never reappeared. It lingered longer in the west, owing to the powerful influence of the Latin fathers; but western theology steered clear of millenarianism principally through the direction given to it by the renowned Augustine. The Church soon beheld herself victorious, without the miracu-

lous interposition of God, and this supremacy had been won, not by the speedy arrival of divine help, through the advent of Christ; but through that principle of divine life implanted in the Church the body of Christ, which had its birth on the day of Pentecost, and which as a heavenly power was fast permeating the decaying institutions of heathenism. We cease to wonder then at the almost if not quite total absence of this doctrine for more than a thousand years, and "during the middle ages it can hardly be said to have had any existence as a doctrine." The argument is unworthy of its advocates who claim that this long period of silence was a period of apostacy and of a lapsing back into heathenism; that the ages were dark simply because millenarianism was no longer believed and taught. We have but to recall the fact that during this period some of the greatest evangelizing movements the Church and the world have ever seen, were inaugurated and consummated. The heralds of the cross, traversed land and sea, proclaiming the message of divine grace, penetrating afar into the north, converting Norsemen and Slavs and Saxons and Britons, and planting the Gospel in the very heart of Germany, and that from these very same countries, has issued the evangelical faith of to-day. It was quite natural, however, that this doctrine in its varied phases, should again be revived during the great religious awakening of the 15th and 16th centuries; especially among the more impulsive and fanatical who desired to cast off all restraint and who consequently indulged in all forms of excesses.

This revival was inaugurated largely by the anabaptists of Germany. Their first rising took place at Zwickau in 1521, under the leadership of Thomas Münzer. In its main features it differed little from those of Montanism. Ten years later a very determined attempt was made to establish a theocracy at Münster in Westphalia. John Bockhold became the legal successor of David in this new Zion, and Münster became the scene of unbridled profligacy, so that it had to be summarily suppressed by the state. Some of the German and Swiss reformers, including Luther and Melanchthon, believed that the world would speedily come to an end, and that the advent would

soon take place; and a consequent dissolution of nature, not like the Anabaptists and their predecessors, however, who interposed a thousand years and a dual resurrection. But as soon as the Reformation began to assume a more formidable aspect and had enlisted in its support the powerful German princes, we find the Reformers casting aside their millenarian views, (if they may be rightly designated by that term), together with all the other "Opiniones Judaicae." No better proof of this fact do we need than the "*Augsburg Confession*" which condemns it in its XVII. Article: "Our churches also teach that at the end of the world Christ will appear for judgment; that he will raise all the dead; that he will bestow upon the pious and elect eternal life and endless joys; but condemn wicked men and devils to be punished without end."

They reject the opinions of the Anabaptists, who teach that the punishment of devils and condemned men will have an end. In like manner they condemn those who circulate the Jadaising notions, that before the resurrection of the dead the righteous will possess the government of the world and the wicked be everywhere suppressed. The *Confession of Edward VI.* likewise condemns it in terms almost identical with the Augsburg Confession, so also the *Belgic Confession*. The truth of the matter is, we do not find millenarianism expressed in a single formulated creed or confession from the earliest "Baptismal Confessions" of Ignatius and Irenaeus to the "Apostles Creed" and "the Nicene," and even down through the creed formation period of the Reformation. It is somewhat remarkable that when the Church came back during the 16th century to the pure word of God, and to the establishment of a basis of belief, that a "doctrine so vital" was so much unconsciously excluded when the hand of God was unmistakably in the work.

Since the Reformation, attempts have been made to revive millenarianism in England, by the "Fifth Monarchy men" in the days of Cromwell, and by the "Irvingites" under the leadership of Edward Irving; also by the "Adventists" and "Millerites" in the United States. Its appearance has usually been made in

"connection with an uneducated and fanatical pietism"; although in some individual instances, both in America and on the continent of Europe, it has found favor with earnest and intelligent theologians, the soundness of whose orthodoxy has never been called in question. We conclude with the following admirable deductions of Dr. Shedd.

1. That millenarianism was never the œcumenical faith of the Church and never entered as an article into any of the Creeds.

2. That millenarianism has been the opinion of individuals and parties only, some of whom have stood in agreement with the Catholic faith and some in opposition to it.*

ARTICLE IV.

THE SPANISH MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA.

BY REV. JESSE W. BALL, A. M.

Nowhere, probably, would it be possible to find the history of a country more clearly written in its geographical names than in the State of California. From San Diego to and beyond San Francisco the story of Spanish conquest and settlement is recorded in imperishable characters in the names of cities, rivers, valleys and mountains. San Diego, San Bernardino, Los Angeles, San Pedro, Santa Monica, Santa Barbara, Monterey, San Jose, San Francisco, all speak not only of Spanish settlement, but also and especially of the religion of Spain. They indicate that in the exploration and settlement of America, the Christian religion bore a conspicuous part, not only on the shores of the Atlantic, but equally so on the shores of the Pacific, even though the types of Christian belief should be as widely separated as the shores which they respectively occupied.

Upper or Alta California, discovered in 1542, by Cabrillo and in 1578 by Sir Francis Drake, was explored in 1602 by the Spaniard, S. Viscaino, who reported the country "thickly settled with people who were of gentle disposition, peaceable and do-

*History of Christian Doctrine, Vol. II., p. 398.

cile and who can be brought readily within the fold of the Holy Gospel and into subjection to the crown of your majesty." The natives were not so numerous, however, as Viscaino had reported and probably varied in habits and characteristics very much as the Indian races of Arizona to-day vary from the peace-loving and industrious Pueblos to the warlike Apaches. The California Indians have been described by others as among the lowest grades of the Aborigenes of America, small of stature, light of body, lacking in mental capacity, yet at times displaying courage in defending themselves against oppression. Their social development was of the simplest character. Their energies were in the main devoted to obtaining food and to protecting themselves partially from inclement weather. Out of this material, crude, indolent, yet docile, the Spanish *padre* was to develop sadlers, blacksmiths, millers, bakers, silversmiths, hatters, painters, sculptors, embroiderers, sailors, farmers, carpenters and a variety of other workmen following European models, and filling various subordinate, civil and religious offices.

The religion which that of the Spanish *padre* was to supersede has been characterized as unsystematized superstition. When Cabrillo's expedition landed on the islands off Santa Barbara, they found a primitive temple of the rudest sort and in it a god, or rather a place for the object of worship. In Cabrillo's journal it is stated that the natives "have in their villages their large public squares, and they have an enclosure like a circle; around the enclosure they have many blocks of stone fastened in the ground like masts and very thick; and they have many pictures on these same posts, and we believe that they worship them, for when they dance, they go dancing around the enclosure." Boscana, a priest historian of the California missions, speaks of a similar temple around which were apartments formed in a similar manner. On an elevated hurdle in the inner enclosure was the god Chinigchinich. In a similar temple Viscaino found feathers of different colored plumage placed around the god. The religion was a sort of rude spirit worship, formulated by the priests who were also sorcerers and medicine men. Consequently the religious belief and mythology varied in the sep-

arate tribes. "According to Boscana, the primitive belief of the Indians of the mission San Juan Capistrano was founded on a rude cosmogony. They held that before the world there existed two worlds, (one above, the other below), and that these were brother and sister. The former signified heaven, the latter the earth. But this heaven and earth existed before the present heaven and earth. Heaven came to earth bringing the light which was the sun, and said to the earth that he would take her and make her his wife. But the earth resisted, reminding him of their relationship. However, they were finally wedded, and their first children were earth and sand, after which were produced rocks and stones of all kinds, particularly flints for their arrows; then trees and shrubbery; next herbs and grass; and again animals, principally the kind which they eat. Finally there was born an animated being, Oniot, who was the *gran capitan* of the first family of beings, which differed very much from the Indians. After the death of Oniot, there appeared unto the bereaved people Chinigchinich, who endowed them with power to cause it to rain, to make the dew, to create the acorn and all manner of edible grains. The Indian priests, sorcerers and medicine men claim to be descendants of this race, and thus wield a power over the people. They manufacture such mythology relative to the obtaining of food as will yield them the best support. Afterwards Chinigchinich created man both male and female out of clay. From these the Indians of the present day descended. They were taught laws and ceremonies by Chinigchinich and commanded to build a temple for worship. Such are the simple religious ideas of the natives, tinged with the ideas of the priest historian, but, upon the whole, the most faithful account given of the beliefs of the natives."* It may be doubted whether the Spanish missionaries ever succeeded in eradicating the old superstitions.

Viscaino has well stated the plan and purpose of Spanish conquest and colonization in the above brief quotation from his report. They were to bring the land and people "within the fold of the Holy Gospel and into subjection to the crown" of

*Blackmar, *Spanish Institutions of the South-west*, pp. 242, 243.

Spain, as well as to acquire whatever silver and gold were to be found. Where the military failed to subdue the country as in lower California, the task was turned over to the religious orders, to the Jesuits and Franciscans particularly. The military then acted only as a protection to the padres in their work. Thus the religious purpose was kept constantly at the front. The settlements of California were first and chiefly missions, as indicated by their names. Into them the priests gathered the natives, sometimes by force, so as to accustom them to live in communities. For lands occupied, the Indians paid a rent to the proprietor and tribute to the crown. Here also he was under the immediate control of the ecclesiastics, though granted the privilege of electing certain officers. This was, however, a mere show of freedom, as the priests had power to control the elections as they chose. The natives were treated in all respects as legal minors under a trusteeship. The padres in fact commonly spoke of the neophytes as their children. "At sunrise the angelus summoned all to mass, and from the several departments, directed by the overseers and led by the priest, the neophytes filed into the church to engage for one hour in public worship. At the close of the public service breakfast was served, and afterwards the natives repaired, as directed by the overseers, to the fields or to the workshops, to pursue their various occupations. Seven hours of each day were devoted to labor, two to specific prayer, and the remainder of the time to rest and divine worship. The neglect of religious service was considered a misdemeanor and was visited by corporal punishment."*

The Franciscan Junipero Serra was the chief missionary and director of the whole mission enterprise. Previous labors in Mexico and among the warlike Apaches had qualified him for his task, when in 1767, the order came for him to take charge of the spiritual work among the Indians of California. Serra was a man of intense energy and consecration to duty, as well as of great personal power. His whole soul was in his work. On July 16, 1769, he established the first mission within the

*Blackmar Span. Insti. of S. W., p. 123.

State, at San Diego. Two expeditions had been started, one by sea, the other overland. The condition of the sailors when Serra arrived at the end of the overland journey, which was severe enough, was such as would have discouraged a less ardent soul. Bad water, insufficient and unwholesome food, and poor sanitary conditions had produced scurvy on board both vessels; and within fifteen days after Serra's arrival, twenty-nine sailors and soldiers were dead. The Indians, at first peaceful, became insolent and thievish, subsequently raided the mission and murdered one or two of the priests. But with faith in God, the Governor, Portala and Father Crespi were sent on to find Monterey. Two days later, with cross erected, facing the magnificent harbor, and "in a rude booth of branches and reeds, in the presence of sailors and soldiers, Serra said mass. The bell was rung, being suspended from the boughs of a tree; the whole congregation sang the *Veni Creator*; the royal standard was flung to the breeze; the water was blessed, the awe-stricken Indians watching the mysterious proceedings with profound attention and astonished curiosity; fire-arms were discharged to supply the want of an organ; 'the smoke of muskets ascended for incense'; and thus the ceremony was performed and the country taken 'for God and the King of Spain.'"* The mission San Carlos Borromeo was established at Monterey the following year and after various difficulties began to prosper and became quite wealthy. It has been restored in recent years. From year to year other missions were established at convenient distances in the fertile valleys along the coast. The Mission, San Gabriel Archangel, established near Los Angeles, in 1771, is one of the oldest missions still used for mission purposes. The building is a quaint structure possessing little architectural beauty. The peculiarly shaped tower, which is indeed not a tower at all, still contains four of the old bells, one or two others having been stolen. Padre Jose Maria Zalvidea, who figures as the priestly hero in *Ramona* by "H. H.," under the name of Salvierderra, took charge of the mission in 1806, and under his direction it grew rapidly to great prosperity and wealth. We

*Wharton James, *Old Missions and Mission Indians of Cal.*, p. 37.

paused before the old building one dusty day and asked permission to see it. The very obliging priest replied that we might for a "contribution." We paid the contribution and looked into a very plain structure, half-furnished with seats. It still serves the ancient purpose for quite a number of Mexican families living in the neighborhood. The purpose of the contributions is to help defray the expenses of the mission, as the people are very poor. And the padre smiled again as if he would charm another contribution from our unwilling pockets. We could not restrain the thought, as we rode out of the village of perhaps two hundred people, that, if the padre were to use his influence against the half-dozen drinking places near by, the mission might be more prosperous even now.

The mission at San Luis Obispo lies in a rugged and picturesque valley father up the coast. Here Padre Luis Martinez was in charge, whom Mrs. Jackson in *Ramona* thus describes in the account of the wedding tour and festivities of Gen. and Senora Moreno: "On the morning of their departure, the good padre, having exhausted all his resources for entertaining his distinguished guests, caused to be driven past the corridors for inspection all the poultry belonging to the mission. The procession took an hour to pass. For music there was the squawking, cackling, hissing, gobbling, crowing and quacking of the fowls combined with the screaming, scolding and whip-cracking of the excited Indian marshals of the lines. First came the turkeys, then the roosters, then the white hens, then the black, then the yellow, next the ducks, and, at the tail of the spectacle, long files of geese, some struggling, some half-flying and hissing in resentment and terror at the unwonted coercion to which they were subjected. The Indians had been hard at work all night capturing, sorting, assorting and guarding the rank and file of their novel pageant. It would be safe to say that a droller sight never was seen, and never will be on the Pacific coast or any other. Before it was done the General and his bride had nearly died with laughter and the General could never allude to it without laughing almost as heartily again."

The missions, twenty-one in number, were quite prosperous until the Act of Secularization which proved to be their ruin.

It was felt, even before the revolt of Mexico from the Spanish crown, that the Indians were not being fitted for citizenship, that the missions were holding them in a sort of perpetual tutelage and had all but absolute control of them. In 1830 steps were taken by the California legislature providing for the gradual transformation of the missions into pueblos and for dividing the lands and cattle among the Indians. The law was finally approved by the Mexican Congress (1833). The missions now rapidly declined. In 1834 there were upon the mission lands 30,650 Indians and 424,000 horned cattle. In 1842 but 4,450 Indian and 28,220 horned cattle remained. In some instances the padres themselves assisted in the devastation. Of the whole number of missions and chapels, a few are still used for parish purposes, others have been renovated and are now used as schools and seminaries, while the remainder have been abandoned to ruin and decay. Though not much more than a century and a quarter since the first Spanish settlements in the state, and scarcely half that time since the end of Spanish supremacy, yet to read the history of the missions is like looking back into a former age. We delight to treasure the relics of the past even though they be few and comparatively recent. For this reason societies have been formed to preserve the Spanish names of places and the old mission ruins. For this reason also these ruins will always possess a sort of romantic interest, and the traveler of the future will gaze with even greater interest upon them than the traveler of to-day. He will people the mission valleys with a race that has all but disappeared and will contemplate with respect the efforts for the improvement of that race put forth by another, now in its turn dispossessed and reduced to little more than the narrow confines of its own peninsula. Already a literature is growing up around these ruins. Helen Hunt Jackson has broken ground by her excellent romance, *Ramona*. Others are endeavoring to follow in song and story. Though attempts have been made at various times to stay the ruin wrought by the Act of Secularization, conditions went steadily from bad to worse till, in consequence of this and of American occupation, we now possess almost the only historic ruins to which California can lay claim.

ARTICLE V.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN ITS RELATION TO EDUCATION.

BY REV. JULIUS F. SEEBACH, A. M.

Then, my friend, we must not regard what the many say of us, but what he, the one man who has understanding of just and unjust,, will say, and what the truth will say.—*Plato*.

It is the common belief of Christians that their religion has been the source of all intellectual advancement during the past nineteenth centuries. They point with pride to the various charitable institutions that are constantly being established to meet the growing needs of the times. They call attention to the developing ideas of freedom and equality; the abolition of slavery; the ever-widening scope of social activity. They note the vast structure that has been reared all over the world by education,—its universities, colleges and schools with their countless ramifications, and adaptations to every intellectual need. In short, they claim all that graces modern civilization as but the natural outgrowth of the genius of Christianity. This conviction becomes the more inevitable when a comparison is made between the lands that are called Christian and those that are not. In every instance, the comparison becomes a painful contrast, in every respect favorable to the Christian lands, Christian science, Christian letters, Christian institutions,—Christian education in its broadest sense is in every particular superior.

Fortified with so many proofs, to him unimpeachable, it is a source of great surprise to the average Christian to learn that all men are not of his way of thinking. It is difficult for him to understand that his conclusions are not acceptable to every one; it is equally difficult for him to conceive that many among his gainsayers are also Christians. His first impulse is to grow indignant, and to make the contest a moral one. In fact, he is smitten with the usual delirium of panic. He refuses every sug-

gestion that is made; denies and contradicts without stint, rarely having any authority but his own assertions to offer, and charges every opponent with secret hostility to true religion, and its representative, the Christian Church.

This stage, happily, soon runs its course, and the Christian returns to a more rational frame to consider the objections of his antagonists. There is still a great disinclination to believe that organized Christianity, under the leadership of its learned theologians, has been uniformly inimical to the best interests of education during these nineteen centuries. That it may have been betrayed into such a course at one time or another, will be admitted; that hostility to education has been its constant policy is unthinkable to the Christian.

Against this position, however, his antagonist brings to bear the testimony of history. One by one the centuries are called up to give their evidence; one by one the leaders of the Church Militant are made to testify against themselves. Objection, criticism, denial, are of no use; the only result is a fresh display of evidence. The argument seems invincible. The Church, following the lead of its theologians, has uniformly opposed the advancement of education; and this position was adopted during the first centuries of its existence.

The Church is made to take a most unenviable attitude. We are told that education had made vast strides among the Greeks and Romans. In many of their deductions the philosophers had approximated truths that have but lately been revealed to the modern world. A comparatively short time was required to develop these truths, but that, unfortunately, was denied by the attitude of the Christian leaders.

It had long been recorded in the Assyrian inscriptions that the Chaldeans conceived an evolution of the universe out of the primeval flood.* This general notion took strong hold upon Greek thought, and was variously developed by the philosophers.† Among the Romans, Lucretius, following the lead of

*George Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, pp. 74, 75.

†Anaximander, Anaximenes, Aristotle and Epicurus are the most prominent.

Epicurus, extended the process to all things, from the largest heavenly body to the smallest insect.* Again, Plato, Aristotle, and the Pythagoreans advanced the idea of the earth's sphericity. As the proposition was passed on it grew in clearness until Cicero gave it a form that sounds quite modern.† Connected with this idea is that of the antipodes, which also found earnest supporters among the ancients, Cicero and Pliny being the most prominent. Geology, though but slightly considered by Greek and Roman philosophers, was handled in the true scientific spirit.‡ What is now called meteorology was duly considered by the ancients, Plato, Aristotle and many others believing that the phenomena of storms were obedient to laws of nature. Of the Romans, Lucretius, Seneca and Pliny followed them in this; and their conceptions, though crude and inadequate, had yet the germs of scientific thought.

In contrast with these statements, we are told to examine the deliverances of the Church Fathers of the early centuries. The great majority gave the most literal interpretation to the Scriptural statements concerning creation. According to their notion God, by the sweat of his brow and the use of his fingers, formed the earth and its inhabitants in six days of twenty-four hours each. Right here, however, there was a division. Some, like Origen, following the second account of creation, advocated the theory of the instantaneous creation of the world;§ others stubbornly contested for the full six days. Still others, such as Athanasius and Augustine, tried to combine the two statements, and prove that in some mysterious way God created the world in six days and yet that one moment sufficed to call it into existence.|| With these ideas of creation, we may join the mis-

*De Natura Rerum, lib. V., vss. 187-194, 447-454.

†Plato's *Timaeus*, Jowett's translation, p. 62; also *Phaedo*, p. 440 et seq., Cicero's *Tusc. Quaes.*, I., 25, 28; V. 24. For citations and summaries of ancient views, Whewell's *History of Inductive Sciences*, I., 189.

‡D' Archiac, *Geologie*, p. 18, Ward's essay on Paleobotany in Fifth Annual report of U. S. Geog. Survey, 1833-84.

§Contra Celsum, caps. 36, 37; De Principibus, cap. 5.

||Athanasius, *Discourses against Arians*, II., 48, 49; Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manicheos* and *De Genesi ad Litteram* passim.

conception of the early Fathers concerning the nature of light. It is best set forth in the words of Ambrose :* “We must remember that the light of to-day is one thing and the light of the sun, moon and stars another,—the sun by his rays appearing to add lustre to the daylight. For before sunrise the day dawns, but is not in full refulgence ; for the sun adds still further to its splendor.”

The Christians at first took no interest in the theories of the ancients concerning the earth. For them it was a fallen world, destined to be destroyed before long. Eusebius said :† “It is not through ignorance of the things admired by them, but through contempt of their useless labor, that we think little of these matters, turning our souls to better things.” Basil of Caesarea‡ declared it a matter of indifference to him “whether the earth is a sphere, or a cylinder, or a disk, or concave in the middle like a fan.” Already, however, there were the beginnings of opposition to the philosophic theories. Lactantius§ called the ideas of the astronomers “bad and useless,” and confuted the theory of the earth’s sphericity by Scripture and reason. Though Augustine inclined to belief in the sphericity of the earth, he was at one with the rest of the Fathers in opposing the theory of the antipodes. “Scripture speaks of no such descendants of Adam,” he says,|| and urges, as proof, that they could not see Christ at his second coming. Gregory Nazianzen¶ proved that it was impossible to sail beyond Gibraltar. Lactantius** asked, “Is there anyone so senseless as to believe that there are men whose footsteps are higher than their heads ? that the crops and trees grow downward ? that the rains and snow and hail fall upward toward the earth ?” So the opposition grew until it was incorporated in the theology of the Church. Ambrose and Basil†† thought a man might be saved who be-

*Hexameron, IV., 3. †Praep. Ev., XV., 61. ‡Hexameron, Hom. IX.

§Inst. Div. III., 3, also Whewell’s Hist. Induct. Science, I., p. 194.

||De Civ. Dei., XVI., 9.

¶Quoted from Lecky, His. of Rationalism in Europe, I., p. 279, note.

**Inst. Div., III., 3.

††Quoted from Lecky, Hist. of Rationalism in Europe, I., p. 279, note.

lieved in the antipodes, but the great majority of the theologians had their doubts.

The attitude of the Fathers toward geological theories was one of indifference and contempt, since they believed that the earth was soon to be dissolved. Jerome thought that the twisted earth-crust exhibited the wrath of God against the sin of the world. Tertullian* gravely argued that fossils were remains from the deluge, and Augustine thought a fossil tooth discovered in North Africa belonged to one of the giants mentioned in Scripture. Nor was the conception of meteorology among the early Christians more enlightened. Tertullian† proved, by means of Scripture, that lightning was hell fire. Hilary‡ believed that the firmament was very much lower than the heavens, and that it was created both for the support of the waters above the firmament, and to temper the atmosphere below; Ambrose§ imagined that thunder was caused by blasts of air forcing their way through the solid firmament; Jerome|| thought that the waters above the firmament were frozen to ice in order to keep everything in its place.

Such in brief, is the comparison and contrast between the pagan and Christian schools of thought. While the Greek and Roman philosophies were rapidly approximating the great truths that are acknowledged to-day, and others that have but lately been established, there was coming into being a new force that was to suppress all such speculation. There was but a short distance to go and the learning of to-day would have been anticipated; but the new religion, in the person of its theologians, barred the way with the vast power it wielded. The declarations of Origen, Tertullian, Augustine and the rest, that the study of nature was useless because the world was condemned and certain to be destroyed soon, raised a barrier to true scientific thinking that was insurmountable for many centuries. And by the time the belief in the world's speedy destruction had lost its force, a new theory of creation had been developed from

*De Pallio, C., 2. †Apol. contra Gentes, C., 47. ‡In Psalm CXXXV.
§Hexameron, II., 3, 4; III., 5. ||Epistola, LXIX., 60.

Scripture by the Church Fathers, which culminated in the absurdities of Cosmas Indicopleustes.*

Of course, it is not claimed that the philosophers were always on the side of advanced learning; there were many conflicts between the various schools. Nor were the philosophers by any means a unit in their conceptions of creation. Not all of them accepted the theory of the earth's sphericity; and even those who did for the most part expressed it with vagueness, and connected it with so many absurdities, that the truth was practically obscured.† The doctrine of the antipodes, also, found prominent opponents in Epicurus, Lucretius and Plutarch, while many others did not consider it at all.

Nor is it charged that the theologians were uniformly blind to new light. Gregory, of Nyssa, and Augustine, strenuously opposed the conception of Creation as accomplished by the hands and fingers of God. The latter said:‡ "To suppose that God formed man from the dust with bodily hands is every childish.

* * God neither formed man with bodily hands, nor did he breathe upon him with throat and lips." In his treatise on the Trinity,§ he argues at length that in the creation of living beings there was something akin to growth, God being the primary cause of all things, but his work being accomplished through secondary causes. Attention has also been called to Augustine's inclination to accept the theory of the earth's sphericity. In addition to this, it is no more than fair to say that on the other subjects, as well as on these, there was not a uniform narrowness of thought, or degree of opposition.||

And yet, when all due weight is given to the modifying state-

*For a map of the world as conceived by Cosmas, and his delineation of heaven and earth according to Scriptural texts, see Geikie's *Hours with the Bible*, Vol. I., pp. 112, 113.

†For instance, Cicero speaks of "the globe of the earth, raised above the sea, and placed in the centre of the universe, *Tusc. Quaes.*, I., 28.

‡*De Genesi contra Manicheos*, II., 14; V : 5, 23; VII : 1.

§*De Trinitate*, III., 8, 9. For the whole subject see Osborn's "From the Greeks to Darwin," chaps. 2 and 3.

||For most of the preceding references to the philosophers and Church Fathers, the writer is indebted to Andrew D. White's "A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology.

ments noted above, the argument remains practically unchanged; the philosophers took the proper attitude toward what is now conceived as advanced education, while the theologians were hostile to it. Isolated statements may qualify the conclusion in one respect or another, but it can never be reversed. There is nothing to do with the conclusion but to accept it.

But it is one thing to accept a conclusion based on facts; it is quite another to give credence to every inference that may be drawn from such a conclusion. It would be very easy to condemn the early Fathers for their position; in fact, it is the course usually pursued. The modern world, looking back upon the early centuries of the Christian era, beholds in the pagan philosophers the high priests of education, while the Christian leaders figure as its iconoclasts.

But may not this be caused by attempting to express the conditions of the early centuries in terms of the nineteenth? The historical sense of most people is not strong. The conditions of existence in times far removed from our own, and under circumstances utterly dissimilar, are translated into the language of our surroundings, the consequence is that they are nearly always misunderstood. Supposing the facts are true,—and their trustworthiness cannot well be doubted,—was there nothing in the circumstances of the early Fathers to make their position inevitable? Were they, of all men, perverse, when the very principles of their religion demanded the opposite? The innate sense of justice in human nature must perceive that it would be manifestly unfair to judge them, except under the conditions of their own times, and in the light of their own knowledge. Since they cannot come to us in defense of themselves, we must transport ourselves into their habits of life and thought, if we would “judge righteous judgment.”

From the references given to their writings, it will be gathered that the philosophers and the theologians held antagonistic positions on the subject of education. The learning of the time found its most earnest supporters in the former; the attitude of the latter was almost without exception hostile. It had not always been so, however. There had been a time when philoso-

phy was secure in its position, and Christianity was a thing unknown to it. Philosophy revelled in the favor of the wealthy and the educated; Christianity was the consolation of the poor and the ignorant. Even later, when Christianity had penetrated into the higher ranks of society, there was no open hostility. Philosophers were among the first of these converts, and certainly the first to defend Christianity from unjust imputations. Moreover, the first theologians, and all of the greatest, were students of philosophy.

Yet all the while the seeds of antagonism were present. As Christianity grew into power and importance, it was seen how antipathetic they were in principle. Men instinctively recognized that the two could not live side by side. In every conception of life and its relations they were at odds. Philosophy was the possession of the favored few; only those who were wealthy or powerful, and those who were educated were acceptable to it. With all its lofty thoughts and sublime aspirations, there were no provisions made for the ignorant. Very few of the philosophers attained the position of Plato, the most Christian of all pagan teachers, and even he made the study and practice of philosophy the necessary medium whereby man's soul must be freed from the power of evil. In his eyes, education was necessary for the soul-life; as a consequence, the un-instructed and the slaves could hardly be said to have souls. The natural result of such teaching was to elevate the few and degrade the many. It was responsible for the insolence of individualism and self-assertion, so characteristic of the Greeks; the tyranny of Rome, and her utter disregard for human life, can also be better understood in this light. The educated few are superior beings. They must wield all power; direct all government. The masses are their slaves, fit only to do their bidding, and then to be cast aside.

The teaching of Christianity was in direct opposition to all this. Instead of appealing to the few, it boldly declared itself as bringing a message for all. Neither wealth nor power, nor education, had any advantage over the meanest slave; for was it not written. "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit,

saith the Lord of Hosts?" (Zech. 4 : 6). And the blessed Paul had said: "Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called" (1 Cor. 1 : 26). Nothing was of any worth but confession of Jesus Christ and absolute surrender to him; all souls were equal in the sight of God, and everyone had a soul.

The influence of this teaching was profound. It gave to each individual a dignity and value that were inalienable, at the same time making him utterly independent of any external, whether culture, or position, or wealth. It is difficult for us to grasp the significance of this position, in our day. The vaunted superiority of philosophy was tacitly denied. Men, with their lives rooted directly in God, felt that their personality was more exalted than one that depended on education for its chief value. But such personality must be humble and dependent, because it was the gift of God; it must be humane, for all men are brothers; it must be loving, "because he first loved us." At the same time, the governing principle of imperial Rome was controverted. If men had been "bought with a price," the state could not have absolute power over them. They would be obedient to "the powers that be," for so it was commanded; but they must refuse to commit treason against the higher allegiance. Men might govern, but they must govern wisely and with respect to the rights of others.

It may be asked, and with some reason, too, what bearing these antagonisms have on the relation of early Christianity to education. That could hardly be affected by the opposition of Christianity to principles of government. Besides, philosophy was but one of many distinct branches of learning.

But it must be remembered that philosophy and government were very closely allied. The philosophers were the teachers of antiquity after the national cults had lost their hold. Many of them were in the employ of the government. Their teachings were the conservators of the existing condition of affairs. The natural effect of their doctrines was to confirm government in many of its positions, as for instance, the inherent inequality of

man, the very thing most likely, in our eyes, to do incalculable harm to the cause of education. Nor is it true that philosophy was a separate study. True, it was distinguished by Quintilian from literature, science and art ; but, in general, the term was used to cover the whole field of higher learning, with the exception of medicine and law. Neither can it be admitted that the various branches of education had the distinctiveness to which we are accustomed. They were in their infancy, and had a corresponding degree of development. For a very good reason they were comprehended under the term "philosophy." It was the philosophers who presented the theories of creation ; philosophers who advanced the ideas of the earth's sphericity and the antipodes ; philosophers who looked for natural law in the structure of the earth and the phenomena of the atmosphere. And, what is more, these observations and speculations were not kept separate from those that were ethical or metaphysical or religious, in their nature, but so mingled with them that it is impossible to imagine them to have conveyed the same significance they do for us. Thus, Cicero's speculations are found in his essays "on the contempt of death" and "whether virtue alone be sufficient." When all this intimacy of relation is considered, it will not be difficult to understand why, in the natural antagonism of principles, the leaders of Christianity opposed the education of the day. Opponents are never discriminative in the midst of conflict. When the principle parts are rejected, the subordinate parts are sure to be accorded the same treatment.

It is likely that the antagonism would not have been permanent, if these had been the only points of disagreement. Reason would have resumed its sway, and the points of likeness been emphasized rather than the points of difference. The political maxims would have been reformed ; the conceptions of man's dignity universalized and ennobled, while the limitations of philosophic morality would have been lost sight of in Christian perfection. But the philosophy of the times had descended from the exalted position which the theologians admired so much in Plato. The recognition that the latter received was in no wise accorded to the former. If sympathy could be expressed by

the Fathers with the views of Plato, it was impossible with the teachings of their contemporaries. The reason for this was very simple; philosophy was no longer philosophy, in the true sense of the term. In one respect, it had become something more than philosophy; in reality it had become much less.

From the golden days of Plato, there had been a steady degeneration. The genius that had almost reached the gates of heaven was succeeded by one that abode upon the earth. Aristotle, with his unimaginative and practical mind, analyzed the life out of idealism. He set aside the universalistic conceptions of Plato, and taught that only individuals have real existence, thereby causing the suspicion that the dialectic method had failed, and bringing about the return to sensualism. Consequently, his immediate successors, Dicaearchus and Straton, deliberately set aside "the god of philosophy," declaring "that a divinity was unnecessary to the explanation of the existence and order of the universe." Philosophy, instead of striving for a knowledge of real being, now gave itself to the subject of individual happiness. It had become a moral philosophy.

It is easily understood, then, why Epicureanism and Stoicism should follow in the wake of Aristotelianism. Both were attempts to solve the problem of individual happiness. Epicurus endeavored to find the answer in pleasure. Truth was variable quantity for him. There was no right that was absolute or unchangeable; nothing that was intrinsically wrong. The virtues were of use only for the pleasure they gave.

With the more highly organized, the result of such teaching was a selfishness which, though refined, was yet invincible. For men of coarser nature, the doctrine suggested the grossest sensuality,—for were not their pleasures in these things?

Stoicism was a formal protest against such a system. Zeno, its founder, was a man of nobler soul than Epicurus. Instead of a very adaptable "pleasure," he took "the universal reason" as the keynote of his philosophy. For Zeno, right and wrong were no longer ideas adjustable to each one's desires. Everything was right that was approved by the universal conscience of the race; everything wrong that was condemned by the

same. Stoicism was a vast improvement over its predecessor, but that did not save it from equal failure. It was too limited in its operation. The nobler spirits of ascetic tendencies were attracted by its austere spirit of renunciation and rigid morality; but its principle of endurance and self-repression could never draw the multitudes of commoner clay. Nor even to those who were attracted by its grandeur, could it give peace, or the longed-for purity of soul. With a metaphysic that was impotent, which presented an impersonal God, and took away every hope of immortality, its natural effect was despair. Men of nervous temperament, such as Zeno and Cleanthes, were driven to suicide; the more apathetic took refuge in an egotism that amounted to self-worship.

It cannot surprise us, then, that, with the total failure of these attempts, the skeptical philosophy, which had already begun under Timon and Pyrrhon, should be in the ascendant. There burst forth such a flood of cynical disbelief that the very foundations of religion in Greece and Rome were destroyed, and positive philosophy was discredited. Hardly any one who made the least pretension to knowledge accepted either. The gods were buffoons, fit subjects for the comic stage; the philosophers were fools. Why give any credence to them when they did not agree among themselves? Would it not be better to believe with Pyrrhon,—if there could be such a thing as belief,—that there was nothing certain, nothing true? As for a rule of life, they would do as they pleased. Had not Pyrrhon and Timon said: "Nothing is infamous; nothing is in itself just; laws and customs alone constitute what is justice and what is iniquity?" And, if they were called on to defend their position, they would say again with their masters: "We assert nothing; no, not even that we assert nothing."

But such a position was at once too extreme and too absurd to last long, and the reaction soon set in. Yet, what to do was a puzzling question. Plato was too uncomfortable with his high ideals; Aristotle, too fatiguing with his endless divisions and rules; Epicureanism, Stoicism and Skepticism had all been tried and found wanting. Perhaps a happy combination of the differ-

ent philosophies would give a better result. So the period of eclectic philosophy began, which, like all such hybrids, fell below its originals. Every possible combination was presented for acceptance, and the world was plagued with a race of philosophers to distort the thoughts and ape the manners of their betters. Of course, the attempt was an utter failure.

There was but one thing left for philosophy to do, and that was to step outside of its own realm and seek authority elsewhere. This was done by Apollonius of Tyana and his disciple,* Plotinus of Alexandria. The former in the first century of our era, the latter in the third, in their efforts to restore philosophy, naturally returned to Pythagoras and Plato. Philosophy had gone from bad to worse ever since they had been deserted. Yet they were not to be followed entirely, for they had failed in part because they had neglected the religious element too much. This Plotinus† sought to supply by an appeal to the ancient eastern theosophy, with which he came in contact at Alexandria. In this he found the "doctrines concerning the principle of evil, the gradual development of the divine essence, and creation by intermediate agencies,"—none of which were found in Plato. These should supplement the deficiencies of his master; answer some of the riddles he had left unanswered, and meet the needs of the world. Philosophy had emphasized the intellectual side too much in speculation; Plotinus determined that the religious element should be in the ascendant. "Philosophy should be worship—no amusement, but prayer."

It was inevitable that this attempt should be made. The mysticism of the east had permeated every rank of society. Thousands who had turned away in disgust from the national cults and philosophy, now gave unquestioning allegiance to the theurgy of Egypt, Syria and the far east. The wilder the mysteries, the deeper the degradation, the more abject was the superstitious reverence accorded them. It was because of the

*Plotinus was attracted to the course he pursued by reading the life of Apollonius by Philostratus.

†So did Apollonius, but his life is too traditional to refer to with confidence.

utter failure of philosophy and religion that the world bowed in worship to the very demons of the east, plunging deeper with every disappointment, if so be that peace might be found. Philosophy was compelled to make the alliance; but, by the very necessity, it confessed that it had nothing to give to the world.

This was the reason why the theologians opposed philosophy so strenuously. Platonism was admired, if we may judge the early Fathers by their own statements.* But Platonism was practically out of the race when Christianity appeared upon the scene. A few here and there studied the "divine Plato," but they formed in no sense an influential school. And if we may infer anything from the experiences of Justin Martyr, Augustine and others, the most of these must have been led to embrace Christianity. The dominant philosophies of the first century in the Christian era were Epicureanism and Stoicism, which divided the suffrages of the educated classes between them. With these, Christianity could not have a moment's sympathy; the doubtful "pleasure" of the Epicurean and the colossal pride of the Stoic were alike hateful to it. But these had to be met only in a practical way. When the time came for the development of the Christian theologians, both these schools had given way to the philosophic eclecticism of the philosophasters, on the one hand, and the religious eclecticism of Neo-Platonism, on the other. If we want to appreciate the opposition of Christianity to the philosophy of its time, we need but remember this fact.

Here were two systems of philosophy, so-called, that were confessedly impotent. The one declared it by its Protean changes; the other by its union with oriental mysticism. The disciples of the former soon fell away from the purpose with which they began. Already they began among the followers of Epicurus and Zeno that speculation had given place to morals. For them, however, it became a mere branch of literature, a chance for oratorical display. Instead of teaching morality, they became expert casuists, such as would have shamed the victims of Pascal's invective. In every place of assembly, one

*Sheldon's History of Christian Doctrine, Vol. I., pp. 18, 19.

or more of these despicable parasites might be found trying "to make the worse appear the better reason," and defending every imaginable vice and crime by the use of ingenious sophistry.

It will be admitted that Neo-Platonism has a much more respectable record; the very fact that for two centuries it was a formidable rival to Christianity will testify to this. Yet, like the other eclectic system, it had no stability. The mystical doctrine of "Ecstasy," by which Plotinus rose above the limitations of "individuality, memory, time, space, phenomenal contradictions, and logical distinctions," and contemplated the divine perfections within himself, was supplemented by his immediate successor, Porphyry, with a development of demonology and the beginning of an active crusade against Christianity. Iamblichus, the disciple of Porphyry, carried the movement still further by the introduction of a "theurgic or magical element, teaching, among other things, that certain mystical exercises and symbols exerted a supernatural influence over the divinities." Along this line, Neo Platonism was carried by a brilliant line of teachers, among whom may be named Hypatia, until it received its extreme theurgical development from Proclus.

Can it be wondered, then, that Christian teachers denounced the philosophy of their day as false and pernicious? Would we not, if we had been in their places, have had an invincible repugnance for everything connected with the systems? How could the theories of the philosophers receive the approval of the theologians when based on such principles? Everything connected with the name of philosophy would be discredited by such association. Perhaps, now, we can the better appreciate the indifference of Eusebius and Basil, and the more direct antagonism of Lactantius.

It may be suggested, however, that philosophy should be judged by its best representatives. The theories and acquirements of a Plato, an Epicurus, a Lucretius, a Cicero, should not be condemned because of the sophistries and vagaries of later schools. Let it be said, in reply, that the former philosophies were not the ones under practical consideration. If they had been the result might have been different. The philosophies of

the time affected to represent the learning of the time, and the two had to be judged together. Moreover, as stated before, the scientific theories referred to were intermingled with many other elements in the philosophies, and occupied quite a subordinate position. To censure the Fathers for not accepting them, under the circumstances, is absurd. Only the developments of later centuries have brought us to appreciate the prophetic vision of the pagan philosophers,—perhaps to read into their writings many things that they never contemplated. Finally, in the days when Christianity came in contact with philosophy, these various branches of knowledge were ignored. The followers of the great philosophies were moral philosophers; speculation was a lost art with them. If any speculative subject was touched upon, it was done in the spirit of a dilettante. Philosophy had become an intellectual game; “words took the place of things, forms of realities.” Moral earnestness was lacking in the pursuit of abstract truth, and with it had departed sound education in all other subjects. If such was the state of affairs among the adherents of philosophy, what could be expected of those who were compelled by higher demands to oppose it?

But, perhaps, the thing that necessitated the most rigid antagonism of the early Fathers was the practical immorality of philosophy. Its moral teachings had become a matter of mere convention and prudence,—to suit the time and the place. This has already been pointed out in the career of the eclectic philosophers, it was so, too, with the Neo-Platonists. Though their doctrine called for purity of life, and many of their leaders were of the true nobility, yet the very genius of the system led in the other direction. That it should be the case with the Epicureans, also, will be accepted as a matter of course; but that Stoicism should fail in the test, is a matter of surprise. One would have thought that with its doctrine of an absolute right and wrong, and its principle of strict morality and self-repression, it would have overcome the feelings of the time. One instance, however, will serve to prove the opposite to have been the case.

Among all the characters of the first centuries, there is hardly one who is more attractive than Seneca. A philosopher of the Stoic school, he had put its teachings into so winning a form that not only his own time, but succeeding generations, have admired. His sympathy with humanity, however degraded; his nobility of thought; his aspirations toward the perfect life; his surprising approximation to the spiritual teachings of St. Paul,—all gave rise to the after tradition that he had learned of the apostle to the Gentiles.* Farrar considered him worthy of a prominent place in his "Seekers after God," and truly he seems deserving of the honor. Yet, this same Seneca, who thought so divinely, "who could discourse so finely upon the abstemiousness and contentment of the philosophers, who, on all occasions paraded his contempt for earthly things as nothingness and vanity, amassed, during the four years of his greatest prosperity and power, a fortune of three hundred millions of sesterces, (over \$15,000,000), and, while writing a treatise on Poverty, had in his house five hundred citrus tables, tables of veined wood brought from Mount Atlas, which sometimes cost as much as \$25,000, and even \$70,000. The same Seneca who preached so much about purity of morals was openly accused of adultery with Julia and Agrippina, and led this pupil, Nero, into still more shameful practices. He wrote a work upon Clemency, yet had, beyond question, a large part of Nero's atrocities upon his conscience. It was he, too, who composed the letter in which Nero justified before the Senate the murder of his own mother."† "Characteristic is his relation to Annaeus Serenus, captain of the watch under Nero. Seneca regulates his life even to the smallest detail, points out what he shall read, how he may best spend his day. Serenus lays before him the state of his soul, Seneca discusses it like a father confessor."‡ Yet this very Serenus is the one who brought about Nero's amour with Acte.

When the sublime writings of Seneca are contemplated in the

*Seekers after God, parallels between Seneca and the Scriptures.

†Uhlhorn's Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism, pp. 93, 94.

‡Uhlhorn's Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism, p. 93.

light of his life, who can help perceiving their practical worthlessness? They are "words, nothing but words." And yet, if this can be said of Seneca, what must have been the condition of the thousands who affected philosophy as an ornament, and led the life of beasts? Philosophy might boast of an Epictetus, a Marcus Aurelius, an Hypatia, even a Julian, but these were striking, and not perfect, contrasts to the multitude of its devotees.

Can it be surprising, then, that the theologians turned away in disgust from philosophy, and distrusted everything connected with it? The marvel is that they were tolerant in the least degree. I fancy there are thousands who pride themselves on the catholicity of their sympathies who would not have gone as far as they. But when Chrysostom* was questioned about schools and education in his day, he could say: "If you have masters amongst you who can answer for the virtue of your children, I should be very far from advocating your sending them to a monastery; on the contrary, I should strongly insist on their remaining where they are. But if no one can give such a guarantee, we ought not to send children to school where they will learn vice before they learn science, and where, in acquiring learning of relatively small value, they will lose what is far more precious, their integrity of soul. * * Are we, then, to give up literature? you will exclaim. I do not say that, but I do say that we must not kill souls. * * When the foundations of a building are sapped, we should seek rather for architects to reconstruct the whole edifice than for artists to adorn the walls. In fact the choice lies between two alternatives—a liberal education, which you may get by sending your children to the public schools, or the salvation of their souls, which you may get by sending to the monks. Which is to gain the day, science, or the soul? If you can unite both advantages, do so by all means; but if not, choose the most precious." Who in our day could have better stated the desirability of education, and presented the superior claims of moral law? And yet

*Chrys. Op. I., pp. 115-122, Ed. Gaume. Quoted from Cath. Rev., April 1898, pp. 241-42.

Chrysostom is classed as one opposed to the higher education of his day! But, in truth, the attitude of Chrysostom was the almost invariable attitude of the Church. Even so late as the sixth century, the prudent and conservative Cassiodorus* could say: "The Holy Fathers have passed no decree binding us to repudiate secular literature; for, in fact, such reading prepares the mind in no slight measure for understanding the sacred writings."

So far the argument has been little more than a frank confession of Christianity's open hostility to the education of its times, together with considerations that might win for it a fairer judgment. But it must not be inferred from this, that early Christianity is to be held accountable for the decline of philosophical learning. That it had its share in hastening the decline, will be admitted. If it had adopted a merely passive attitude toward pagan culture, it would have to be classed among the destructive powers. But even had Christianity not appeared on the scene, the learning of Greece and Rome would have disappeared. It bore the seeds of its dissolution within itself.

For several centuries before the Christian era, philosophy had the field to itself. Thousands accepted the teachings of the different schools, Peripatetic, and Academic, Stoic and Epicurean, each having unquestioning belief in his own philosophy. But in the midst of these, the sophist as mere rhetorician, rapidly gained the ascendancy. Indeed, with the first century A. D., as intimated before, philosophy had become mere mental gymnastics.

This cannot be charged to the indifference, or opposition, of the state, nor to the lack of earnestness in the attending scholars. The favor of the state was too much in evidence, in its libraries, buildings and endowments, to countenance such a charge. As early as the reign of Augustus the university at Athens was richly endowed by public and private funds. With the endowments, there naturally came more definite organization; the studies were classified under three divisions,—sophistics or rhetoric, politics and philosophy. There were several

*Newman's "Historical Sketches," II., 453.

professors for each subject, the occupant of each chair receiving, in addition to special privileges, a large salary for life. In later days, Hadrian established a large library there.

In Alexandria, a complete system of higher instruction was built up under the Ptolemies. The greatest library in the world, numbering over seven thousand volumes was stored in the serapeion. Near by Ptolemy Philadelphus founded the college, generally known as the museum, in which were assembled the most eminent men to expound the whole range of knowledge. The first century after Christ witnessed the foundation of the Roman university by the state. The work of the institution was confirmed and extended by Vespasian,* under whom "fixed salaries and senatorial ranks were attached to certain chairs." The endowment and privileges were renewed and increased by successive emperors. In connection with these, may be mentioned the many libraries in Rome, prominent among which were the two established by Augustus and the one by Asinius Pollio.

Nor was higher instruction confined to the universities alone. "In all the cities of the Roman world, the education of youth was entrusted to masters of grammar and rhetoric, who were elected by the magistrates, maintained at the public expense, and distinguished by many lucrative and honorable privileges."†

Notwithstanding these strenuous efforts, however, nothing could arrest the general decline. Even as early as A. D., 350, education had to be stimulated by legal enactments;‡ but, in spite of the devices of the emperors, both eastern and western, learning disappeared—literature and science were things of the past. The only studies that bore any marks of genuineness were law and medicine, and these preserved their vitality only because they were demanded by the needs of man and the body politic. "Grammar had lost itself in verbal criticism; dialectic had passed into verbal eristic; rhetoric had become, where it was not a mass of rules for being eloquent (necessarily futile), mere sophistic; and philosophy

*Sueton. Vita Vesp., 18.

†Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*, II., 334.

‡Theodosian Code, XIII., IV., 1.

* * had become void through the absence of ethical purpose, and, in the end, degraded by alliance with Egyptian magic."* After the death of Augustine (430), the university schools may be said to have died out. A few of the provincial universities in Gaul and Africa, as well as the institutions in Edessa and Nisibis, lasted a little longer. The intellectual condition of the times may be well summed up in the words of Sidonius Apollinaris: "Young men no longer study; professors no longer have pupils; knowledge languishes and dies." It is a sad ending to a career begun in such hope, but the blame lies with philosophy itself. It had nothing to give to those who inquired of it for help, and in the end none came.

The purpose of this paper will not be completed until some reference is made to the positive relation of early Christianity to education. The former discussion, in form at least, has been largely negative; but this was demanded by the nature of the subject. Christianity, however, had a positive side to its educational activity.

When Christianity came to men with its message, it found them in the depths of skepticism and despair. There was no lack of learning, but spirituality was lacking. Like a true educator, Christianity saw the need, and bent all its energies in that direction. It taught men there was a God above who required their allegiance; it gave them hope that they might come to know God by belief in one who was his own best witness, and by the purification of their lives; it restored the lost treasure of earnestness in life by pointing out that no effort here was lost, but rather enhanced the larger life in the kingdom of the Father; it exalted relation to God; it broadened their sympathies by declaring that all men are brothers. This was, considering the needs of the times, very positive teaching.

Though the attitude of Christianity was hostile to the schools of the time, it was not so to the best elements of their learning. At first, the early Fathers obtained these of necessity in the pagan schools, but later they formed schools of their own for the pursuit of such knowledge. Already with the beginning of the

*Laurie, *Rise of the Universities*, p. 10.

third century, beside the elements of education, "Christians were expected to teach and study the liberal arts, profane literature, philosophy, and the biblical languages. Their teachers commented on the Scripture, and devoted themselves to a critical study of its text; positive theology, as it is called, had established itself in the schools, together with a certain systematic science of Christian ethics, and, we may add, many branches of physical science also. It matters very little that these latter were but imperfectly known; the real point worth observing is that every branch of human knowledge, in so far as it had been cultivated at that time, was included in the studies of the Christian schools; and, considering that this had been the work of scarcely more than two centuries, and those centuries of bloody persecution, it must be acknowledged to have been a tolerably expansive growth."*

This attitude of Christianity was confirmed in the following centuries, its schools adapting themselves to all of real educational value that could possibly be used. The reader, however, must not be misled by this statement, nor by the quotation above. The curricula of the Christian schools were planned on much narrower lines than those of the philosophic schools in the palmy days of pagan culture. This was occasioned, however, by the conditions of the times, and the Christian teachers must needs comply with them. After the dissolution of the philosophic schools, their place was taken by those of the Christians as well as might be; the learning of the time was continued until the deluge of barbarism came and submerged the western empire, separating at the same time the larger portion of the eastern empire from all connection with Byzantine culture.

With the close of this period, the limits of the subject may be supposed to have been reached. The discussion, however, would not be complete without a statement of how Christianity met the changed conditions. The flood of barbarism, which had apparently destroyed the old civilization, made it impossible to continue the old schools. The same fate that had overtaken

*Christian Schools and Scholars, p. 10.

the philosophic schools, now visited those of the Christians, though for different reasons. There were professors to teach, but no young men to study. But, though the monasteries could no longer be centres of learning, they served another purpose.

Many, like Salvian,* fled for sanctuary in the monastery from the awful devastation around them, which must have seemed like the approach of the judgment day. With them went their books, their learning, and their refinement. Here in their refuge they spent the remainder of life, using their last energies in the service of God, and in putting into permanent form the results of their studies. Many were the books they wrote,—some, treatises on the times; others, commentaries on the philosophies, tragedies and comedies of pagan culture,—and those which remain to us are valuable alike for their preservation of learning that would otherwise have been lost, and for curious side lights on the thought and conditions of the time.

Through these refugees, and the libraries that gradually accumulated, the monasteries became the repositories of what learning yet remained. More than this, they became centres of refinement, from which went out in the succeeding years, in ever-widening circles, the pulses of a civilization that was supposed to be dead.

In the meantime, however, the rudiments of civilization were not neglected. Because of the constant uncertainty, and the daily menace to life and property, the arts of husbandry were neglected and forgotten. But the monks, in their protected zones, kept alive the traditions of agriculture, and, when more favorable days came, restored to the people the knowledge that marked the point of departure from barbarism. Kingsley,† in his description of “the monk as a civilizer,” points out very clearly the effectiveness of the monastery as a nursery of civilization; whenever one was founded, a town sprang up around it, and life attained a higher plane. In all this Christianity displayed the spirit of the true educator.

*For an appreciative sketch of Salvian and his times, see C. Kingsley's “The Roman and the Teuton.”

†The Roman and Teuton.

It may be objected, however, that this conception of Christianity is much too favorable. The opposition of the Church to progress is notorious. The literal and allagorical interpretation of the Bible; the development of Scriptural demonology, and the "magical" conception of natural phenomena, blocked the wheels of progress and forbade the study of true science. Nearly all advancement came in spite of the theologians, not because of them.

It will not be denied, however, that the simpler arts of civilization were most important in those days of anarchy, and no one will be so hardy as to claim that the forces opposed to the Church had anything to do with their preservation. As for the the "magical" view of the universe, and its baneful influence, it would be well to prove that Neo-Platonism, in its latter developments, is not responsible for this. Neither time nor space allow a proper review of this question, but history records that the last and most formidable place of pagan philosophy was a system of magic. Though it fairly fell before the superior power of the Church, its teachings found fertile soil in the superstitious times, and Christianity became infected in spite of itself. Which, then, should fairly be held responsible,—Christianity or philosophy?

It is not claimed that early Christianity made no mistakes. Its shortcomings are only too apparent to those who acquaint themselves with the history of the period. But, when we consider its adverse circumstances, the difficulties with which it had to cope,—the words of condemnation that rise to our lips are hushed. As for its course in the latter years, when the deluge of barbarism had finally submerged the greater part of the old civilization, it did its work well under the circumstances. Professor Adams* has well said: "It would have required a greater miracle than is anywhere recorded to have kept alive in the general population of the west the civilization of Greece and Rome during such times, for it would have required the reconstruction of human nature and the modification of all historical laws."

Early Christianity may have been wrong in many of its posi-

*G. B. Adams, *Civ. during the Middle Ages*, p. 9.

tions; its theologians may have committed themselves to many absurdities; the Church may have retarded in many ways the ideal progress of education, but still the question will rise whether the primary cause of the things may not have been in circumstances that were beyond control. To satisfy such inquiry, has been the purpose of this paper,—not to assume the role of special pleader, but, while frankly acknowledging all defects, to ask for a hearing of all the evidence. That, after all, is the only proper attitude to maintain toward the subject. One's sympathies may mislead him; his convictions incline to one side or the other; but, throughout, the inquiry must be conducted in the spirit of honesty, "to discover what the man who has understanding of just and unjust will say, and what the truth will say."

ARTICLE VI.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY PROFESSOR D. H. BAUSLIN, D. D.

A new word has recently been coined by Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker, the great English preacher, for use among religious controversialists. The new word is "neodoxy", and was used by the originator to designate the prevailing attitude of England as regards theology. "Neodoxy" is neither orthodoxy or heterodoxy, says Dr. Parker, "but a disposition to seek something new, to welcome novelties, to revel in inventiveness, to make progress any way, without any idea of where the progress leads." It is a matter of no ordinary theological and historical interest that Principal A. M. Fairbairn, D. D., LL. D., the author of that thoughtful book, "The Place of Christ in Modern Theology," is soon to issue a new work on "The Person of Christ and the Philosophy of Religion," and that Professor Ramsey, the au-

thor of several books of rare value and historical interest, will soon publish a new treatise under the title "Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?"

The ritualistic controversy raging in the Anglican Church has called out in the *Contemporary Review* several articles of much interest. In the September number, Mr. J. Horace Round writes of "Popular Church History." In the October number, Mr. G. H. F. Nye furnishes a reply to Mr. Round under the title "Church History for the People." In the November issue Bishop Barsy attempts to answer the question "What is Ritualism?" The seriousness of the situation is indicated by the Bishop in these words: "It will, I think, be seen that the question is one of complexity; that any action in relation to it involves the dealing with matters in which men are very deeply and earnestly interested; that such action, if hasty, intolerant and inconsiderate, may seriously impair the energy and break the unity of the Church; that on the other hand the policy of inaction has already gone on too long and is now morally impossible."

The question whether the Lutheran Church has ever been a persecuting church is answered negatively in the *Theological Quarterly* of the Missouri Synod in a unique way, in an article on "the case of Dr. Krell." It regards the case as "conclusive as a demurrer against the charge of religious persecution preferred against the Lutheran Church."

The Rev. Samuel C. Bartlett, D. D., the author of that strong book the "Veracity of the Hexateuch," gives in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, a strong and timely article on "Higher Criticism at High-Water Mark." It is a trenchant reply to certain claims made in behalf of the new critical methods now so widely used in dealing with the Old Testament Scriptures, by Prof. Samuel Ives Curtiss of Chicago, in a series of articles published in the *Congregationalist*, as showing the methods of the new critics. It is an article of rare value, keen insight, and forcible statement. As indicative of their way of dealing with the sacred writings, Dr. Bartlett says: "The evidence is made chiefly by the scissors, by forcible dealings, disintegrations, ex-

cisions, transpositions, omissions, and insertions wrought upon a continuous text, often reducing it to small fragments in the process. It was the remark of the German Rupprecht in 1896, concerning this school: 'With inexcusable arbitrariness they make the text to order as they want it.' "

Upon the question of Biblical Criticism in general, the *Bibliotheca Sacra* in an editorial on the theological position of that ably conducted Quarterly, speaks a reassuring and admonitory word: "Scholars in mature life who have lived through the controversies of the last fifty years over the date of the books of the New Testament have good reason for hesitation in the reception of the dogmatic and derisive language constantly employed by the newer school descriptive of their more conservative brethren. The event has proved that the whole mass of German criticism of the New Testament emanating from the school of Baur is an inflated bubble of the thinnest kind. These critics were one and all false prophets. In absence of the means of contradiction, they continued to repeat, that if we could only get hold of a last copy of Tatian's Diatessaron, or the so-called gospel of Peter, we should find documents more original than the four gospels, but we have now found Tatian's Diatessaron and a portion of the gospel of Peter, and both prove to be compilations from all four of the gospels. The younger generation of students can scarcely comprehend what a collapse this is, and what ignominy thereby is really brought upon what has been the predominant school of New Testament critics for the last fifty years. Harnack's surrender, in which he grudgingly admits that the traditional dates assigned to the New Testament books are approximately correct, is a defeat which would have been heralded by headlines covering a whole page of an American newspaper had anything analagous to it occurred in political or national affairs." Various theories are being propounded in the Anglican Church to account for certain Romanizing tendencies. The archbishop of Armagh accounts for these deflections from real Protestantism in this way: "Ignorance of Reformation principles seems to account for a good deal of the Romanizing extravagances so painfully prominent in some

quarters." Nevertheless the archbishop is hopeful, and says further: "I am not afraid for England or her religion, I do not believe that the great English Church will go to pieces over ignominious squabbles over curiously tessellated opinions and patchwork or piebald rites. When I look around Christendom, England is about the only country where faith is not afraid to reason, nor reason ashamed to adore."

In the October number of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, Mr. Witsius Lohman gives an interesting account of a leading Dutch theologian, Dr. Abraham Kuyper, for many years the leader of the anti-revolutionary party in the state and of the conservative party in the Church of Holland. Dr. Kuyper is not widely known yet in this country, but is a vigorous and aggressive thinker, who is likely to be known more widely in this country from his recently translated "Encyclopedia of Theology," noticed by Dr. J. W. Richard, in the October number of this *QUARTERLY*, and from the fact that he is to give the "Stone Lectures" before Princeton Seminary this autumn on "Calvinism." His viewpoint and position in the theological life and thought of the times may be seen from the following: "In the conflict with unbelief and indifferentism, with materialism and pessimism, in brief with all the elements that are undermining the health of the individual or of the people, he has still remained the leader whose forceful words strengthen the hearts of the Christians of Holland, no matter to what ecclesiastical tendency they may adhere. His significance lies above all in this, that he does not content himself with protests, or lose himself in resultless apologetics, but confronts the science with a science of faith. He does not attack 'the wisdom of this world' in its fruits but exposes it in its roots; it is his life aim to create a science on a different foundation—on the foundation of the palingenesis, and this aim he prosecutes with all his energy and talents. * *

He vigilantly guards against every attempt to destroy the boundaries between God and the world, between truth and falsehood, because a victorious battle is impossible so long as men feel themselves in doubt as to the boundary line that separates the Kingdom of God from the kingdom of the world."

In the same high class Quarterly, Prof. Dosker continues his papers on "John of Barneveldt, Martyr or Traitor," a criticism of some of the data in Motley's fascinating history, and Professor William Benton Greene continues his strong papers on the "Metaphysics of Christian Apologetics," this time discussing morality which "is rooted in the idea of oughtness and grows through the practical recognition of the particular duties in which oughtness unfolds itself."

Mr. Thomas Bonquillon, a Roman Catholic writer, in the October issue of the *Catholic University Bulletin*, writes entertainingly upon "Catholicity and Civilization." Mr. B. makes a rather adroit effort to forestall and offset invidious comparisons between Protestant and Catholic countries. He attaches, as we think an undue importance to climatic and other natural causes in the production of types of civilization, and in his zeal for his chosen faith, too little importance to types of religious faith and life. We let him speak for himself: "Without discussing the mysterious forces that underlie the great movement of civilization, east to west, from south to north and *vice versa*, let us remark again that civilization depends on many causes, chief among them being sun, climate, race, economic condition, international relations. An intelligent student must take account of all the influences which favor or retard the development of civilization. For example, a South American Republic compares badly with a Swiss Canton in regard to popular instruction. Is this inferiority due to catholicity, or rather to the constitution of the people, whose blood is perhaps nine-tenths Indian? The catholicity of Spain cannot entirely explain the sobriety of its people, nor can Protestantism be entirely to blame for the intemperance prevalent some thirty years ago among peoples of the North. Climate is a factor in both cases. May we not conclude then that a comparison of religions and their effect on civilization is just and honest, only when we compare them in peoples of the same race, climate and economic conditions?"

In the department of Ecclesiology two English books of recent publication, by representatives of the Anglican Church, present the divergent views entertained in that body on the same

general subject. The *Christian Ecclesia*, a course of lectures on the "Early History and Early Conceptions of the Ecclesia," by Dr. F. J. A. Hort, is somewhat remarkable, because of the man, his method and his conclusions. The characteristics, ability and attainments of the man give unusual weight to his testimony and his conclusions. His book discusses with painstaking care all the passages in the New Testament that have reference to the Church and ministry. The work is purely biblical in its scope, and the learned author's conclusions are confirmatory of the truly Protestant view of the nature and character of the Church and ministry. Since the publication of Lightfoot's great essay on the same subject, and Hatch's Bampton lectures on the "Organization of the Early Christian Churches," no such exposure has been made of the fallacies and pretentiousness of a false ecclesiasticism. Dr. Hort maintains that in the important passages of the New Testament in which assurances were given by the Lord and certain charges as to the gift of the Spirit, the remission and retention of sins, Christ's universal authority and his abiding presence, no exclusive prerogative was conferred upon the apostles, even though by his own fellow churchmen that passage is continually cited as the basis of sacerdotal claims transmitted from the apostolate to the episcopate. He gives what seems to us an unanswerable demonstration that the theory of the apostolic succession has no basis in fact, in the teaching of the New Testament. He further shows that what was fundamental in the apostolic office is that which is common to all Christians, and forms the basis of the "Christian ecclesia," namely, discipleship to Christ, personal faith in the world's Redeemer. The discipleship which accompanied our Lord's ministry, contained, though in an immature form, precisely the conditions by which the ecclesia subsisted afterwards, faith and devotion to the Lord, felt and exercised in union and consequent brotherly love. It was the strength, so to speak of St. Peter's discipleship, which enabled him, leading the other eleven disciples and in conjunction with them to a foundation on which fresh growths of the ecclesia could be built. "They themselves (the apostles), constituted the foundation (of the Church) in the

sense which the gospels lead us to recognize the chosen hands of intimate disciples, the first rudimentary ecclesia on which the ecclesia of Palestine was first built, and then indirectly every other ecclesia, whether it had or had not been personally founded by an apostle." The Church is built upon faith in Christ, and is the fellowship of all who believe in him. He can find in the New Testament no "divine sight" of church government, no exclusive recognition of and authority for any form. "The offices instituted in the ecclesia were the creation of successive experiences, and changes of circumstance, involving at the same time a partial adoption first of Jewish precedents by the ecclesia of Judea, and then apparently of Judean Christian precedents by the ecclesia of the dispersion and the Gentiles."

The second book referred to above, is of entirely another order. Its very title is indicative of the theory of its able author—"Ministerial Priesthood—chapters preliminary to the study of the ordinal, or the rationale of ministers and the meaning of Christian Priesthood," by R. C. Moberly, D. D., Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology, at the University of Oxford. The purpose of this able treatise is to determine the question "What is Priesthood in the Church of Christ?" Dr. Moberly presents us in this book with a very high idea of the unity of the Church, and controverts the views of Hatch and others, which would trace this unity simply to a general tendency in the early centuries of the Christian era toward the formation of associations and especially religious associations. "The view or meaning of church unity is closely allied to any true understanding of church ministry. Indeed the basis of a true understanding of church ministry is a true understanding of the Church. The Church is likened to a body, her ministry to certain specific organs or members of the body. The body is a single articulated whole, and when we inquire into the rationale of church ministers, we are inquiring into the principle of the differentiation of functions within a single unity." Our author then in due logical order insists "that ministerial authority depends upon continuous transmission from the apostles through those to

whom the apostles transmitted the power to transmit, and that this must be recognized as being from the time of St. Clement onward, a principle implanted in the consciousness of the Christian Church." In this, we have the theory of the apostolic succession pure and simple. The Church must be without an authoritative ministry unless she can show by indubitable evidence, that her present teachers have been set apart by other teachers who can prove in turn that they and all their predecessors were ordained by men whose ordination reaches back without an interruption to the laying on of apostolic hands.

Our author maintains a divinely warranted episcopate and repudiates the position to which prolonged and careful study brought such distinguished Anglican scholars as Lightfoot, Hatch and others, viz., that the episcopate properly so-called would seem to have been developed from a subordinate office, that the episcopal office was formed out of the presbyterial by elevation. Dr. Moberly has given an able and elevated treatise on stoutly controverted points, such a treatise as will bring joy to the hearts of the "high churchman," but which notwithstanding will not convince the man who plants himself upon the New Testament and the history of the Church.

A well written editorial in the *Methodist Review* on "Opinions and Morals", gives an account of some well known forms of mental obliquity and finds something of an example in the fidelity with which the late Chas. H. Spurgeon adhered to his sturdy type of Calvinism: "A considerable number of good men seem firmly convinced that only wickedness prevents the universal prevalence of their particular beliefs. They feel, no doubt, that all other forms of faith except their own would straightway disappear if people simply sought the truth with sufficient earnestness. Prejudice and perversity appear to them the sole explanation of the great diversity of opinions in the world. They themselves being wholly free from these unlovely qualities are in possession of opinions wholly right, while such as have contrary views remain in error as a punishment for their sin. This popular theory is not always stated in precisely these plain terms, but many people cherish it in one form or another,

and even when it is not explicitly avowed, it will be found to underlie much of the thinking. What else will account for the attitude of the late Chas. H. Spurgeon so constantly maintained toward Arminians? He contrasts them with the 'believers in the Bible;' he calls their belief 'the doctrine of men,' 'another gospel' as distinguished from the truth as it is in Jesus; and speaking of Calvinism he says that those who do not believe it now will before they enter heaven."

In the *Catholic University Bulletin*, Professor Henry Hyvernât presents a discriminating and intelligent plea for the study of Hebrew in our theological schools. He presents a strong array of arguments and arrives at this: "Every fair reader will conclude that we ought to know Hebrew well, very well, both philologically and historically, in order to answer the present demands of the public for information as to the lower or philological, and the higher or literary criticism of the Bible; Hebrew is now just as necessary as Latin and Greek, nay far more necessary as far as philological and literary knowledge goes, for most of the Latin and Greek works the theologians have to read have been long since critically edited, so that an ordinary reading knowledge of these two languages is sufficient for the average theological student; not so far the original text of the sacred writings."

Prof. A. C. Zenos of the McCormick Theological Seminary is represented in the *Homiletic Review*, with an able paper upon "The Accredited Results of the Higher Criticism," and Prof. Rush Rhees in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* by papers on "The Confession of Nathaniel" and "A Striking Monotony in the Synoptics."

In the November *Biblical World*, Prof. E. B. Pollard, Ph. D., contributed a fine article on "The Prophet as a Poet." He portrays with particular force the optimism of the Hebrew prophet-poet. "The true poet has always been a man of hope, out of the broken segments he sees the perfect arc. Pessimism and despair do not make poets. Pessimism lacks vision and cannot set men's hearts to vibrating. To the poet 'A sun will pierce

the thickest cloud earth ever stretched.' Hereni the Hebrew prophet showed himself ever a true poet. The best was always yet to be, for he held up as the world's ideal, not some ancient of the distant past, not Abraham celestialized, nor David idealized, nor Moses spiritualized, but one still to come who should be at once David, Moses and Abraham. For he should be the profecion of kingly power, the fulfilment of the law, and the end of faith. It is this that makes the Scriptures from protevangelium to 'Lo, I come quickly,' a book of promises, a chart of eternal hope."

In a book review in the *American Journal of Theology* we find a somewhat novel interpretation of the relations and attitude of Luther and Zwingli in the sacramentarian controversy. There is manifestly much justice in the position taken—"Luther and Zwingli had different practical and social problems to contend with, and no doubt this is the reason they drifted apart. Even the theological historian must be impressed with the fact that in this matter it is not Luther who is speaking, but certain conditions and consequences of the Reformation, which the man who once had cared only for the truth, regardless of consequences, had not foreseen and now feared. If at any time in his life the great Reformer can be explained and accounted for in the circumstances of his time, it is right here."

The volume of Bampton lectures for 1897, recently published, discusses a timely topic. The title of Mr. Ottley's book is, "Aspects of the Old Testament." As to the subject and purpose of the lectures the author says: "I propose to consider very simply and practically the present function of the Old Testament Scriptures in the Christian Church," by "present function" meaning the function of Scripture as indicated by the results of recent criticism. The purpose of the author is not so much to discuss or expound the higher criticism or its results so much as to reassure persons who suppose that Christianity itself is endangered by the results of Old Testament criticism. He takes up five distinct aspects of the older Scriptures and inquires how they stand in the light of modern criticism, and what effect that criticism has on them. These five aspects of the Old Testa-

ment, are, viz.: "A History of Redemption," "History of a Progressive Revelation," "History of a Covenantal Relationship," and "The Old Testament and the Messianic Hope."

In the *New World*, Dr. Orello Cone has grouped together a great number of references to Paul's belief in the supernatural element of Christianity. He discusses the matter in detail and with a wide induction of the facts involved and concludes thus: "A fellowship with Christ which is ethical instead of supernatural, an atonement which is only reconciliation, a baptism which is a mere outward form, an eschatology which is an historical evolution without a celestial denouement, and a spirit which works according to law, constitute an emasculated Paulinism. The indomitable tendency of modern thought toward these ideas denotes our departure from the greatest of the apostles, and indicates the transient elements in a teaching, which for ages swayed the thought of Christendom."

II.

GERMAN.

BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A. M.

Germany's greatest poet said: "Every beginning is difficult;" and the various experiences connected with this beginning in things German do not inspire us to deny it. For this first report the time was short—too short for any one to pass from a merely general and more or less superficial acquaintance with the field, such as can be gotten by reading about things, to the most thorough knowledge of it that the individual is capable of, which can be gotten only by studying about things, and studying the things themselves in their original forms as far as circumstances permit. Accepting this latter condition as the ideal, it becomes evident that the best service is merely an approximation conditioned by the individual element, and the many difficulties that beset the work.

The vastness of the field is perhaps its greatest difficulty. When we realize that great and important works appear at the rate of at least one volume per month, and pamphlets several

per week, and that the theological zeal of the Germans supports from twelve to fifteen periodicals of such character, we are in a position to know something of the depth and the breadth of the current of German theological thought. And further, these many publications represent almost as many different shades of opinion. Those who are in a position to know seem to think that the so-called "Schools of Theology" in Germany are in a hopeless jumble; there being few of whom it can be said without elaborate limitations that they belong to a particular school. As a rule a man's position is described by mentioning certain different and sometimes apparently divergent elements in his work. Yet throughout this motley complex, two general classes are easily distinguished, though with an indistinct line of demarcation: The liberal and the conservative, the "left" and the "right." Yet it must not be forgotten that these are but relative terms, so much so in fact that Kuhn was generally classed as conservative, though he was unsound on certain of the cardinal doctrines of Christianity; and students of New Testament introduction are called liberal who are about as conservative on this point as was Luther. In this field, during the last thirty years, liberals have grown conservative, while in Old Testament work during the same period, conservatives have, with very few exceptions, become liberal. And our common use of these terms in characterizing certain divisions or elements in the American Lutheran Church gives us no help whatever for understanding their meaning when used in speaking of German theology of to-day. They stand for distinctions made upon different bases.

The work assigned to this department is that of a reporter, not that of a critic. Yet such notes as are thought necessary to a proper understanding of the matter reported will be given and authorship indicated. A reporter's business is to report things as they are, not just such things as may suit him. We are therefore responsible for the contents of this department only so far as concerns the selection of material and the small personal element which cannot be avoided, absolute objectivity being impossible. In this work, the personal coloring, in so far as

there is any, comes from the conservative side; which, since we must have it in some form or other is fortunate, even for those who think differently; because it thus has a definiteness which it would not have if it came from the other side.

This department is not to treat of the present condition of theology in Germany, but rather to trace its movements. It is to give in condensed form what the theologians are doing, not what has been done. And, in order to accomplish this, there will be reported such books, pamphlets, and magazine articles, as, because of merit or tendency, are supposed to be representative of, or contributing to the theological movements among our German brethren, including those in America.

Generally, a brief note will tell who the author is whose work is mentioned; yet there will be instances in which this is desirable, when, for various reasons, it will be impossible.

The following abbreviations will occur frequently: *Th. Lz.*, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, published semi-monthly, by Harnack of Berlin and Schürer of Goettingen, moderately liberal.—*Th. Lb.*, *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, published weekly by Prof. Luthardt. Conservative.—*A. E. L. Kz.*, *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, published weekly by Professor Luthardt. Conservative.—*N. K. Z.*, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, published monthly by Gustav Holtzhauser, with the special coöperation of many professors and pastors. Conservative.—*Th. R.*, *Theologische Rundschau*, published monthly by Lic W. Bousset of Goettingen, with the special coöperation of leading men of all parties. It claims to be non-partisan.—*Ch. W.*, *Christliche Welt*, published weekly by Martin Rade of Frankfurt. Extremely liberal.

Everything in brackets [] is from the writer.

A writer in *A. E. L. K.* claims to detect counter currents in the course of Old Testament criticism. By this he does not mean the various opposition that comes to light in ministerial conferences, nor the many pamphlets by men who are not specialists and are outside of universities, to which he ascribes little or no meaning for Old Testament students. Nor does he include under this head Prof. Green of Princeton (giving the

American first place in importance), nor Rupprecht, both very strong in their way, yet both failing to attack higher criticism on its own field. And the works of Bredenkamp, Kœhler, Klostermann, Lotz, König, Orelli, Sellin, Volck, Strack, Hilprecht, Sayce, Glaser, Ward and others are rather hindrances to its onward course than counter movements. But it is different with Robertson of Glasgow and Hommel of Munich; the former starting out from uncontested points compares Israel's religious history ("religion is not merely objects; we must also reckon with its power,") as stated or reconstructed by the critics with its presentation as found in the Old Testament, and thereby arrives at conclusions which shape many favorite tenets of the destructive school. The latter, one of the finest oriental philologists of the present day, reads a history in long catalogues of Old Testament and Babylonian names, parts of which had long been lost. About 1400 B. C., he finds a civilization already old, and a far-reaching traffic, with cuniform writing as the official medium. The critics would make Israel at this time merely uncivilized nomads whose later civilization was an artificial construction after more recent models. They claim that even the names of the patriarchal period, and especially those of earlier date were fictitious. But the older inscriptions show the same names while they are not present in the latter ones. The similarity of the names of the times of the patriarchs to those of the age of Hammunabi had already been noticed, and Hommel traces both to Arabian origin. The history of the Arabian conquerors of Babylonia is lost, but we find a great deal preserved to us in names. After they had been there several hundred years they began using the names of the Babylonian dieties in naming their children. But at first they used "ilu," simply, "God," This points back to a time when the one God, "ilu" had not yet been displaced by the "Gods," "ilui." Their names show them speaking of this one God as follows: "God gave, God saved, God is a light, God is mighty, God has blessed, God has helped, etc." Their sense of dependence was expressed by addressing God as "my father, my guardian, my brother." That this is not worship of ancestors is shown by speaking of "ilu" as

“my deliverance, my righteousness, my fear, my defense.” And these names were used centuries before the exile. And for several other reasons Hommel concludes that the records of the patriarchal period could not have been written by a Jew after the exile.

H. Zimmern in the *Th. R.* of May refuses to accept Hommel's conclusion that the frequent use of “ilu” in Babylonian names proves original monotheism, and Prof. Meinhold is of the same opinion. The latter claims that it merely shows that they were not yet polytheists. “Some power of nature, a rock or a fountain, could have appeared divine to them and might have been called ‘ilu.’ ”

Hommel had placed the date of Abraham's leaving Ur, cir. 1900 B. C. A recent work by Paul Rost and another by C. F. Lehmann called forth an article by him in the last number of *N. K. Z.* in which he accepts 2100 B. C. as the true date which is the date of Rost. Lehmann would make it one hundred years earlier.

[Hommel was at first a follower of the critical school, but by investigation was compelled to give up its standpoint as untenable. Meinhold belongs to the more destructive class of Old Testament critics.]

Pamphlets, numbers thrity-two and thirty-three of series “*Hefte zur Christlichen Welt*,” treat of the resurrection and its meaning; the former by pastor Samuel Eck, Lic. Theol., Rumpenheim, and the latter a reply to the former by his friend, Prof. Loofs, of the theological faculty at Halle. Eck claims that the way for belief in Christ's resurrection was prepared by the Jewish transcendental view of heaven and the world of ideas of the Greeks. They were its supports. “These supports have fallen.” Christ's resurrection did not open the way to heaven. Yet this resurrection was the all-important thing for the early Church; in fact, faith in the resurrection was the standpoint from which his words and the records of his wonderful works were collected; “and this faith has painted over the historical picture of Jesus, his words as well as his personality.” His conclusion briefly told is: The appearances of the risen Lord are not reliable

guarantees of a transcendental world; "only in the faith of Jesus himself can we find the warrant for his eternity." [Eck's position is closely related to that of Harnack]. Loofs rejects both methods and conclusions and takes his stand on 1 Cor., 15.

Pamphlet by Martin Rade, editor of *Ch. W.*, title: "Religion and Morality, a Polemic Treatise for Theologians." The author discusses the subject under six theses: I. "The German evangelical theology of our day neglects the ethical problems." II. "Ethics, even the evangelical theological, have repeatedly shown a tendency to sanction things as they are, and thus have injured the earnestness of the Christian moral law." III. "The morality of the Sermon on the Mount is practicable." (In Matt. 5 : 21-42, Christ speaks of the family feeling that Christians should have among themselves. In Matt. 5 : 43 et sq., Christ broadens the Old Testament love of personal enemies to love enemies of our faith). IV. "Religion and morality are independent quantities that appear separate as well as united." ("That the source of morality is religion is a dogma of theologians. It should be given up as soon as possible." A man can develop a morality under the influence of Christian ideas and motives, which later can become as independent and capable of life without them "as a chicken is of the egg from which it came." Further, it can not be proven that religion always precedes or comes with morality). V. "The essence of Christianity is the identity of religion and morality." ("The Sermon on the Mount does away with the distinction between religion and morality. Religion is morality. This identity is not in the sense that $A=A$ but that $B=A$," as Christ said in Matt. 22 : 39. Jesus taught that service of God was service to our brethren, and *vice versa*. Note the content Christ gives to prayer: Nothing but moral interests though permeated with religious spirit. Note also Matt. 15 : 4, et sq.; 5 : 23 et sq.; 7 : 21 et sq., and 25 : 31 et sq., in which no trace of a one-sided religious quality is required, but simply love, morality. Matt. 6 : 12; Luke 11 : 4, teach the same. Compare Matt. 5 : 48 with Luke 6 : 36. "Therefore a moral disposition and activity is the condition of our final salvation to the blessedness of sonship to God. "Re-

ligion is a thing of the will. Faith is love. If not, then measured by a Christian norm, it simply does not exist.") VI. "He who casts reflection upon this standpoint as that of a moralist, charges Christ with the same." (Not discussed).

Prof. Rabus of the philosophical faculty of the university of Erlangen in reviewing a book takes occasion to remark: "Philosophy of recent times in general suffers greatly for the want of a knowledge of God, is never possible without openness for God's revelation and without an understanding of man's regeneration. From the knowledge of God, light falls upon nature which is God's, and this must result in new strength in natural philosophy, which is of man."

Prof. Drews of Jena University in *Th. R.* for November, reviews the Melanchthon literature of 1897 and concludes that the historical progress made since the last Melanchthon celebration, that of 1860, enables us to regard him more historically. We have a quite different idea of him from that of the students of 1860 and before. The writers reviewed are essentially of the same opinion concerning his character. He was not the unconditionally mild man as a former generation taught. Loofs says, and the others say about the same: "When he was anxious or hesitating, the reason was not personal cowardice, but the army of reflections that interest for the matter under consideration called up in him.—Melanchthon was not mild in the sense in which tradition represented him to be." Concerning his service for the theology of the Church. Albrecht Ritschl called him the "Father of Lutheran theology," which assertion was directly contrary to former teachings. But these publications express essentially the same view. Seeberg says, "no one can reject the fact that it was Melanchthon's forms in which Luther's ideas became church doctrines." "Melanchthon's system finds its direct continuation in the systems of the so-called 'orthodoxy' of the seventeenth century."

All agree that Melanchthon differed from Luther in the doctrines of free will, predestination, and the Lord's supper. Harnack and Herrmann see a difference as to the relation of peni-

tenes to the law. Tschackert claims that he perverted the doctrines of the personal certainty of salvation of believers, and that of Christian freedom which belonged to the original reformation, from obtaining in the Church. Kawerau cites several other things in which Melanchthon restrained or obscured Luther's teaching. The reason for this divergence is stated differently by the different authors. "In the end they come to the one and same thing—Melanchthon was a humanist." No one defends his political actions in the Church, but they try to understand them and to excuse them. Loofs says concerning this: "And if we cannot justify his attitude in the interim—let him throw the first stone who never by well meant solicitude let himself be driven to an unfortunate decision. The mistakes of our little lives are forgotten; the error that are known to all the world are not greater because history preserves them to our remembrance."

Two important things are not discussed in these writings—Melanchthon's influence on Luther, and Erasmus' influence on Melanchthon. A great deal is yet to be learned from the latter. A standard life of Melanchthon written with all the results of modern historical investigation in hand was looked for in vain. The association for reformation history has undertaken the editing of his works.

A writer in *A. E. L. K.*, number thirty-nine, discusses our relations to confessions as follows: Every radical development in its first stages clings faithfully to the old ways and does not assert its independence and defiance of the traditions of the Church until it has developed to a strong self-consciousness and feels confident of victory. Modern theology seems to have passed the former stage and to have advanced well into the second, rejecting everything that passes under the name of confession and dogma, and refusing, in pulpit and professor's chair, to recognize any bonds and seeking to justify its position by claiming that such recognition is out of harmony with the being of the Church and even with that of the confession itself. And many, who, on the whole, accept the contents of the confession, refuse to recognize the right of the Church to demand that it has over them anything more than a moral influence.

"But the Church is a kingdom of grace under an unseen head, and though not a visible kingdom, nevertheless a kingdom on earth, a congregation of men, formed according to human regulation with the purpose of calling men together and leading them on to perfection; and this makes it an institution for salvation for which an external order is indispensable, as well as an organ for constituting and maintaining." The Church has the means of grace. They are entrusted unto men for administration. And that the sacraments be rightly administered and the word preached in its purity there must be some norm by which to judge. And since there is no common understanding among men, each individual church must make its presentation of its own understanding; *i. e.*, it must provide a confession according to which its spiritual servants shall serve. But this acceptance shall be in no wise merely mechanical. And the confession shall be more than a merely negative bond beyond which the preacher dare not go. Accepting it as such is but to deny it.

In freedom of doctrine there must be a free unfolding, but theology has no right to lord it over the Church. There is a freedom of the Church as well as a freedom of science. The Church should have the right of disposition over theological faculties which are intended for training its clergy, which right the state should recognize.

The opening sermon of the Ninth General Lutheran Conference in Braunschweig was preached by Dr. Bard of Schwerin, on the text 2 Thess. 2 : 13-17. His theme was "Shall we hold fast to our Confession, or can we let it go?" Which he answers "We stand or fall with the Lutheran Confession."

Prof. Seeberg [conservative] began lecturing in Berlin University at the opening of the Winter Semester. Superintendent Ihmels, Seeberg's successor at Erlangen, in the chair occupied by Thomasius and Franck, comes from among the pastors, as did Thomasius before him. The last German professor has been dismissed from Dorpat (Jerjen), thus making it completely Russian.

Dr. Martin Rade, pastor in Frankfurt, is about to give up his pastorate in order to devote his entire attention to the interests

of the *Christliche Welt*, of which he is editor. Certain of Seeberg's former associates condemn him for accepting the call to Berlin because thereby he comes under the officials of the Prussian Union. [Perhaps Franck's having refused a similar call encourages them in this.] Prof. Cornill, of Koenigsberg, has accepted a call to the University of Breslau, and began work there in October.

Recent publications: Koestlin's "Christliche Ethik;" Zahn's second volume of "Einleitung in das neue Testament;" Koehler's "Dogmatische Zeitfragen." Seeberg has issued a new and enlarged edition of Franck's "Geschichte und Kritik der neuen Theologie." Prof. Hauck's great work, "Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands," has already begun to appear in the second edition.

ARTICLE VII.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Outlines of Doctrinal Theology. By A. L. Graebner. 1898. 8 vo. pp. 280.

We give a hearty welcome to this volume from Prof. Graebner. Though not at first intended for publication, but only as a basis for lectures in Dogmatic Theology to the students of Concordia Seminary, the author did well to yield to the request to give the work to the public. In doing so he has permitted it to remain, according to its original design, simply a "brief thetical compend of the outlines of Christian doctrine, consisting of concise definitions and an array of texts from which the various points of doctrine are derived as from their source, the written word of God." As thus given the work consists of short compact paragraphs, as heads of the sections, stating the Christian doctrines, in the different branches of theology, each followed by printed proof-texts in abundance for every point indicated in the paragraphs. While this method leaves the doctrines stand in their bare thetical form without any discussion, it is most convenient and satisfactory with respect to presenting and massing the Scripture proofs. Prof. Graebner has contented himself with seeking to demonstrate the full scripturalness of the doctrinal statements. He does not, however, wish to be understood as giving a presentation of doctrine absolutely fresh from the Scriptures regardless of the faith of the Church. On the contrary he

is careful to say that he knows himself also in full accord with the doctrine of the Lutheran Church as laid down in the Book of Concord, the *norma normata* of sound Lutheranism. Indeed he makes formal refusal to apologize for having nowhere, from the first point in Bibliology to the last in Eschatology, progressed beyond the theology of our orthodox fathers, and fervently prays that God would keep his brethren in the faith from any such progress.

We are glad to have this compendious presentation of the Lutheran faith as maintained in the Missouri Synod. We, however, regret its exceeding brevity. Considering this brevity, the statements of doctrine are, indeed, marked to a high degree by clearness and explicitness, but an enlarged presentation would doubtless have relieved occasional ambiguities and proved more fully satisfactory. The work is pervaded by the spirit of intensest loyalty to the word of God and the faith of the Church, and shows an able and well-trained theological mind.

The author maintains the well-known Missouri Synod type of teaching on the subject of predestination. He follows his affirmation that the redemptive work of Christ prepared a "way of salvation for the whole human race, with the thesis:

"The decree of predestination is an eternal act of God who for his goodness' sake, and because of the merit of the foreordained Redeemer of all mankind, purposed to lead into everlasting life, by the ways and means designated for all mankind, a certain number of certain persons, and to procure, work and promote what would pertain to their final salvation."

This eternal decree, as a purpose to lead into everlasting life "a certain number of certain persons," thus asserted with no intimation of anything conditional in their election, seems closely allied to the Calvinistic representation of an absolute predestination. With this view the *absolute* monergism of section 145 doubtless finds its intended consistency, as well as naturally does the order of salvation by which regeneration is placed before faith and justification, with the consequent modification of the principle of justification. We cannot but regard this teaching as presenting, in some measure, a misapprehension of the true system of Lutheran doctrine.

M. VALENTINE.

Erzählungen für die Jugend. Bändchen 39: Der Schmied von Ruhla. Holm auf der Bank; Bändchen 40: Der Prachtjunge, von Alfred Ira.

The first of these stories is a tale of the twelfth century, giving an interesting sketch of the sufferings of the peasants, and the cruelty of their feudal lords, to both of which a limit is set by the Prince Louis the Iron. "Wipp," the Smith of Ruhla, is the central figure, and to a large extent the means of producing the change.—"Holm auf der Bank," whose more formal name is Wilhelm Gottwalt, is a cripple, who, having gained the respect and confidence of his neighbors, is fre-

quently consulted by them, and has a pleasant story ready for every one. "Der Prachtjunge" is the spoiled child of formally Christian parents, who under a false method of education, develops into a scoundrel, whose life and death teach a strong lesson, especially by the contrast in which he is placed to thoroughly Christian people.—The first two stories are evidently importations from Germany, the last of American origin.

W. A. LAMBERT.

Die biblische Geschichte des Neuen Testaments; Kurze Auslegung der Evangelien und Apostelgeschichte, von G. Stöckardt, Professor am Concordia-Seminar zu St. Louis, Mo.

In spite of its two-fold title, the main interest of this book is neither historical nor exegetical, but practical. The only claim it can make as history is, that it presents the matter of the Gospel, in the form of a harmony, in which, according to the preface, two points are made contrary to modern exegesis—The Sermon on the Mount is placed after the Parables of Matt. 13, and "the middle portion of St. Luke 9 : 51 to 18 : 30 is not regarded as a second recension of the Galilean activity of Jesus, nor as a collection of sayings, by which the evangelist would have contradicted the plan he announces in 1 : 1-4, but with Meyer and most of the older commentators as an account of a journey, and the deeds and discourses of the Lord there recorded are referred to the last period of his prophetic activity." As a commentary the work is too brief to be entirely satisfactory. Frequently it gives merely a synopsis, which serves better as a review than as an explanation. Among the strange omissions may be noted that the Wise Men's gifts are mentioned, without any limit as to their meaning. In the main the work can also be characterized as uncritical. The text used is Luther's German translation. Origen's correction of Bethabara, John 1 : 19, and Luther's conjecture Bnehargem, Marks 3 : 17 are retained, without any reference as to original text. Details are added, perhaps from a practical interest, for which the text furnishes no authority; *e. g.*, that Nathanael under the fig tree "had especially prayed for the coming of the Messiah" (p. 30); or upon very precarious authority, as that Christ "ascended with a shout, with a loud trumpet, Psalms 47 : 6, in the midst of the angels' song of praise," (p. 33). The writer's views are given positively, without much suggestion as to the uncertainty of the questions in the minds of scholars, *e. g.*, in the institution of the Lord's Supper, the Lord himself varied the form of words, using all three of the forms recorded in the N. T. (p. 266), St. Paul took his name from Sergius Paulus (p. 370), the Lord's "brethren," were his cousins, the children of Alphäus and Mary, the sister of the mother of Jesus, in which case the statement is modified however by the addition, "in all probability," (p. 33); the disciples failed in the attempt to cure the boy brought to them, because "this time they had attempted to resist the devil, trusting in their own power" (p. 150). In other cases, owing

again to the practical interest no doubt, too much seems to be made of the faith in those who came into contact with Christ. "The shepherds never ceased to praise God, because they had now found their Saviour" (p. 12); Nicodemus when he left Jesus after his conversation with him, "went thence as a regenerated man," (p. 37); the men who let down the paralytic through the roof, that Jesus might heal him were "upright, persistent Israelites, who had recognized Jesus as the Messiah of Israel," (p. 75). Doctrinal statements are avoided; in fact, the book contains sufficient good Lutheran doctrine to serve as a popular exposition of the teaching of the Church. But it seems somewhat strange, that where so many critical questions are passed by, and apologetics is almost entirely overlooked, we should find the kenotists refuted: "The modern theologians who assert that the Son of God at his incarnation laid down his 'Schöpferherrlichkeit' for the time of his humiliation, are blind and dull, that they do not understand the simplest biblical history" (p. 71). As an application of N. T. teaching both direct and by implication to modern times, this volume may stand almost unrivalled, and judging it as such, there is only room for one regret: that the quotations are confined almost exclusively to passages from Luther's works and the hymn-book; not that these are objected to, but that much might have been added from other sources.

W. A. LAMBERT.

Populäre Symbolik Lutherischer Wegweiser zur Prüfung der verschiedenen Kirchen und religiösen Gesellschaften. Von Martin Günther, weil. Professor der Theologie am Concordia—College zu St. Louis. Dritte vermehrte Auflage. 8vo, pp. 472.

This is the third and much enlarged edition of a popular work on Symbolics by Professor Günther, late of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at St. Louis. Since 1893, the year of the author's death, the book had been out of print. This new edition was prepared by Professor Fürbringer. The book is in some respects one of decided merit, though it is *Missourianish* throughout, and is not inaptly described by the words by which the author describes the Lutheran Church: "Uncompromising and full of holy wrath against the perverters and calumniators of the Word, and yet full of love and compassion for those that are in error," p. 10. In *Part First*, the author treats of "The Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Opposing Churches and Religious Societies." The Lutheran Church is described as "the Church of the pure Confession," whose chief mission it is to carry on eternal war against the "heterodox societies" and sects, which do not hold and confess with her "the like precious faith," pp. 7, 8. Yet it is freely conceded that among these "heterodox societies," there are Christians; and it is likewise conceded that in the Lutheran Church there are those who will not be saved. The description of the other churches in their history and principles seems to be accurate and fair.

In *Part Second* we have a "Comparative Statement of the Doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Churches and the Doctrine of the Heterodox Churches and Societies." Each section is introduced by "*The pure doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*," which is fortified by reference to the Symbolical Books, and by "proof from God's Word." This is followed by "*The false Doctrine*" of the other churches and sects which in any way differ from the Lutheran Church. Like every book of antitheses, this is a book of extremes. Not all orthodox Lutherans, we think, would assent to everything classified as *the pure doctrine of the Lutheran Church*; neither would intelligent members of the "heterodox societies," sects and other churches, admit, we think, that they have been always correctly represented by "the false doctrine." In a word the book is written in the interest of *Polemics* much rather than in the interest of *Irenics*. Were the principles of the book carried out by all the denominations, the Christian Church would be the scene of perpetual strife, and Christian coöperation would be impossible. It is not against the Lutheran orthodoxy of the book that we file objections, but against its polemical spirit.

We applaud the author's wide reading on the subject of comparative Christianity, and commend his book as a "guide" for intelligent and independent thinkers who wish to be led to the sources of information.

J. W. RICHARD.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

The Prayer Book and the Christian Life. By Charles C. Tiffany, D. D., Archdeacon of New York. pp. viii., 174. \$1.25.

The contents of this little volume are substantially the Bohlen Lectures for 1898. The object of the treatise is "to indicate the conception of the Christian life, which the Book of Common prayer presupposes, elucidates and strives to nurture." It is a reverent exposition of that noble liturgy. While it was impossible, in working out his plan, for the author not to make his interpretation of many of the services, yet the spirit of the book throughout is irenical and breathes the broadest Christian sympathy. A deeply devotional chapter on "Prayer the Book of Christian Life" prefaces the particular expositions. Dr. Tiffany is a loyal and consistent churchman, and treats the ancient ritual of the Church of England with characteristic veneration, his confidence in it being such that he feels "the calm and assured faith in God, which underlies the very form of the Prayer Book's devotion as a reasonable service, renders futile all fear of banishing God from his universe by discovery or from his Bible by criticism." He even finds "the humanitarian movement of modern times" the "legitimate development" of these ancient formularies, while the inspiration of "prison reform, tenement house reform, sanitation, societies for preventing cruelty to children and animals" etc., is to be found in the petitions of the

litany. Such magnification of the office of a formulary is bewildering to the uninitiated. Yet the work is so excellent, so worthy of the great Church the author represents, that we cannot but wish we had in the literature of our own Church as able an exposition of our catechism.

H. C. ALLEMAN.

The Works; The West. An experiment in reality, by Walter A. Wyckoff, Asst. Professor of Political Economy in Princeton University. 1898. 5x7½. p. 378.

This second volume of Mr. Wyckoff's tells his experiences as a laborer in Chicago's overcrowded labor market, and thence westward to the coast. Its excellent and profuse illustrations add much interest to the text.

Mr. Wyckoff's recital has aroused much attention. It is intensely interesting as a graphic narrative of most engrossing and unusual experiences to those unfamiliar with the life of the sons of toil. It throws much light on modern social conditions, especially those relating to labor and its problems, and in his narration, the author has done a real service. Our data on labor problems are all too scanty. For we do not believe that the problems are to be settled on the narrow basis of dry statistics and census reports. While these are valuable as far as they go, they miss a vital item. For the problem deals with sentient humanity, and its largest element after all is the personality of the laboring man himself. He has a rightful voice in these matters and demands a just hearing. It is above all things needful to see things from his viewpoint, to know his thoughts and how the dire realities of his daily life affect him. It is right here that Mr. Wyckoff illuminates the subject. Without cant or cynicism, but with appreciation earnest from having lived it, he gives in frank description the story of the life and trial of the laborer. He leads us by the hand through home, factory, field and sweatshop, into the squalor of dissipation and want, into the meeting of the labor union and the socialist assembly, until for the first time, perhaps, the reader realizes how the "other half" lives and thinks.

We believe this book will, as it ought to, draw closer the common bond of humanity that binds all humankind together. To a sympathy that we are sure is widespread, but which has often dimly understood the life and trials of those of whom this book tells, we believe it will point a way to practical helpfulness.

STERLING G. VALENTINE.

LITTLE, BROWN AND CO., BOSTON.

Pioneers of France in the New World. By Francis Parkman. 5 1-2 by 8 1-2. pp. 493. 1898.

This forms Vol. I. of the new Library Edition of Parkman's Histories. The text is the last revised by the author, and therefore exhib-

its its final state as perfected by him. There is appended a most excellent index, and the make up of the book is in every way attractive.

The reputation of Parkman was made long since. He covered a unique field and his researches are now classics. We hope this edition will help to make them even more widely read than ever, for there is a widespread lack of the information that his history supplies. The Spaniard and the Frenchman were they who brought the first grey dawn of civilization to the western land. They came less to colonize than for glory, gold or commerce. But the story of their coming is full of romance and fascination. They long disputed possession in the south, and Spain drove France from Florida to seek her fortunes farther north on the inhospitable coasts of Newfoundland and the shores of the St. Lawrence. They were brave men who fought the elements of those dreary forests and icy shores, and none more so than he who endured longest and wrought most in his day, Samuel Champlain. Great was he, less for what he accomplished than in what he dared and strove for, fearless, earnest, sincere and able he was the one unselfish man among them all. He gave his whole energy and heart and finally his life to carry out his hopes for France and to convert the Indians.

First on the field of the new world the Latin natives have not been able to hold their ground. Spain drove out France, and to-day we see the departure of Spain's tattered remnants. They were not made of the stern stuff that constitutes the Anglo-Saxons. They were incapable of taking care of themselves as the English did. They knew not self-government, and the blight of the dark ages rested longest upon them. To Spain the revival of learning and the Reformation has never yet reached, and in France their power and light were not welcomed. These cut themselves off in the race of nations, and we may to-day be thankful that the self-sustaining and liberty-loving nations of the north have succeeded to their inheritance.

But the work of Champlain bore fruit, and the trader and the missionary followed in his track. His policy with the Indians was adhered to by France as long as they held the Canadas, and the work done by him and the heroes of his day has secured their worthy fame to succeeding generations.

STERLING G. VALENTINE.

FLOOD AND VINCENT, MEADVILLE, PA.

Men and Manners of the Eighteenth Century. By Susan Hale. pp. 324.

This is one of the books prepared for the Chautauqua Reading Circle Series, and is of interest to all who are engaged in the study of English literature, especially its development during the last century. The table of contents shows us something of the character of the book: Pope and Lady Mary Montagu, Charlotte Lennox, Addison and Gay, Richardson and Harriet Byron, Fielding, Goldsmith, Horace Walpole and Gray, Evelina and Dr. Johnson, Beau Nash and Bath, Mrs. Rad-

cliffe and her followers. In the volume itself we find sketchy biographies of the above writers, characteristic letters and copious quotations from their works. And all these are presented, not as studies of literary style and as models of expression, but as a presentation of society, actually existing, and as represented in the fiction of the time; when all life moved at the stage-coach and horse-back rate; when the lone horseman or the lone boatman appeared on the scene as the hero of every respectable tale and traveled on through three thick volumes, which began with a preface and ended with an appendix. It is with the end in view of enticing the reader into the perusal of some of these out-of-date volumes that the book has been written. It gives one such glimpses of last century quaintness as will prove thus enticing to many; while to the hurried reader, the busy student, it forms a link in the history of English literature which he cannot afford to lose. It is humorous, pathetic, sentimental in an old fashioned way which takes one back in fancy a hundred years and more.

With the growing literary curtness of to-day, we can, with profit, make a study of eighteenth century writers; and the book before us is a pleasant point of interest from which to work.

M. E. RICHARD.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK; CURTS AND JENNINGS, CINCINNATI.

Biblical Apocalypics. A Study of the Most Notable Revelations of God and of Christ in the Canonical Scriptures. By Milton S. Terry, D. D., Professor in the Garrett Biblical Institute. pp. 513. Price, \$3.00.

Under the title given to the book the author discusses the various revelations or apocalypses contained in the word of God. By apocalypse he understands a divine revelation of something that was before unknown to men. He distinguishes it from prophecy, making it to denote more particularly the heavenly disclosure itself, and which has to do generally with impending or future events, and "consists mainly of visions of the unseen world, symbolical descriptions, and a foretasting of future judgments and mercies."

"Biblical Apocalypics accordingly aims to reveal what is important for man to know about the creation and government of the world by the ever-living God. The most ancient traditions of Israel embody truths which appear in some cases to be cast in apocalyptic form, but the more notable apocalypses are devoted to the disclosure of God's purposes of judgment and salvation.

The form in which these disclosures are generally made is the symbolic—the use of symbols being a conspicuous feature in apocalypics, and "a revelation by dreams and visions naturally appropriating a visional image for its embodiment." Under this title the author has collected not only those revelations which are cast into the more dis-

tinctly apocalyptic or symbolic form but also such biblical narratives as the account of the creation, the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the garden of Eden, etc. These apocalypses are found from Genesis to Revelation. A glance at the chapters that make up the book shows how large and important a portion of Scripture is covered by the work we are considering. The former half of the book, making about 250 pages embraces, besides many preceding ones, the apocalypses in Isaiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, Joel and Daniel. The latter half is devoted mainly to an exposition of the revelation of St. John. The author justifying the fuller treatment on the ground that it is the most notable revelation, "of the things about to come to pass"—the consummation and crown of all the Biblical apocalypses. From this hasty review it is evident that the book before us is one of more than ordinary value and importance, that it deals with portions of Scripture that are from their very nature somewhat obscure and hard to understand—but which it is specially important to understand as they set forth God's way of dealing with man in judgment and salvation. And while it is their symbolic form that makes these revelations difficult to comprehend, yet it is at the same time true that the truths thus communicated became all the more interesting, impressive and abiding in their effects, because of the symbols by which they are conveyed.

Whether the reader will in every case agree with the writer in his interpretation of the meaning of Scripture is a question, but one thing is sure, he will in every passage discussed find a meaning—clear, definite, intelligible, and supported by considerations that every one must respect even though he may not accept. Altogether the work is able, intensely interesting, and will prove helpful to any one who cares to know what God has spoken in past times.

E. HUBER.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK.

Philip Melanchthon, The Protestant Preceptor of Germany, 1497–1560.

By James William Richard, D. D., Professor of Homiletics, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., pp. xvi, 399.

Luther and Melanchthon are the conspicuous figures of the German Reformation of the 16th century. They were different, one from the other, in many respects and in marked degree, but seldom is the directing hand of God more clearly manifest than in the providence that brought these two men together as actors in one great religious drama. To Luther, cast in heroic mould, was given the leading part, and he won the applause of the world as *the* "Hero of the Reformation." His praise has not been too great, but that of his coadjutor has been too little. If the world were half as appreciative of Melanchthon's merits as Luther himself was, he would be given a far more conspicuous place on its roll of great men than he now has.

This biography of Melanchthon will help to lift him to the exalted

place he so well deserves. It is one of a series entitled "Heroes of the Reformation," and it is a fitting thing that the volume on Melanchthon should immediately follow that on Luther. Happily, too, the work of writing it was assigned to one in full sympathy with his subject and ready to work with a will in consulting documents at home and abroad. Dr. Richard has searched indefatigably for his material, and allowed neither labor nor expense to keep his hands off the best. As he drew largely from the *Corpus Reformatorum*, his skill in reading Latin, acquired in teaching that language for years, served him well. This has a special bearing in this case, inasmuch as Melanchthon was the scholar and theologian rather than the man of action, and Latin was the language he used almost exclusively in his theological writings. And because he figures most conspicuously as scholar and theologian, Dr. Richard has made him speak for himself by giving many quotations from his writings, translated into excellent English. And, too, because he was the scholar and theologian, and recognized as such by his contemporaries, it fell to his lot, almost by common consent, to put into form many of the public declarations of doctrine called for in the controversies of those times. Although as Dr. Richard says (p. 43), "Melanchthon learned his theology and his spiritual apprehension of divine truth from Luther," Luther himself preferred Melanchthon's method of statement to his own. Luther could formulate doctrine, and did do it, but Melanchthon was more skillful at it and did it in more polished form. Melanchthon's antagonism to the corruptions of the papacy in doctrine and practice was just as intense as Luther's, but Luther's expression of it was the roar of the lion that he was, while Melanchthon's usually was mild and, in some instances, conciliatory even to a fault.

But Melanchthon not only gave form to the theology of the Reformation, but was also the most potent factor in the revival of humanistic culture in Germany and in the re-organization of her schools, lower and higher. To him has been given the distinction of *Præceptor Germaniæ*, and any reader of the book will see how well he deserves it. He will also be impressed with the marvelous progress of Melanchthon's student life; his rapid rise as a teacher; his irenic temperament; and yet his heroic spirit in battling for the truth; his strong affection for Luther and Luther's for him; his aversion for controversy and the sorrows it brought into his life; the intensity of his grief over a mistake, such as the letter he and Luther sent to Philip of Hesse; his carefulness in all his literary work, revising and re-revising, doing it even with the Augsburg Confession; his beautiful home life and his tenderness and sensitiveness of feeling. All this is portrayed by Dr. Richard, and that, too, in an excellent style of literary composition. The interest is sustained throughout and, even though the reader may not follow the biographer with full assent at some controverted points, he will

agree that this is a capital book and that the author has done his work well.

It is but fair to add that the publishers, by their excellent letter-press (a delight to the eye) and the illustrations, have given this biography of Melancthon a superior setting. The book is a pleasure in every way.

P. M. BIKLE.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

Illustrative Notes: A guide to the study of the International Sunday School Lessons. By Jesse Lyman Hurlbut and Robert Remington Doherty. pp. 389. \$1.25.

This volume has been prepared as in previous years, by Dr. Hurlbut and Dr. Doherty, Dr. Hurlbut furnishing the hints to the teacher which follow each lesson, and Dr. Doherty preparing the explanatory notes, back-ground of lessons, illustrations for the use of the teacher, practical thoughts, and all kindred matter. The editors have been assisted in their work by having access to valuable special studies by Dr. J. H. Moulton, Prof. Hilary Gobin, Prof. M. S. Terry, Dr. L. D. Barrows, and others; and this volume, while not quite up to the mark of last year's notes, is a very valuable help in the study of the international lessons.

H. C. A.

The Truth About Hell, as Christ Taught it in the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus: Exegetically and practically considered. By Wilbur C. Newell. pp. 46. 20 cents.

H. C. A.

Outline of the Moral Teachings of the Bible. By Georgiana Baucus. pp. 43. 20 cents.

This is a convenient little reference manual, especially for the texts given as "illustrations" of the many teachings. But the chief value of the little volume lies in its admirable fitness for the purpose for which it was originally written in Japanese, *i. e.*, to show the difference between the standard of morality inculcated by Japanese books on Ethics and the spirit of Christianity. The English edition has appeared in order, chiefly, to afford a copy which can be translated into the languages of India, China and Malaysia.

H. C. A.

BOARD OF PUBLICATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA. PHILADELPHIA.

Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States. Proceedings of the annual conventions from 1748 to 1821. Compiled and translated from records in the archives and from the written protocols. 1898. pp. iv. and 619. 8vo. \$3.00.

We congratulate the entire Lutheran Church on the publication of this book. Hitherto the history of "the Pennsylvania Synod" has been

to most persons a *terra incognita*. Here everything is made plain, so that he that readeth may run. What was the possession of a few, is now made the property of all who wish to know and to understand the *origines* of Lutheranism in this country. What grand men they were who founded our Church in the American wilderness one hundred and fifty years ago! and what a grand work they did! and what excellent models they are for us! They were soundly Lutheran and devoutly pious, and kept diligent watch over the flock of God. And yet their Lutheranism, their piety, and their fidelity, were often challenged and impeached. They were reproached by some hyper-orthodox, self-styled Lutherans with the epithets of "Pietists," "Zinzendorfiens," "no true Lutherans" and the like. Read this: "Mr. Rauss at a meeting in Lancaster, May 19 A. C., expressly promised before the members of the Rev. Ministerium of Sweedish and German nationality, that he would prove in writing to the chosen arbitrators that Mühlenberg is *a*. heterodox in the Evangelical Lutheran doctrine, and *b*. unchristian in life and conversation," p. 58. More than once since that time history has repeated itself in the Lutheran Church. Mühlenberg and his colaborers served in newness of spirit, not in the oldness of the letter. Their Lutheranism was of the truly evangelical, pietistic type, which has been preserved and promulgated by the General Synod, so that we can confidently claim that the General Synod is the direct heir of the Pennsylvania Ministerium as that body held itself from 1748 to about 1792. Indeed to the General Synod belongs the honor of restoring Lutheranism to the so-called Lutheran Church of this country. No sooner was that body freed from the influence of the Pennsylvania Synod in 1823, than she advanced rapidly to the recognition of the Augsburg Confession and of Luther's catechisms in the constitution of the Theological Seminary in 1825, while in 1829 she adopted, as a part of her own system of government "a constitution for the government of district Synods," in which is presented a formula of subscription to the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession, which the Pennsylvania Synod had completely ignored in ordination for about forty years, nearly half a century, and which after 1792 was entirely omitted from her constitution until well along in the second half of the present century. It is easy to see which body had the better claim to the name *Lutheran*.

The reader of this review will be pleased to learn how the fathers disposed of some practical questions that have arisen in these later days: At the "second convention" in 1749, called "the General Conference," "the general meeting of the Synod," "our Church Convention," present Mühlenberg, Brunnholtz, Handschuh, Kurtz, Schaum, *all pastors and ordained ministers*, (Kurtz having been ordained the year before, pp. 6, 8; and Schaum the day before, pp. 24, 25, 26,) and "all the members of church councils and deacons of the United Congregations,"—on Monday June 5, 1749, this Synod thus constituted,

“held a church convention, thanks to God! in good order, love and unity. The following was unanimously decided: 1. No theological student or ex-preacher who has come to us without a regular call and sufficient testimonials, shall be permitted to preach until he has been satisfactorily examined by us. 2. In the future, parents shall in baptism be asked: ‘Do you in the name of this child renounce, etc.’ ‘Do you in the name of this child believe, etc.’” It is very evident that this synod of pastors and laymen of unimpeachable Lutheranism did not endorse the so-called “infant-faith,” which is now sought to be thrust into the “Ministerial Acts” proposed for the General Synod. This same formula was first *printed* in the Liturgy of 1786 under the *inprimatur* of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, *Senior Ministerii*, and twenty-three other pastors, and continued unchanged in all the baptismal services of the Pennsylvania Synod until after 1860, and passed from that first liturgy into nearly all the Lutheran liturgies published in this country.

In examining a candidate for the ministry, stress was laid on piety, on “awakening,” on “the work of grace in his heart,” as well as on sound doctrine. John Nicholas Kurtz, the first *ordinandus* of the Synod, signed a “revers,” as follows: “To teach in my congregation nothing, whether publicly or privately but what harmonizes with the Word of God and the confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and, to this end, to study them diligently” p. 21. In 1783 candidate Hinkel signed a “revers” in which *inter alia* he promised “to preach the word of God in its purity, according to law and Gospel as it is explained in its chief parts in the Augsburg Confession and other symbolical books” p. 188. He would be a sorry sort of Lutheran, and unworthy of the name *Lutheran*, who could not or would not sign such a “revers,” or pledge. It is less specific than the doctrinal basis of the General Synod, and contains not one word about “the native, true, original and only sense,”—a “*sense*” which no man living can determine, since it is well-known that from the very beginning even the authors themselves of the symbolical books disputed in regard to the “sense,” as notably the Saxon and Swabian authors of the Form of Concord, each party explaining that famous document according to its own “sense.” Mühlenberg and his noble compeers were content to bind men to the “chief parts.” It is easy to see who has preserved the genuine Lutheran tradition of the Fathers of the Lutheran Church in America.

This book also reveals the attitude of the Fathers to the “denominations around us.” Mr. Whitefield was formally invited to attend a catechetical examination, “and to address an earnest word to the children.” “Whitefield went into the pulpit, offered a fervent and impressive prayer, then turned to the children and made a simple and easily understood address about pious children of the Old and New Testament.” After dinner “the aged Mr. Tennant presided and refreshed us with ed-

ifying discourse," p. 74. Again: "Mr. George Whitefield paid a friendly visit to the Ministerium in the school-house, took leave with emotion and commended himself to our prayers and remembrance before the Throne of Grace," p. 90. The prominence given at this meeting of the Ministerium (1763) to a Calvinistic Methodist, to two Calvinistic Presbyterians, and "two ministers of the High [English] Church," who were asked by the President "to give us a sentence for our encouragement," and who "left with an affectionate farewell,"—the glowing language in which all this is described reminds us of the fervor of a Methodist love-feast. We confess it is a little too much for our taste. We do not relish such a commixture.

But this is not all. In 1769 Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, in writing and "by word of mouth," invited the Episcopalian clergy and other non-Lutherans to attend the services held in connection with the dedication of Zion's Lutheran Church in Philadelphia. Mühlenberg writes: "Monday June 26, in the forenoon the members of the Ministerium assembled in the parsonage: The preachers of the English Episcopal Church had yesterday in their meetings invited their wardens and vestries for to-day, in the name of our corporation. Towards eleven o'clock A. M., a crowd of members of our congregation assembled before Zion's Church. But our deacons and elders kept the doors locked, in order that our English guests might have the best place," p. 109, Think of it! The doors of a Lutheran Church locked in the face of its own members in order to reserve the best place for English Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Baptist preachers and their members! We read on: "The second English preacher, Mr. Duchee, began with the English prayers; then the Pro-rector of the college or university offered a prayer, which he had composed for the occasion. After the singing of a psalm, the Hon. Mr. Peters, rector of the High Church, preached an excellent sermon on the Angels' Song, Luke, 2: 14, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace.'" We then read that Mühlenberg "in broken English" addressed "the Honorable Reverend and worshipful Convention," calling them "Catholic spirited Ambassadors for Christ," who "condescended to comply with an humble invitation of their inferiors, though fellow Christians and citizens * * and this have you done, Honorable, Reverend and worshipful convention, by granting our humble request, by solemnly performing and attending the first English service in Zion's, which shall be a lasting monument and recorded for an example and pattern to our latest posterity," p. 110. Evidently the Galesburg Rule: "Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only," must be a modern invention.

This Kanzelgemeinschaft was indeed "an example and pattern" for the next generation. In 1787, "on Wednesday, June 16th, the entire Ministerium went in procession to the dedication of Franklin College

[in Lancaster]; which was held in the Lutheran Church. A Reformed preacher, G. Weiberg, opened with prayer, the Episcopal preacher, Mr. Hutchins, delivered an address on John 7 : 15, Preacher Mühlenberg a German address on Ephes. 6 : 14; and the Moravian preacher, Mr. Herbst, closed with an English prayer.

“That the above all happened thus, we witness :

HENRICH MUHLENBERG,

Secretary.

J. H. CHR HELMUTH,

p. t. President,” p. 218.

It may be news to the reader that the Constitution of the Ministerium, adopted in 1792, “reprinted in 1813, and, with many amendments, in 1841,” contained not even a shadow of a doctrinal basis. No symbolical book of the Lutheran Church was either named or alluded to in this document. If we mistake not, this obliviousness of the Confession remained in the Ministerium until long after the middle of the present century. Licensed candidates were required (p. 251) “to preach the word of God in its purity according to the law and Gospel.” Who will say that the pendulum has not now swung to the other extreme? and swung so far that we doubt whether Mühlenberg and his colleagues could or would desire to be admitted into “the Mother-Synod.”

There are other features of this book, both general and special, that have greatly interested us. It is full of lessons in pastoral theology and church government, and will furnish wise precedents for the conduct of almost all the affairs of congregations and synods. In these respects the book is of great practical value. We commend it to the careful study of every minister and theological student of the General Synod. They cannot afford to remain in ignorance of the good old ways of the fathers of the first generation, many of which we have retained without knowing their origin, while others which have fallen into desuetude, might be restored with profit.

It is with pleasure that we have learned that a supplementary volume of “important documents” will be issued at no distant day. We hope the history will be brought down to the “Jubilee” of 1898. We will then see that “the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States,” passed from a pietistic, conservative, truly Catholic Lutheranism to a state of “deterioration” and unionism, and then to a state of confessionalism which is the most rigid and morally impossible recorded in the entire history of confessional subscription and *Symbolzwang*.

J. W. RICHARD.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Christian Truth and Life. Sermons. By Milton Valentine, D. D., LL. D. pp. viii., 353. \$1.50.

Dr. Valentine has at last yielded to the frequent and urgent requests of former students and hearers, and issued, through the Lutheran Publication Society, a volume of sermons. The sermons have been selected

from Dr. Valentine's pulpit ministrations, mainly at Gettysburg, as occasional preacher in College Church and baccalaureate preacher or President of Pennsylvania College and Professor of Systematic Theology in the Seminary. No other motive has guided the author, he tells us, in the selection of the sermons than the general principle that Christian truth has been given for Christian life. That, indeed, has been the keynote of Dr. Valentine's preaching. The dignity of Christian manhood and the glory of Christian service, based upon the fact, nature and end of the Christian's redemption, are truths with which every pupil of Dr. Valentine was made gratefully familiar. "Ye are Christ's," the initial sermon, and "The True Perspective of Life," the concluding one, sound the same note, viz., that man does not come to himself until he receives and builds on Christ. The Christian life is the best life, because it is the life of God's plan for man, and because in it man comes to his highest happiness and dignity. Salvation is recovery from worse to better things. The author's favorite exhortation is, "leaving the first principles of the doctrine of Christ let us go on to perfection." He believes in the Christian life with all his soul and never wearies of pointing out the glorious prospect that lies before, in the line of the Christian calling. The secret of the true leader is his, the secret of inspiring confidence and hope. He can sound a stern note of admonition, too, as biting as an Old Testament prophet's.

Dr. Valentine's homeletical method is mainly topical. Few preachers have such a mastery of the very essence of New Testament truth. To his logical mind the texts chosen seem to disclose at once their hidden import and the theme thus suggested yields its own development. With his trained reflective powers he sees a spiritual truth in its essential content and in its relations, and when his last word is uttered his hearers feel that the treatment has been exhaustive. To the reinforcement of his analytical power Dr. Valentine brings a wealth of illustration, inspired by a rich imagination and drawn from his intimate and masterful familiarity with Scripture truth and teaching from his wide reading in classical and biographical literature, from his life-long acquaintance with scientific investigation and from a close observation of human nature. The sermons are virile in thought, beautiful in diction, and convincing in argument. It is not denominational boast to say that Dr. Valentine takes rank with the best preachers of his day. There is a strong resemblance, in his method and in his style, to Dr. Alexander McLaren; Dr. McLaren is more ingenious, Dr. Valentine is more convincing. The volume sets a high standard for the Lutheran pulpit of coming days.

H. C. ALLEMAN.

MACMILLAN AND COMPANY, 66 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

The Modern Readers' Bible; New Testament Series—St. Luke and St. Paul, 2 vols. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Richard G. Moulton, M. A., (Camb., Ph. D., (Penn)., Professor of Literature in English in the University of Chicago. Price 50 cts. a volume.

These two little books are a continuation of the series known as A Modern Reader's Bible. They contain the text of the Gospel of St. Luke, of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Epistles of St. Paul. The epistles are not a separate part of the work but are interwoven with a narrative in Acts, each one being introduced at the proper place in the history.

There is a great propriety and advantage in presenting in one work the writings of St. Paul and of his companion St. Luke. They belong together, fit into each other. It is a great satisfaction to take up these little volumes and read right on through the gospel, then proceeding at once to the Acts, read the history until you come to the point where one of the epistles ought to come in, and find it right there where you want it, without the inconvenience of referring to it in another part of the New Testament.

Another feature of special value is found in the analysis the author furnishes of each of the two books of Luke and of the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul. Excellent as all the preceding volumes of this very helpful series have proved themselves to be, we regard these two as possessing special value and we heartily endorse what he says at the close of his introduction.—“The matter included within the covers of these two small volumes has turned the world upside down, laid the foundations of modern religion and civilization, and struck a unity through all history. In the present simple arrangement it is possible for a reader of ordinary intelligence almost at a sitting, to traverse this literature from beginning to end and so to bring his individual mind, unhampered by extraneous comment, into fresh and immediate contact with the most dynamic persons, incidents and thoughts that history has produced.”

E. HUBER.

PERIODICALS.

We congratulate any boy or girl that enjoys the weekly visits of the *Youth's Companion*. It is the prince among the periodicals for young people. It is no wonder that it has a subscription list running into hundreds of thousands. “Late Demons of War” is the apt title of an article telling the story of the United States torpedo-boat service, written by the Secretary of the Navy, Hon. John D. Long, for the New Year's number. All through the year, 1899, as during the year just closed, there will be useful articles by writers of national fame; interesting stories of the healthful and pure type; and entertaining and helpful information from beginning to end. The *Youth's Companion* is the one young people's periodical that has an interest for old and young alike. It is published by Perry Mason and Company, Boston, Mass., at \$1.75 a year.

The Atlantic Monthly for December is an excellent number of an excellent magazine. While other magazines are vying with each other in the way of illustrations and sensational fiction, the *Atlantic* keeps right

on furnishing its readers with nothing but choice reading. This it never fails to give, and when we take it up we are always sure that it holds a treat for its faithful readers. Among its many contributors for December are W. D. Howells, James Whitcomb Riley, John Muir, P. Kropotkin, Charles Townsend Copeland, Ellery Sedgwick, David Starr Jordon, Carl Evans Boyd, Benjamin Kid and a number of others. The subjects of their papers are varied and of timely interest, such as, The United States and the Control of the Tropics; European Experience With Tropical Colonies; Our Government of Newly Acquired Territory; Confessions of a Summer Colonist; Among the Birds of the Yosemite; The Landscape as a Means of Culture; California and the Californians; The Wholesome Revival of Byron and Reminiscences of Julia Ward Howe. The Battle of the Strong—that splendid piece of fiction ends with this number. The short stories are particularly unique. Indeed the entire number is just brimful of good things, and we think there is no periodical of to-day with quite so pure a tone and with such strong character as the *Atlantic Monthly*. It has stood the test of more than forty years of criticism and competition.

Table Talk. In the celebration of Christmas in the home the December number of *Table Talk* gave much assistance. It not only suggested suitable mecs for the happy holiday season, but it suggested gifts and entertainments for the home where friends and kindred were gathered together. Among some of the contributions to this number are: The Fir and Holly Scented Month; Foibles of the Holiday Season; Traditional Table Delicacies; Dick's Pepper-Box; Everyday Talks with Mothers; Attuned to Christmas; Sandwiches for High Teas and Miss Sallie's Birthday Party. This is a periodical that is serving an excellent purpose and it will help to make more home-like every home into which it finds its way. Thrift and good management follow where it leads, and we hope it will open the New Year with a greatly enlarged subscription list.

KEE MAR COLLEGE

AND

Music and Art Conservatory,

[CHARTERED 1850,]

Offers Classic, Normal, Music and Art courses for Diploma and Degrees; comprises three large brick buildings situated on a beautiful eminence, a lovely campus, library, apparatus, hot and cold mountain water, steam heat, gas light, electric bells, a suite of rooms nicely furnished for every two or three students, music lessons on Pipe-Organ, Reed Organ, Piano, Violin, Guitar, Mandolin, Banjo, and Cornet.

Lessons in Drawing, Crayoning, Pastel, Oil and China Painting.

German and French languages taught and spoken.

Special attention paid to Elocution and Voice Culture.

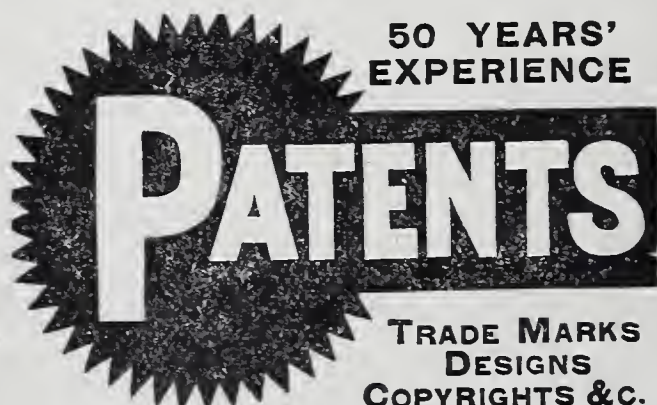
Normal course with Diploma for teaching.

Strict attention given to Physical, Social and Religious Culture.

Kee Mar College is located in a most attractive, refined and healthful city of 14,000 people.

Send for catalogue and journal to

REV. C. L. KEEDY, A. M., M. D., President,
HAGERSTOWN, MD.



Anyone sending a sketch and description may quickly ascertain our opinion free whether an invention is probably patentable. Communications strictly confidential. Handbook on Patents sent free. Oldest agency for securing patents.

Patents taken through Munn & Co. receive special notice, without charge, in the

Scientific American.

A handsomely illustrated weekly. Largest circulation of any scientific journal. Terms, \$3 a year; four months, \$1. Sold by all newsdealers.

MUNN & Co. 361 Broadway, New York
Branch Office, 625 F St., Washington, D. C.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

APRIL, 1899.

ARTICLE I.

THE FAITH OF OUR CHILDREN AND THEIR REGENERATION IN CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.

BY J. D. SEVERINGHAUS, D. D.

Continuing the discussion provoked by the MINISTERIAL ACTS which were submitted to the General Synod at Mansfield, I propose simply to vindicate the Lutheran Theology involved, and leave the *casus belli* to the committee having that matter in charge. It was the reference to *infant-faith* and the efficacy of *infant-baptism* in the provisional forms there reported, which caused the clash of arms and the final postponement of their adoption. Subsequent publications have intensified the interest, and the next General Synod will need all the light attainable properly to dispose of the question on which there appears to be very serious differences among us.

The writer took part in the discussion referred to. He said: "On the necessity of baptism for old and young we are all agreed, but not on the words which should be used in administering the same. It seems to be objectionable to some to address the infant as though it had faith and could transact its part of the sacred covenant through sponsors. Moreover the 'forms' allude to what is technically known as 'Baptismal Regeneration,' and the controversy developed the fact that we are not agreed on the most fundamental tenets of Christian truth.

"The discussion itself should be welcomed. It is not necessary to carry about with us pent up scruples for fear of provoking a controversy. Differences are often the result of misunder-

standings. We might have more unity of views if we but debated more in love. If anywhere, here is the point where the *in essentia unitas* has its place, for the doctrine stated, Mark 16 : 16, by our Saviour himself, is fundamental to Christian teaching. The form of words : 'Dost thou believe in God,' etc., and 'Wilt thou be baptized?' is indeed objectionable, when addressed to an infant, although venerable by long usage and again admitted into the most recent liturgy adopted for the Evangelical Church of Prussia. I have no desire to urge the adoption of it against the taste of the majority, but whether the child *can* believe, in the sense in which the expression is here used, and can become regenerated through holy baptism, that is quite another question and dare not be decided in the negative without the most thorough investigation.

"Infant faith is essential to infant salvation. There is no life in the soul that can live except it be generated there by the Holy Ghost. When and where does this process begin? Can that be called baptism which is not received subjectively and appropriated to the extent of the capacity for blessings? However American we may be in our views, and independent as to the means of grace, we cannot dispose of divine truth at will, and the doctrine that the children of Christian parents presented for baptism in obedience to the Saviour's command *can believe and receive the full benefit of the initiatory sacrament of the Church, are hence regenerated in baptism*, is fundamentally interwoven with the Evangelical system, and therefore also scripturally Lutheran."

INFANT FAITH.

Saying this much at the outset, I go no farther than the committee has gone in presenting "forms" that contain such teachings. These men, able and true as they are, have given us what they found to be the doctrine of the Church we represent. Did they find that there is a sense in which the children of Christian parents can be said to believe what is essential to baptism and can be regenerated thereby unto eternal life, then such teaching must be contained in our Lutheran theology and ought to be acceptable to us all.

What say our theologians, the recognized teachers of the Church, to this? Let us hear first from Luther: In his Large Catechism Luther has an excursus appended to his explanation of Part IV, in which he speaks of the baptism of children at length, and says, among other things: "For, as said, even if children did not believe, which, however, has been shown as not the case," etc. Further: "We bring the child in the opinion and hope that it believes, and pray that God may grant him faith."

In a sermon for the 3d Sunday after Epiphany, he says: "Where we can give no better answer to this question and prove that young children believe and have a faith of their own, there I would advise and give my judgment that we cease immediately, the sooner the better, and baptize not another child, lest we mock and blaspheme the blessed majesty of God with such nonsense and tricks, that have no meaning."

Again he says: "So we also say here that children are not baptized in the faith of their sponsors or the Church; but the faith of the sponsors and of the Church prays for and secures them their own faith, in which they are baptized and believe for themselves. For this we have plain teaching of the Word of God in Matth. 19:13 ff; Mark 10:13ff; Luke 18:15 ff. This is written of natural children, and it is not right to twist God's word as if he had meant spiritual children who are small because of their humility. They certainly were little children bodily which Luke calls infants, and Christ's blessing is applied to them and he speaks of them that their's is the kingdom of heaven. What shall we say to this? Shall we say, they were without a faith of their own, then the foregoing passage must be false, which say: *Whoever believeth not, shall be damned*. In that case Christ would lie or dissemble, when he says, the kingdom of heaven is theirs and does not speak in earnest about the real kingdom of heaven."

Melanchthon says in his Apology: "Now the promises do not apply to these (children), if they be out of the Church of Christ; for the kingdom of Christ is only where the Word of God and the Sacraments are. Wherefore it is altogether a

Christian and necessary duty to baptize children in order that they may become participants of the gospel promise of salvation, and of grace as Christ commands. * * * Hence it certainly follows that we may and ought to baptize infants, for in and with baptism free grace and the treasure of the gospel is offered to them."

Whilst the Calvinists (of Reformation times) thought that regeneration takes place not in and with baptism, but follows in maturer years, the Visitation Articles condemn this view as heretical, and Aegidius Hunnius (1550-1603) says: "Baptism is not a sign of regeneration that is to take place sometime after baptism had been administered to him. For as baptism *causes* regeneration it cannot be said to signify the same."

Gerhard, one of the greatest of our theologians says: "We are not solicitous about the mode of faith, but we simply acquiesce in the fact that infants really believe."

Chemnitz, equally authoritative for Lutheran theology, says: "When we say that infants believe or have faith, it must not be imagined that infants understand or perceive the movements of faith; but the error of those is rejected who imagine that baptized infants please God and are saved, without any action within them of the Holy Spirit, while Christ clearly says: Except a man be born, etc. * * * This action of the Holy Spirit in infants we call faith and say that infants believe. For the means or instrument whereby the kingdom of God, offered in the Word and Sacrament, is received, Scripture calls faith, and says that believers receive the kingdom."

Schmid's Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, used as a text-book in most of our Theological Seminaries, furnishes under the heads FAITH OF INFANTS (p 427) and CAN INFANTS BELIEVE? (p 553) quotations from the acknowledged sources of Lutheran theology, sufficient to convince any theologian that the doctrine of *infant-faith* is not something to be hooted at as antiquated and to be relegated to the things inherited from the dark ages, but one for us to study and grapple with until we can cheerfully accept it as a precious boon of our most holy religion. Dr. Krauth, the clear-headed Theologian

of modern times, quotes in a lengthy article on Baptism, found pp. 311-368 of the REVIEW 1866, Gerhard as follows: "Baptism is the washing of water in the word, in which washing the whole adorable Trinity purifieth from sin him who is baptized, *not by the work wrought (ex opere operato)* but by the effectual working of the Holy Ghost coming upon him, and by his own faith." "Such (Krauth continues) is the tenor of all the definitions our Church gives of Baptism, from the simple elementary statement of the Catechism up to the elaborate definitions of the great doctrinal system."

But taking for granted now that our older theologians have indeed been a unit on this subject, I open such books as are within my reach in search for more modern authorities.

The very excellent explanation of the catechism by Supt. Luehrs, of Dannenberg, says in Part IV.: "Children also have faith; only it is not developed and conscious faith, nevertheless a certain receptivity for divine grace. They do not know that they live. They know not that they believe, and yet they do believe."

Another work on the catechism, by Pastor E. Braun, of Löhne, asks (p. 60): "Are little children also able to believe?" and answers: "Yes, for Christ points to them as examples for adults. Without faith it is impossible to please God. "How is it that children believe most?" "Because they resist least."

An editorial writer in "Germinde-Bote," discussing this subject, concludes: "We believe we have shown with sufficient clearness from the word of God that the question: *Can children believe?* is to be answered with a confident yes. Our dear Evangelical Lutheran Church, which in all doctrinal articles places herself solely on the word of God, has ever taken a scriptural position towards this question. On this particular point she has clung to the word: '*The Spirit bloweth where he listeth,*' She is not moved to-day from her position, even if there be a few theologians who reject infant faith, in spite of their calling themselves Lutherans. Our fathers, from Luther down, have defended child-faith with all energy, not by subtle dialectics, but by the Holy Scriptures. These weapons have not yet be-

come dull. With them we fight. Whoever seeks to obliterate the doctrine of infant-faith, he attacks infant-baptism in its very foundations, he also attacks the doctrine of free grace in Christ Jesus."

Similar expressions have been met with in our church-papers since the meeting of the General Synod. Whilst a local paper referred to my assertion that there is such a thing as *child-faith* and ridiculed it, one of our German church papers said in reference to the same: "God bless him for the testimony to so precious a faith." The chairman of the committee stated, in answer to the question: "Can little children believe?" "I do not know. My mind is not clear on that point. Our committee simply furnished, in an English dress, what is found in the German liturgies touching baptism." Rev. L. Groh, one of the delegates present, has since written a short article on infant faith in one of our church-papers. Among other things he says: "I freely assert that infants have faith. The Holy Ghost grants them grace in connection with the sacrament. This operation of the Spirit we call faith. Infants do not understand, nor are they conscious. As they have sin, without being able to commit it, so they have faith by grace, though they cannot exercise it.

"Even non-Lutheran theologians, as Calvin, Ursinus, Voetius, Peter Martyr and others speak about infant faith. They indeed call it a 'seed of faith,' 'inclinatory faith,' a root, faculty and seed of faith—related to faith as the bulb to the flower."

The writer of this article says in his book, "Das Seligwerden" (p. 32): "To the question: 'Does the child believe?' 'Can it believe?' We answer: "Yes. It believes and can believe as much as can be required of the child."

That it would be easy to furnish statements to this effect without limit from our German literature will be readily admitted. Indeed all discussions on the subject of baptism agree that there is some process going on in the child of Christian parents which gradually develops into a union with Christ. To argue that infant-faith is conceded as a reality, as a basis for baptism, as fruit of the Spirit, in connection with the faith of the

parents seeking baptism for their child, obediently presenting themselves with their offspring at the sacramental font, I say, to argue this point must seem like a waste of ink to anyone at all conversant with German Theology. There are, indeed, many counter statements also, especially in the writing of ante-Reformation times, and again in the modern syncretism where there is an anxiety to reconcile things mysterious to a rationalistic trend of thought.

Augustine taught that the child was baptized on the faith of its sponsors, and this view was shared by Luther in his earlier developments, but later on he realized that such vicarious faith had no warrant in Scripture. In his maturer years he held, and so does Lutheran Theology with him, that infant baptism would be meaningless, if we could not believe that there was a receptivity on the part of the child upon which the Holy Spirit can work. True, he would say again and again *we baptise the child because Christ has commanded us to do so*, and because the child needs salvation. This is correct, but there is more to it. Suppose we go and baptize all the children we can get hold of, with the thought that Christ wants us to do so, thus making them candidates for glory. Would that agree with the spirit of the command *to make disciples of all nations baptizing them in the name*, etc.? Certainly not. Where there is no faith baptism becomes a mere formality. If infants cannot believe it would be a mockery to baptize them, except so far as that places the parents under a solemn vow to bring them up in the fear of God.

Dr. Valentine has cited many statements from the early fathers of the Church down to modern theologians which seem to contend for the very contrary to all this. It must, however, be remembered that mediæval theology counts for very little on matters pertaining to the sacraments. The earlier writers did not know what to do with infant-baptism, and the Romish Church naturally drifted into a mechanical view of its operation. The Zwinglians were hampered by their predestinarian trend and the Augustinian notion of a vicarious faith. To them infant-baptism is simply a matter of fatality. What the modern theol-

ogians have to say upon this subject is mainly an effort to explain the apparent difficulties, and so far as they grapple with the spirit of Evangelical truth they are worthy of a hearing.

I turn to Knapp's "Christian Theology," (p. 142, German edition) and translate: "But in the general assertion that God, so far as they (the infants) have receptivity for it and so soon as they have it, works in them what is good and for their salvation, there is nothing unreasonable, but it is entirely rational and scriptural; it is also certain that we cannot discern and measure the time and manner of this receptivity. So soon as their intellectual power begins to develop at all, they are capable of receiving the inner and ethical effects of baptism or of God in baptism and through baptism as they are known to us."

How else could we understand Christ when he says: "But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me," etc., Matth. 18:6? It is not possible to maintain that Christ means anyone else than *little children*. So we read of John being filled with the Holy Ghost from his mothers's womb (Luk. 1:15) Again: "Verily I say unto, except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." (Matt. 18:3). This is indeed spoken to adults, but it would have no meaning whatever if children were not capable of believing so as to be well-pleasing in the sight of God. Mark 10:14 we read: "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Why should our Saviour have wanted to bless those children? Evidently because they were the children of believing parents and their parent's faith was also *their faith*. It would be doing violence to an intelligent exegesis, not to our translation only, but also to the original, if any one should attempt, as indeed it has been done to twist this invitation of the Saviour so as if he meant *child-like believers* when he spoke thus of little children.

To show, however, that Lutheran Theology is fundamentally Scriptural, and can be applied to practical questions in its harmonious totality, I quote a paragraph from Dr. Valentine's REVIEW article on Infant-Faith with my full endorsement and, I

reason to believe, that that part of his article will prove generally satisfactory.

"Infants, though unconscious of anything done to them, are *not baptized in disregard of the principle of faith, and of the grace that is given to faith* under the plan of God's covenant favor and order. If the rule is correct, as we believe; 'not the sacrament, but the faith of the sacrament justifies,' it is met in the fact that the parents' faith is, by the covenant plan and order, the faith of the *family organism*. The family life is held as a *unit*, till childhood emerges into distinct personal self-direction; and the *faith* also of that unity of life acts for it and is required to act for it, over that period. The parental faith brings the child to baptism, and represents it there—not as a fiction, but in reality. With respect to the child's physical, mental and moral welfare and training, the parental life is in full charge, under solemn responsibility. With respect to its spiritual life and development the same law holds. This life and development God submits to the formation and guidance of the faith that dwells in the parental life. The matrix of the parental life and faith holds the whole infant life and development till the age of independent, self-determining personality is reached. The infant is not out of the comprehension of the parental life or the parental faith. And when this faith brings the child to baptism, it is not baptized without the very faith which has been, in the Church's very charter, divinely empowered and charged to act for it, and through which covenanted *grace* reaches it. The child is not indeed a true child of God, simply by its carnal birth, but passes into this position or relation by virtue of the force of the healed covenant and the scope over which the parental faith is required and empowered to act for it. It thus becomes 'an heir according to the promise'—the promise which says: 'To you and your children'."

This paragraph explicitly admits all that needs to be contended for. There is an objective and a subjective faith, a faith that is believed and a faith that believes. *Trust, yielding, confidence*, are words sometimes used as equivalents for faith. A

child's faith necessarily differs from that of an adult, but all believing must presuppose an inner, a spiritual motion, and the faith that saves either an infant or an adult cannot be created by any mechanical procedure, but must be wrought by the Holy Spirit in the way God has provided for salvation.

We say nothing and need to say nothing here about children of *non-believing* parents, either in so-called Christian or heathen lands. Our heading does not call for any discussion in that direction, nor does the Bible treat such otherwise than as those that are without, as "aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenant of promise, having no hope, and being without God in the World," (Ep. 2 : 12).

I set out to show, 1. that Lutheran liturgies, having forms for the administration of baptism that speak of children as having faith, as believing etc., are well rooted in Lutheran theology:

2. That such references are as Scriptural as they are Lutheran and need only to be understood properly to become entirely acceptable.

3. That however objectionable such expressions may be in a baptismal formula, they are found in our church literature so generally that it is best to accept them without an ado, and learn to appreciate them as barriers against the Romanizing trend in theology, upon the one hand, and Socinian upon the other hand.

But right here we are confronted by what is technically known as

BAPTISMAL REGENERATION.

Is there such a doctrine as this, and, if so, should it be countenanced at all by us? That it was repeatedly mentioned in the discussion of the General Synod, all who were present will remember, and that the Ministerial Forms were rejected chiefly on account of the expressions therein which seemed to teach such a doctrine, is equally well known. Moreover, there has been a brochure published by Dr. Firey since then under the title: "Baptismal Regeneration not taught by the Lutheran

Church," a treatise advertised and recommended by some of our Church papers. On page eight of this booklet, I find: "Does the Lutheran Church teach Baptismal Regeneration? She certainly teaches that which she designates *Baptismal Regeneration*."

"What does the Lutheran Church teach about Baptism?" Answer: "Baptism is not simply water, but it is the water comprehended in God's command, and connected with God's word," (Matth. 28 : 19; Mark 16 : 17; Gal. 3 : 27). "Baptism is called a gracious water of life (and a washing of regeneration) because therein the Holy Ghost bestows the power of a new life on the believer."

And in answer to the question: "How can water produce such great effects?" The catechism says: "It is not the water, indeed, that produced these effects, but the Word of God which accompanies and is connected with the water and our faith which relies on the Word of God connected with the water. For without the Word of God the water is simply water, and no baptism; but with the Word of God it is a baptism, that is, a gracious water of life, and a washing of regeneration in the Holy Ghost; as St. Paul says, Titus 3 : 5-7."

In his Large Catechism Luther says: "In the third place without faith, baptism benefits us nothing, although in itself it is a divine, superabundant treasure. Upon these few words: He that believeth, therefore depends so much."

The Augsburg Confession (Art. IX) teaches that baptism is necessary for salvation, that thereby the grace of God is offered and that children should be baptized who through baptism being offered to God are received into his grace.

For such teaching we have abundant Scripture, as, for instance: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God" (John 3 : 5). "According to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost," (Tit. 3 : 5). "For ye are all the sons of God by faith in Jesus Christ, for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ," (Gal. 3 : 26.)

Why should anyone oppose a doctrine so plainly taught by our Church and so well fortified by Scripture! The reason for such opposition and the difficulty with the opponents lies evidently in their conception of the term "Baptismal Regeneration." They understand thereby some "*opus operatum*" performance, as indeed Dr. Schaff charged: "The Lutheran creed retains substantially the Catholic view of Baptismal Regeneration," (Creed of Christendom). But the learned Presbyterian states what is not true, as he has done in some other matters of Lutheran theology. "Baptismal Regeneration" is really a misnomer. We do not accept it at all, when used to cover the Romish view that you can make a Christian out of a person who does not believe. We say over and over again, it is not the water that does it, nor the act of baptism, but it is the work of the Holy Spirit.

In German we do not have the same difficulty. Their is no equivalent for "Baptismal Regeneration." We do speak of *Weidergeburt in der Taufe, durch die Taufe*, but we generally correct ourselves and say: *Die Taufe ist das Bad der Weidergeburt*, and that is most certainly correct. Regeneration embraces the subjective appropriation of what is objectively offered in the sacrament of baptism; conversion is the narrower conception of a conscious acceptance of the grace of God, as it is possible only in maturer life. "Turn thou me, and I shall be turned (or converted—Jer. 31 : 18). Therefore turn yourselves and live ye." (Ez. 18 : 32) God turns us to himself in baptism (Regeneration), and then calls upon us to turn to him and live, (Conversion.)

It would not be correct to say that baptism "initiates" the work of grace in the heart of either children or adults, although expressions like the following of Gerhard seem to teach that, namely: "Baptism is the first gateway of grace, the sacrament of initiation; by baptism we are regenerated. As in nature, so in grace, we are first born, and then fed (by the Lord's Supper); first generated and then we increase." There are similar statements which, however, must be taken in connection with the whole presentation of this doctrine. Dr. Stuckenberg,

who arrayed himself against the proposed *forms* in the General Synod's discussion, said, he had made this subject a careful study in the libraries of Europe and had found that the theologians claim for baptism an implanting of something in the soul of the child which was not there before, and this he must reject as an unscriptural doctrine. He was right in this, and yet he said too much. There are undoubtedly expressions used, such as they say of Alexander Campbell, that he taught: "You may put a man into the water a sinner, and he will come out a saint." Even this generally ridiculed saying would bear a construction which could be defended. So also those many statements on baptism found in our theological books which need a collation according to the *analogia theologiæ*, in order to do their authors justice in some cases. In a Lutheran sermon book before me I find: "In the case of adults the sermon ignites (*zündet an*) the faith at first and the added baptism strengthens and increases the faith; in the case of infants the Holy Ghost kindles such faith through baptism." Kindles (*auziinden*) may here be understood in the sense of *quicken*ing, *fanning into life*, *maturing*, *sealing*, as though the child-faith was there in embryonic condition, somewhat like the explanation given above presents it, and in baptism the Holy Spirit is given, or rather begins his work upon that subject of grace.

In his Holman Lecture on Baptism Dr. F. W. Conrad says: "In these passages a certain relation is declared to exist between baptism and the birth and renewal of the Spirit, sanctification and salvation. What the precise nature of the relation is, is not expressly stated. According to the Romish view of the sacraments, the relation is that of cause and effect, and the operation magical; according to the *Zwinglian*, the relation is that of a symbol and thing symbolized, and the operation merely exhibitive; according to the Lutheran, the relation is that of a means to an end, and the operation sacramental. The confessors adopted the sacramental interpretation, according to which baptism becomes the medium of communicating the Holy Spirit to both children and adults, through which and the Word, as means of grace, he works faith, effects the new birth and re-

newal, sanctification and salvation. And this interpretation is exegetical of the baptismal formula according to which, to be baptized INTO *the name* of the Triune God, is to be baptized into communion with the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost."

In that same lecture we read (p 280): "Luther used the word *faith* as applied to children in a technical sense. In the Wittenberg Concordia he describes it as follows: 'It must not be thought that the children have understood (the Word), but there are the movements and inclinations to believe the Lord Christ and to love God, in some measure similar to the movements of those who otherwise have faith and love; and it is in this way that we desire to be understood when we say that the children have personal faith.'"

As we are discussing the double charge against Forms in question of INFANT-FAITH and BAPTISMAL REGENERATION it will be in place here to direct attention to Schmid's "Doctrinal Theology (pp. 540-41): "This cannot be expected of infants; but it does not follow that they are for that reason to be deprived of baptism, for they need grace as well as adults, and are invited to it by God. It is, therefore, God's will that they be baptized, and baptism serves also to create in them this faith." and in the footnote (p. 552) Baier says: "As the whole Church is cleansed by the washing of water through the Word (Ep. 5 : 26), this properly refers to infants also, for they too, though unclean by nature, are nevertheless to be engrafted into the Church."

Dr. F. W. Conrad contends at length for "baptismal grace" and says, on page 297: "But the doctrine of baptismal grace was neither originated, nor first discovered, by Luther and the Reformers. It was found in the Scriptures by the primitive Church and practically illustrated in her organization and development. It was devolved in the oecumenical creeds and taught by the fathers"—"Augustine further says: 'In baptized infants the Holy Spirit dwelleth, though they know it not. So know they not their own mind—they know not their own reason, which lies dormant, as a feeble glimmer, which is to be aroused with the advance of years.'"

As was shown above the opponents of what has become known as "baptismal regeneration," and the defenders of the doctrine for which that term really stands in Lutheran theology, are not so far apart as it would seem on first sight. The theologians of the General Synod admit and explicitly teach that there is "baptismal grace," that baptism is a sacrament and that the "washing of regeneration," of which St. Paul speaks, must have a meaning of deep significance. Further than that we need not go. Even Dr. Krauth, a fair representative of Confessional Lutheranism, says under the head of "Baptismal Regeneration" in the above quoted REVIEW article: "The charge against our Church of teaching 'Baptismal Regeneration,' as those who make the charge define it, is, as we have seen, utterly ungrounded. It is not true in its general statement—nor in its detail; it is utterly without warrant in the whole, or in a single particular."

RESUME.

1. The discussion on baptism—As form of administration, subjects, benefits and expressed or implied teachings, as evoked by the proposed Ministerial Acts at our last General Synod, has made the impression upon those present and through the reports upon others that there are vital differences among our theologians on the fundamental doctrines of Christian faith and practice.

2. Whilst all regard baptism as a sacrament that is ordinarily necessary to salvation and accept the teachings of our Church as set forth in Luther's Catechism and the Confession of Augsburg, there is disagreement as to the import of what in Lutheran literature is called "Infant-Faith" and "Baptismal Regeneration," terms evidently liable to be misinterpreted.

3. That baptism rests on a Divine Command, is embodied in an earthly element and has the promise of grace, thus being a true sacrament of the gospel of Christ, makes it obligatory upon all who would enter the kingdom, whether as infants or adults; it is therefore fundamental to the Christian system and must have more than an external significance.

4. The faith Jesus couples with baptism (Mark 16 : 16)

should indeed have a confessional character, yet it must be wrought by the Holy Ghost in order inwardly to appropriate what is outwardly offered, and such operation of the Spirit goes hand in hand with the means of grace accompanying the covenantal relation to God, both as an antidote of natural sin and an element of new life.

5. Over against Rome which teaches that the Church can make a Christian out of a yielding subject as if by the machinery she has at her disposal; and over against Geneva (Calvinism) which holds that the faith of the parents or sponsors is a sufficient basis for the salvation of the child, thus making human faith vicariously sacramental and a means of grace, the Lutheran Churches teaches that the Holy Ghost operates *in, with* and *under* the element used and both prepares the child of Christian parents for the reception of the full measure of grace vouchsafed by this initiatory sacrament, as also thereby seals, strengthens and develops the faith that is necessary to salvation.

6. As to the term "baptismal regeneration" we hold that there is "a washing of regeneration in the Holy Ghost" which has found expression in this form of words for the want of a better term in our language. We regret it because of the abuse to which it has given occasion, because of its association with the Romish doctrine of baptism and the consequent necessity of explaining what we mean by it; yet we claim that the human heart, dead in trespasses and in sin, must be born again, regenerated, pass from death to life, from a state of sin into a state of grace and sanctification, and that such change is worked by the Holy Ghost in the way and manner made known to us by revelation of God.

ARTICLE II.

REVIEW OF "BAPTIZED WITHOUT BELIEVING."

BY REV. RICHARD H. CLARE.

An answer to the article in the October number of the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY on "Infant-Faith" was expected. We had hoped, however, that the answer would be deferred until the January number of the QUARTERLY, so that those who had the privilege of reading the article referred to might be able to see what would be said in its refutation.

A member of the committee on the new "Ministerial Acts" has, however, taken time by the forelock, and has seen fit to distribute through the mails his answer to the article on Infant-Faith." To this pamphlet we desire to devote a little attention.

The writer in the October QUARTERLY expresses his dissent from the proposed first formula for the Baptism of Infants as formulated by the committee on Ministerial Acts. He intends in the article to show that the adoption of the proposed form of the committee, would be a breaking away, on the part of our General Synod, from its historic position on the subject under consideration, and from the attitude and historical development of the Lutheran Church in America.

In order to do this, he reviews the Liturgies of the Lutheran Church in this country, and uses them as evidences against the proposed form, and to establish his proposition, that the new form, is an innovation on received and accepted usages.

In another proposition he endeavors to show that Child-Faith, or rather, faith before baptism, as set forth impliedly in the proposed form of the committee, was not held by the Christian Church, nor any part of it, during the fifteen centuries, from the time of the Apostles to the time of the Reformation.

Then the authorities and liturgies of the Reformation period and the post-reformation period down to the present time are brought in evidence and an attempt is made to show that the

committee's work, as far as the first form for the baptism of infants is concerned, is not in accord with accepted Lutheran principles and in conflict with the accepted doctrines of our Church.

The article is courteous throughout, and the evidences of its honesty of design, and of scholarship will commend it to its readers.

To this article, the pamphlet now before us, "*Baptized Without Believing*," "by a member of the Committee, E. J. W.," of Gettysburg; is intended to be an answer.

As a member of the General Synod we read with profound interest and pleasure, anything written in a spirit of fairness, that will give us information, and throw additional light on the important work delegated to the General Synod's committee. We recognize that the committee has had a difficult task assigned to it, and we think the Church is ready to give its servants such advice accompanied by its prayers, as may enable them to give us forms that shall by their completeness and correct theological conception, make the committee's final work not only acceptable and valuable to our General Synod, but also obviate the necessity for further revision for years to come.

The chairman of the committee on "Ministerial Acts", has indeed in a very courteous manner invited the Church to criticise the work of the Committee and the individual members of the committee had therefore a right to expect the Church's criticism of their joint work. All criticisms should be honest and fair; their object should be to throw light on the questions at issue, and there should be an avoidance of all personalities. We supposed these principles were understood and had been accepted by our ministerial brethren in the General Synod.

We are sorry, therefore, that the question touching the Ministerial Acts is made the occasion for pamphleteering. The questions should be discussed in the QUARTERLY, in the church papers, and the ordinary channels of information, accessible to the Church at large. The interests involved are the Church's interests; not the interests of the individual as such.

As to the pamphlet before us, we are compelled to say that we look upon it as something born out of season. We may be over-sensitive in this matter—in fact we hope we are, for the

writer's sake; but we cannot help looking upon this twelve-page thing, as a sort of abortion—a miscarriage. We cannot get used to the thought that it belongs to us. The title already makes us feel unhappy. It's abnormal. It's startling. We feel as if we were breathing the agitated air of Zwickau, or heard the echo of the voice of Carlstadt; and then again we realize that this can not be, for we are living at the close of the bright and sunny nineteenth century. The title, "*Baptized Without Believing,*" betrays to us an acrimonious and belligerent spirit in the author. There is nothing, so far as we can see, in the QUARTERLY article that justifies the sweeping assertion this title implies.

1. The Pamphlet contains a denial of the right of authorities and philosophy to assist in deciding what should be regarded a proper form for "*Ministerial Acts.*"

By authorities and philosophy, the writer says, "an astute logician can prove anything—if people will bow to his authorities and accept his philosophy." "A solitary passage from God's word would, in the judgment of Lutherans, outweigh them all"—*i. e.*,—all "*Liturgies, Church Fathers, and Scholastics.*" "*Lutherans decide by the word of God.*" But has the writer any form of ministerial acts, liturgies—on hand, not based upon "*Liturgies, Church Fathers,*" and scholarship? Did he ever see, or hear of such a liturgy? It seems to us that the particular form for baptism for which he contends, is, according to his own showing, the product of all of these. He asserts that the proposed form has eminent authority back of it, and mentions such names as Luther, Selnecker, Chemnitz, Chytraeus, Hunnius, Hutter, Spener, etc., all eminent authorities and philosophers and scholastics. And in the way of liturgical authorities he mentions the following: Agenda for the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Saxony; the Liturgies of Bavaria and Hanover; Löhe's famous work; the book of the Dresden Liturgical Conference; the United Church of Prussia, which represents more scholarship (!) than any other church in Christendom. "Its Liturgy" "presents the baptismal questions precisely as the proposed" "*Ministerial Acts.*"!! In view of such assertions the

critic ought not to try to disturb the peace of the writer of the QUARTERLY article, nor, if he thinks that authorities and philosophy ought to be counted out in the formulating of the new Ministerial Act, to place before his antagonist the temptation of further investigation in the wider field for research which he has now opened up for him.

2. The Pamphlet contains a perversion of God's Word by false exegesis.

The critic further objects to the conclusion of the writer in the QUARTERLY, because "in the entire article of thirty-five compact pages, just two passages of Holy Writ are cited—the one, Matt. 18 : 6, only to have its self-evident meaning repudiated, the other, Acts 2 : 39, only to have its larger portion suppressed, for, to give the full promise : 'and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call,' would completely upset the critic's favorite theory of salvation through the family."

Evidently the critic realizes that his view of Matt. 18 : 6, namely, that the little child which Jesus set in the midst of his disciples had saving evangelical faith, somewhat akin to that demanded in the Ministerial Acts, has few supporters, for he throws out this caution : "Lutherans own no allegiance to tradition—which has often gone wrong, nor to reason—whose guidance is as illusive as it is presumptuous." "Men do indeed wrest this passage," etc.

Now to the Law, and to the Testimony. Does this passage teach Infant-Faith, or more correctly, Belief before Baptism? The question is not : Did the child stand in covenant relationship ; was it a covenant child, and therefore in the relationship of a believer, so that Jesus Christ who "was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers" (Rom. 15 : 8), could speak of it as believing? No one will doubt this. But—did this child believe evangelical truth? Did it believe the second and third articles of the Apostles' Creed? If not, then the critic can not use it to bolster up his unscriptural position at all ; he will scarcely be able with this "solitary passage of Holy Writ" to upset all authori-

ties, Liturgies, Scholastics, etc. Between the belief of this little child, growing out of the covenant promise and grace, and the belief, discovered in the child according to the critic's Ministerial Acts, lies a difference as great as that between law and grace—between heaven and earth.

But again,—Will the critic insist that "*ton mikron touton*" etc, in the passage must refer to babes or children? That is evidently his position. He knows, we have reason to believe, that to insist on such an interpretation would be willful perversion of Holy Writ.

Acts 2 : 39, "Afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call." What the critic means by the introduction of this passage as a proof of his Ministerial Acts creed, is not altogether apparent to us. If he means that the "afar off" are the heathen whom God calls, and to whom he gives a Ministerial Acts faith even before baptism, it will hardly be worth while to consider his exegesis. If he means that Peter here has any idea at all that his sermon is a call to the gentiles, he charges the Apostle with duplicity. So wedded to the covenant idea was the Apostle Peter that for years after Pentecost, he refused, as a consistent Jew, to have any dealings with the gentiles, and it required a miracle to teach him the larger truth, Acts 10. In the house of Cornelius are his eyes opened. He is filled with astonishment "because that on the gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost." Up to this time the Apostle Peter and the "Judean Apostle and brethren" knew nothing of a call to the gentiles. All rejoice because now God has also to the gentiles granted repentance unto life."

The other possible thought, in the critic's mind, namely, that Peter here (Acts 2 : 39) spoke more than he knew, is not worth considering.

Mark 16 : 16, "He that believeth not shall be damned." This passage is one of the four the critic quotes to "corroborate" and "fortify" the "believe on me" of Matt. 18 : 6. Strange how extremes meet! This is the war whoop of our Baptist friends. The Dunkers and Amish ought to give the critic a vote of thanks. The critic, of course, quotes it because he desires to

deduce from it the idea of Infant-Faith, for he believes faith can be imparted without the ordinary means of grace. Our Baptist friends say the child needs no means of grace in the Lutheran sense. It is saved through Christ's atonement. But our idea is that to quote this passage in this connection, to prove the necessity of a Ministerial Acts faith in a child yet unbaptized, is a willful perversion of Scripture. And if the critic is a Greek scholar, he forfeits all claim to further credence. The evident meaning of the passage is this: Jesus said to his disciples, "Go preach;" tell the glad tidings. He that believes upon the evidence of your words and miracles, and is baptized shall be saved. He that disbelieves, "*apistesas*," shall be condemned.

Heb. 11 : 6," Without faith it is impossible to please God." —Ergo,—our critic. If children have no faith before baptism, they do not please God. Let us see. In this chapter the Apostle defines faith as that principle which enables men to prefer things invisible to things visible. Enoch had that principle of faith, and his translation was because of this faith. And to prove that this was because of faith, the Apostle says, "He had this testimony, that he 'pleased God,' for without faith it is impossible to please him." To use this passage, in the critic's sense, is a perversion of God's Word.

Gal. 3 : 26, "Ye are the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus." Read on just a little further, dear critic,—“But if you are Christ's then are you Abraham's seed, and according to the promise, heirs.” In other words, we are heirs because of covenant relations. The Abrahamic covenant still stands. If the critic had quoted this passage to prove the right of the child to the covenant sign, namely,—baptism, he would have the approval of God's Word. To use it to prove child-faith before baptism is wresting the Scriptures. This ends the list of his scripture proofs. Not one passage quoted yields him the shadow of a proof for his position. If these are the strongest proof passages, our committeeman can summon to his aid, his case is well nigh hopeless, and the Ministerial Acts creed must get along the best way it can without the authority of God's Word.

3. The Pamphlet contains statement begotten of the specious and subtle reasoning of the sophist. In paragraph 1., page 6, of "Baptized Without Believing" the critic says, "All this vicarious faith of natural and spiritual parentage proceeds on the assumption that there is no inner action of the Holy Ghost in the child." "Like circumcised children, who enjoyed the rights of citizenship in the Jewish commonwealth with no requirements of spiritual life being ever mooted."

The QUARTERLY article states the very opposite. "While the child is thus not baptized, 'without faith,' it is yet not baptized upon what may rightly be called 'the faith of others.'" "As between individual persons in general, persons in ordinary relations of life, there can be no vicarious faith, so that the faith of one may stand for another."—And quoting Dr. Kurtz, the Lutheran Historian: "The will of the parent is unconditionally also the will of the child. And so the faith of the parent is the faith of the child, which has not yet come to self-conscious, independent personality." "He has not displaced, but recognizes, the family as his own institution, and has framed the order of the saving application of grace to the children of his people to employ the office of care and nurture made inherent in parental life and position, for their spiritual as well as their physical and intellectual welfare and development," etc. Some six pages of the QUARTERLY article are devoted to the development of this particular phase of the question.

But is it true, as our critic says, that children circumcised enjoyed the right of citizenship, "with no requirement of spiritual life ever mooted?" What right of citizenship did circumcision confer on Ishmael? What right of citizenship in the land of Judea did circumcision confer on the Gileadites? Josh. 9 : 23. On Achor? Judith 14 : 10. On the Persians who become Jews under Mordecai, Esther? 8 : 17. Ishmael was circumcised, but was expressly excluded from any part of the inheritance. Esau, though circumcised, was not to inherit the land of Canaan. All these were as much bound to take Jehovah as their God, and to look for salvation through the promised seed,

as were Isaac and Jacob. "No requirement of spiritual life ever mooted!"

By God's appointment circumcision expressed the great covenant between God and man in ancient times. Paul makes circumcision and baptism follow in the same sentence, Gal. 2 : 11, 12. "In whom also ye are circumcised, with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ: Buried with him in baptism." Circumcision, the foundation for baptism, has its foundation in the Old Testament. The foundations of New Testament doctrines are found in the Old Testament. Republication, explication are found in the New. The sign and seal of the Abrahamic covenant is substantially that of the Gospel covenant, Gen. 17 : 11; Rom. 2 : 29. Circumcision expresses purification from defilement, Jer. 4 : 4. So does baptism. Circumcision stands for faith, a righteousness, Rom. 4 : 17. So does baptism. In baptism the subject speaks out his repentance and faith, covenanting with God. And God promises purification and pardon. Just so in circumcision, Gen. 17 : 12. In baptism there is a union with God's family sealed, God himself sealing. Just so is it in circumcision, Phil. 3 : 5. Circumcision was a sign and seal, by God's appointment, embodying the covenant both on God's part, and man's. Just so in baptism. But,—we have not time to dwell longer on a subject upon which many books have been written, and many more might profitable be written. Let our readers examine Oehler's "Old Testament Theology" on the subject of circumcision, and then compare what Oehler really does say, with what Dr. Wolf makes him say in his pamphlet, and they will have a sample of Dr. Wolf's fairness in the use of quotations.

Continuing, the critic says: "We have gotten beyond the externalism of Jewish rites, beyond a covenant of works. The confessed of the Mosiac covenant to effect man's moral transformation should make theologians careful in drawing conclusions from that covenant for the religion of the New Testament." We shall have to devote a little time to this paragraph. We are trying very hard to find an apology for it. The evident de-

sign of the critic is to charge the writer of the QUARTERLY article, an honored and revered father in the Lutheran Church, with holding to a system of theology utterly obnoxious to every consistent Lutheran. The more so as the critic has already implied something of this kind in his strictures on quoted authorities from the Roman Church, covering a period in Church history, when the Roman Church was the only existent Church.

The QUARTERLY article, however, so far as one can see, makes no reference to the Mosaic covenant even by implications, and our critic's implied charge,—for mark you, the charge is only implied,—has not the shadow of an excuse. This, in our mind, is the most unfair kind of journalism. Does the critic give his reasons for the implied charge? Not at all. He tries to throw dust into the eyes of his readers. His object is to besmirch the character of his opponent as a theologian. The difference of the two covenants,—the Abrahamic and the Mosaic,—is as the difference between heaven and earth. The first is a covenant of grace, the other, a covenant of works, Gal. 3 : 16, 17, 18. "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, and to seeds, as of many ; but as of one. And to thy seed, which is Christ. And this I say, that the covenant was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, can not disannul that it should make the promise of Christ of none effect." From the recognized inviolability of a human covenant (v. 15), the Apostle argues the impossibility of violating the divine covenant. The law can not set aside the promise. The Mosaic law came in as a parenthesis (pareiselthen, Rom. 5 : 20.) See also Heb. 8 : 5 ; Isa. 71 : 8 ; Ezek, 16 : 7, 8 ; Gal. 3 : 15 ; 4 : 24, 25 ; Heb. 10 : 15, 16 ; 8 : 10, 13.

Page 8, paragraph 5. "The critic (QUARTERLY article) defines faith in a way which makes it to him (the infant) just as impossible in, and after baptism"—"and it is well known that he denies the latter as emphatically as the former." The insinuation lacks proof. The man who writes in this way should avoid meeting the Quaker, who said to the cursing sailor, "That's

right friend, spit it out, spit it all out. Thee can never go to Heaven with such trash on thy stomach."

SACRAMENTALISM.

"The denial of infant-faith prior to 'any application or use of the means of grace' "—"phraseology which smacks strongly of sacramentalism"—"forbids the salvation of all who are deprived of the means of grace," etc. Does not the acceptance of a sacrament ritual based not upon the Word of God, but upon the expected dictum of the General Synod smack of sacramentalism? Especially when that ritual assumes a pre-baptismal faith, so complete as to take in the whole Apostles' Creed, a creed which it took the wisdom of the Church, in solemn councils assembled, six centuries to fashion into its present form? God may be able to save the unbaptized without the regularly appointed means of grace. We are not discussing what the Almighty can do. We are not to baptize on what we think he can do.—But will the critic point out a single verse in Holy Writ, containing a promise to those beyond the appointed means of grace?

Suppose a parent or sponsor of the average kind of church members, when the questions in baptism are asked, should answer the pastor, "Well, I think my child has some doubts about the 'Communion of Saints' clause. It's a good old conservative and does not believe in communing with the United Brethren." Now what is to be done? Why the pastor says, "That's all right. Our General Synod has declared that it believes it all straight, and does not even slip up on "descended into Hell," "descended into the place of departed spirits." "We older ones sometimes differ with regard to these things, but the General Synod says that the child does not." Sacramentalism! We have in the past wondered why at times the children cry when they are being baptized. We thought our looks had something to do with it, and have even removed our spectacles in order to ease the child a little, but now, since we have learned to know just what the child believes, and what troubles it must see ahead of it, we do not wonder at all.

Again,—If every child believes,—if this is to be taken for

granted on the dictum of the General Synod, then, unless there are reasons which do not appear in the Form, nor in the Pamphlet of our critic, the asking of the questions becomes unnecessary, and however religious and pious the questions may be, they are not unto edification. Why not just take it for granted that every child believes? The answers are not necessary unto baptism, and in the child's case they do not constitute a personal testimony, and a vicarious testimony, in such a case, is as bad as a vicarious faith! Again,—The asking of lengthy, concise questions is conditioned on and presupposes a possibility of a want of faith in some cases. If not, why the questions? Suppose the parents make a mistake and the child is baptized without faith. Will it count? The General Synod will have to formulate a declaration covering such cases. Again,—Suppose our church members do not quite measure up to the new Form, but the pastor refuses to baptize their children unless they answer according to the book. What would be the difference between this state of affairs and what is generally denominated priest-craft? And if our critic answers, that in such a case the second Form should certainly be used, he does not meet the difficulty, but surrenders the whole contention, for the second Form is not altogether built after the theological pattern of the first Form. We hope the General Synod will remain true to its tradition and history in the use of baptismal forms, and bury the proposed innovation beyond the possibility of a resurrection.

ARTICLE III.

THE BAPTISMAL FORMS OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH
OF PRUSSIA (THE PRUSSIAN UNION).

BY THE COMMITTEE ON THE COMMON SERVICE.

The committee on Ministerial Acts presents herewith the three Forms for Infant Baptism as provided by the Prussian Church in 1895, in order that the readers of the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY may have one of the latest presentations of these Forms in Germany, and note the differences which they exhibit between the Lutheran Orders and that of the Reformed. As the Prussian Union is made up of Lutheran and Reformed Churches, it would be natural to suppose that the Forms of Baptism used heretofore by the Lutheran Church would be very greatly modified in this Liturgy. As the body, furthermore, comprises some of the greatest theologians and liturgical scholars of Germany, together with a number of advanced thinkers, their formularies for baptism should show, if it were needful, substantial changes from the alleged obsolete and antiquated Orders formerly used, and the adoption of new phraseology as far as consistent with the pure doctrine of the Lutheran Church.

It is, therefore, worthy of note to find that the first two Forms, the Lutheran Forms for Infant Baptism, are, with slight modifications, the Forms accepted by the Lutheran Church from the beginning of her existence. These two Forms are practically those originally published by the committee on Ministerial Acts. The first Form is founded on Luther's *Taufbüchlein*. Its underlying thought is, on the one hand, that Baptism is an institution of the Church, and for this reason, it adheres closely to the traditional Forms. It aims, on the other hand, to give special expression to the antithesis between sin and grace, the kingdom of Satan and the kingdom of God. The Liturgies which follow this Form originated in North Germany and they were used in all those lands where the Lutheran faith found most pronounced expression.

The second Form follows the type of those Liturgies which sought a greater freedom from ecclesiastical usage. It proceeds upon the theory that the child is presented for Baptism by a properly constituted Christian congregation, which in virtue of that fact, is authorized to administer the sacrament in accordance with the institution of Christ. The home of these Liturgies is in Southwest Germany, but the Lutheran character of most of them is conceded. The second accords with the first Form in the statement of the doctrine concerning Baptism and in the presentation of the benefits obtained by the child through Baptism.

These Forms embody, therefore, the conclusions of the latest Lutheran liturgical studies of the largest and, in some respects, the ablest, and the most advanced, Lutheran body in the world. The same conclusions are reached in the late Liturgies of Saxony, Hannover and Hesse-Cassel. When, now, the committee is charged with "thrusting" upon the General Synod strange and unheard-of Forms for Infant Baptism, inconsistent with the pure Lutheran doctrine, it is to be observed that they are in entire accord not only with Luther himself and the early practice of our Church, but also with the overwhelming majority of her present membership. The issue is, therefore, not so much with the committee as with the Lutheran Church.

Some of the committee, because of early training and custom, were at the beginning of their work, opposed to the Forms they now submit, but their careful investigations and studies have constrained them to present these results, as the accepted Forms of our Church and as in accordance with her doctrine concerning the means of grace.

The committee, as a whole, does not advocate Infant Faith before baptism, nor does it concede that the first form teaches this, a position in which it is supported by the views of the most thoughtful. Neither does the committee attempt to define the exact condition of the infant after Baptism. They would rather rest upon the doctrine of Baptism as taught in the Augsburg Confession, namely: "Concerning Baptism our Churches teach, that it is necessary to salvation; that through Baptism,

the grace of God is offered. And that children are to be baptized, who being by baptism offered to God, are *received* into His favor" 'Article IX. with which must be compared Article XIII.' Also, as taught in Luther's explanation in his Small Catechism: "Without the Word of God, the water is mere water and no Baptism; but with the Word of God it is a Baptism, that is, a gracious water of life and 'a washing of regeneration' in the Holy Ghost; as St. Paul says to Titus (3 : 5, 6)." The questions that have been raised belong to the domain of theology rather than to that of formularies.

In regard to the questions of the first Form asked of the child through the sponsors, as is expressly stated, they agree with the great emphasis which Luther always laid on the fact that Baptism belongs to the entire future life of the baptized. There must be asked the fullness of the Christian belief which is to be realized by the child in after life, just as is stated in the admonition to the sponsors in the first Form of the Prussian Liturgy, when it says, "until God fulfill in *him* what he has begun in Baptism."

The Reformed Form, the third, is different in its conception of what is effected in baptism. Baptism is not with that church, as Luther says, "a gracious water of life," but, a seal and pledge of a covenant. All references to the regenerating work of the Holy Spirit are carefully avoided or put in vague terms. This doctrine, as a doctrine, comes dangerously near to emptying Baptism of its efficacy as a means of grace and, as has largely come to pass in English-speaking Churches, leads to the neglect of Infant Baptism.

The committee presents these three Forms that they may carefully be compared, confident that the result of such study will show that the committee has presented Lutheran Forms and has performed intelligently, honestly and loyally the duty laid upon it.

BAPTISM OF A CHILD (FIRST FORM) AFTER LUTHER'S TAUFBUCHLEIN.
HYMN.

Minister: In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

Beloved in Christ: We hear from the Word of God, and also

experience it in life and death, that we all from Adam are subject to sin and misery and on this account cannot stand before God, and must have been forever lost, if God Himself, the Father of all grace, had not pitied us and sent His Son, Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, into the world to save us from ruin. This child is by nature corrupted with the same sin as ourselves and like us subject to death. This is, however, our strong and confident trust that our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath borne the sins of the whole world, even as He hath redeemed us so hath He redeemed our children from all sin, from death and from the power of the devil. He also gave command to bring the little children to Him and promised that He would bless them and receive them into His Kingdom. Therefore would we now do, as both His command and Christian love require of us, and present this child to Him in heartfelt prayer for Holy Baptism and offer *him* in the sure confidence that He will certainly hear our prayer and receive this child according to His promise into grace, forgive *him* all sins and endow *him* richly with His Holy Spirit, so that *he* may receive saving faith, and from this time be and remain God's child and heir to eternity.

Let us therefore first hear what our Lord Jesus hath said and ordered concerning Baptism in the last chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel: "All power is given, etc., (Matt. 28 : 18-20). And again He saith in the Gospel of St. Mark: He that believeth, etc. (Mark 16 : 16).

Receive the sign of the cross on forehead and breast † as a sign, that thou art redeemed through the crucified Christ. Let us pray: Almighty, everlasting God, the Father of our Lord, Jesus Christ, Thou eternal comfort of all who call upon Thee, Thou Redeemer of all who flee unto Thee, Thou peace of all who pray to Thee, we beseech Thee for this child that seeks through us the gifts of Thy Baptism and desires Thine everlasting grace through spiritual regeneration. Receive *him*, O Lord, as Thou hast said: ask and ye shall receive; seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you. Open now therefore the door to this child that knocketh, bestow upon *him* the favor for which *he* asks that *he* may obtain the

everlasting blessing of Thy heavenly washing and receive the promised kingdom of Thy grace, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Hear the words of the Gospel of St. Mark in the tenth chapter: And they brought, etc. (Mark 10 : 14-16).

That this child may obtain such blessing, let us now unite in prayer. (The minister, with the sponsors, shall lay their hands upon the child's head and say):

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

The Lord preserve thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth and forevermore. Amen.

M. Dost thou renounce the devil and all his works and all his ways?

Then shall the sponsors answer for the child: Yes.

M. Dost thou believe in God the Father, etc. (Apostles' Creed)?

Then shall the sponsors answer for the child: Yes.

M. Wilt thou be baptized?

Then shall the sponsors answer for the child: Yes.

(Then shall the minister sprinkle water three times upon the head of the child, as he repeats each name of the Holy Trinity).

N. N., I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and in the name of the Son, and in the name of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who hath begotten thee again by water and the Holy Ghost, and hath forgiven all thy sin, anoint and strengthen thee with His saving grace unto life everlasting. Amen. Peace be with thee.

Beloved in the Lord, I admonish you by the love of Christ that you, as faithful sponsors, care for this child, testify to *him* of *his* baptism and (with his parents, or, if *he* be deprived of *his* parents through death or other misfortune, with those in their stead), see to it that *he* be brought up in the knowledge of God and His will, and thus in the pure doctrine of the Gospel, and that you (with *his* parents) pray diligently for the same, that *he* may remain a living member of our Lord Jesus Christ, until

God fulfill in *him* what He has begun in Baptism and make *him* blessed. Amen.

Let us pray: Almighty and merciful God and Father, we thank and praise Thee, that Thou dost graciously preserve and enlarge Thy Church, and that Thou hast granted to this child, that *he*, born again through Holy Baptism and made a member of Thy dear Son, our Lord and only Saviour, Jesus Christ, has now become Thy child and heir of everlasting blessedness. We humbly beseech Thee that Thou wouldst keep *him* by Thy mercy in the grace received, that *he* may be brought up, through Thy good pleasure, to lead a godly life to the praise and honor of Thy Holy name, that *he* may increase daily in true faith and finally obtain the promised inheritance in heaven, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

BENEDICTION.

SECOND FORM.

HYMN.

M. In the Name of the Father, etc.

Beloved in Christ: There is here brought to us a child for whom the prayers of the Christian Church are sought and also Baptism according to the ordinance and appointment of our Lord Jesus Christ. That we may know on what authority of the Holy Scriptures we receive this child and place *him* before the presence of God through prayer, and also beseech Him for the grace and gift of Baptism, let us hear the words of Christ concerning the institution of Holy Baptism: All power is given, etc., (Matt. 28 : 18–20). Let us further hear what promise our Lord Jesus Christ hath given to Baptism: He that believeth, etc., (Mark 16 : 16).

(Here a FREE ADDRESS may be introduced.)

We would thus for Christ's sake heartily receive this child and acknowledge that we, standing here in the name of the Christian Church, should earnestly strive and battle for *him* with our prayer, against sin, death and the devil. And because thereto a great and strong faith is requisite, may God so in-

crease your faith and send the Spirit of prayer into your hearts, that you may come to the help of this child through your supplications and *he* be baptized with the Holy Spirit and sealed to the day of *his* salvation. Amen.

Let us pray: Almighty God, who, through Thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, hast instituted baptism and hast ordained it for a washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, we pray Thee, have mercy on this child, bless *him* with true faith in spirit, destroy in *him* all that is sinful, help *him* to serve Thee with steadfast faith and joyous hope, that *he* may be worthy to receive with all believers, according to Thy promise, everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Let us hear the words of the Gospel of St. Mark: They brought young children, etc., (Mark 10 : 14-16).

(Then is repeated as in the First Form, "That this child may obtain," etc).

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Let us confess our Christian Faith.

APOSTLES' CREED.

M. And now I ask you, do you desire that this child should be baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and do you promise to care for *him* to the best of your ability that *he* may be brought up in the Christian faith? Then answer: Yes.

(Rubric for, and Baptism, the same as in First Form.) The God of all grace, who hath called you etc., as in 1 Peter 5 : 10, Peace be with you.

Beloved in the Lord: Forasmuch as the God of mercy hath led this child to His baptism, I admonish you all, but especially *his* (parents and) sponsors, that you should lay it upon your hearts and consciences what you owe to *him*, namely, that *he* be faithfully brought up in the fear of God, to the honor of his His Holy Name and steadfastly be kept in obedience to His commands in despite of all temptations. May Almighty God grant you His grace and rule you by His Holy Spirit that you may ever set before this child a good and edifying example in

order that *he*, so far as in you lieth, may come to eternal life through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Let us pray: Holy God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, we have committed this child to Thee in faith, and Thou hast received *him* into the number of Thy children, who are called to be heirs of eternal life. We thank Thee for Thy great mercy and pray Thee, that Thou wouldst guard *him* in all *his* ways that *he* may never be plucked out of Thy hands. Keep *him*, O Holy Father, in Thy love; strengthen *him*, Thou faithful Saviour, with Thy grace; equip *him*, Thou Spirit of Life, with heavenly might. Thou Triune God, let *him* remain steadfast in true observance of Thy will and in the constant pursuit of holiness unto the end and preserve *him* by Thy power through faith unto everlasting blessedness. Amen.

BENEDICTION.

THIRD FORM (AFTER THE OLD REFORMED BAPTISMAL FORMS.)

M. Our help is in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth. Amen.

Hear the words of command and promise, with which our Lord Jesus Christ established and blessed the washing of Holy Baptism: All power, etc., (Matt. 28 : 18-20); He that believeth, etc., (Mark 16 : 16).

Since our Lord Jesus Christ says that we may in no wise enter into the kingdom of God unless we be born anew, so by this He certainly declares that our nature is thoroughly corrupt and we are not capable of God's grace. Therefore, it behooveth us to cast out of our own hearts all trust in our own strength, wisdom and righteousness.

But while Christ sets before us our misery, He also comforts us through His mercy in that He promises to us and to our children, that He will wash us from all our sins, not imputing them to us because of His blood shed for us, and that He also will renew our nature to His likeness by His Holy Spirit. And to strengthen and seal to our weak faith so great a promise, He has commanded that we should be baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

First, therefore He here wills that we be baptized in the name of the Father that he may witness to us, like as with a visible oath all our life long, that God will be the Father of us and of our children and supply us body and soul with everything needful, and will protect us from evil to the end.

Secondly, since we are baptized in the name of the Son, He promises us, that everything which the Son of God has done and suffered, is ours and therefore that He is the Saviour of us and our children.

Thirdly, as we are baptized in the name of the Holy Spirit, He promises us that the Holy Spirit shall be the teacher and comforter of us and our children to eternity, and make us true members of the body of Christ.

(But, as in every covenant both parties bind themselves, so we solemnly promise God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit that we through His grace, would know and confess Him alone for our only true and living God, would call upon Him in every time of need, and would live as His obedient children as the new birth requires. But if, perchance, through weakness we fall into sins we should not remain in them, nor despair, but should ever remember our Baptism, forsake sins and confidently trust that they will not be remembered before God for the sake of the blood of Christ. For Baptism is an indubitable witness to us that we have an everlasting covenant with God and are baptized in the living fountains of the eternal mercy of the Father and of the most holy sufferings and death of Jesus Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit).

But although our children cannot yet understand nor know this covenant and mystery, yet they should not be deprived of Baptism, since they also belong to the covenant of God and His Church, and with us are heirs of the promise. For this reason little children should receive Baptism as a seal of the covenant and be brought to the Lord Jesus as He saith in the Gospel of St. Mark, 10th chap.: Let the little children, etc.

Therefore let us also commend this child to God's grace and pray:

Almighty and everlasting God, we pray Thee, that out of Thy

boundless mercy Thou wouldst graciously look upon this child and, through Thy Holy Spirit, make *him* a member of Thy Son Jesus Christ, that *he* may be buried with him in His death and rise also with Him to a new life, cling to him with true faith, steadfast hope and fervent love, bear joyfully after Him His cross, press forward through death to life and appear withoath fear at the last day before the judgment seat of Jesus Christ, through the same our Lord, etc. Amen.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Let us confess our Christian Faith.

THE APOSTLES' CREED.

M. Do you desire that this child should be baptized into this faith and receive the seal of the adoption of God? Answer, Yes.

(Rubric for and Baptism as in the other Forms.) The Almighty God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who hath received you through Baptism to be His child and heir, preserve and bless you and strengthen you with His grace to everlasting life.

Beloved in the Lord: Because you have taken these vows for this child, remember that our God is and will be a God of truth and that we are to serve Him in truth. Therefore, you should always remember this child in your prayers, exercise all diligence that *he* may be brought in the knowledge and fear of God to the Lord Jesus, and if *he* comes to the years of discretion, admonish *him* that *he* is bound, through the reception of the divine sign of the covenant and seal of Baptism, to renounce the devil, the world and all its lusts and to yield *himself* to the Lord and to serve Him during *his* whole life in all holiness and in the obedience of His Holy Gospel. May the everlasting Father of the Lord Jesus preserve you and *him*. Amen.

Let us thank God: Almighty and Merciful God and Father, we praise and thank Thee that Thou dost take away from us and our children all our sins through the blood of Thy dear Son, Jesus, and through Thy Holy Spirit hast received us as members of Thine Only-begotten Son, and therefore as Thy children, and sealed and strengthened all this to us with Thy Holy Bap-

tism. We pray Thee also through the same, Thy dear Son, that Thou wouldst ever rule this child with Thy Holy Spirit to the end that *he* may be brought up as a child of God, grow and increase in the Lord Jesus Christ, in order that *he* may acknowledge Thy Fatherly goodness and mercy shown to *him* and to us all, that *he* may live in all righteousness under our only Prophet, Priest and King, Jesus Christ, and may strive valiantly against and triumph gloriously over sin, the devil and his whole kingdom, to the everlasting praise and honor of Thee and Thy Son, etc. Amen.

BENEDECTION.

ARTICLE IV.

INFANT FAITH, BEFORE AND AFTER BAPTISM.

BY REV. F. H. KNUBEL, A. M.

I. *Position of this Article.*

1. The purpose is to uphold the possibility of Infant-Faith, to refute its existence before baptism, to defend its existence immediately after baptism. In this general position the writer knows himself to be merely one of many in the Church to-day.

2. Unless these distinctions be constantly in mind, while presenting or testing all arguments upon the question, the discussions of any writer are almost valueless.

II. *General Statements.*

1. It is useless for Lutherans to quote exegetes and dogmatists of the time before the Reformation upon this subject, if only because of their un-Lutheran position in general concerning faith.

2. It is useless to quote the Lutheran fathers upon this subject, if only because of their unsettled views thereupon (especially Luther).

3. It is useless to quote modern dogmatists thereupon, without a full understanding of each one's statements upon many subjects—*e. g.*, the elementary parts of a human being, faith, regeneration, etc. It is failure in this respect that pro-

duces from them apparently contradictory quotations by opposing searchers of their books; that makes some dogmaticians seem to oppose others, though really in harmony; etc.

4. In general, the attempt to mass authorities is likely to mislead both writers and readers.

III. *Infant-Faith before Baptism.*

1. It is wrong in any baptismal formula to assume faith on the part of infants before baptism, since Holy Scripture says: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God * * * neither can he know them."

2. It is wrong in a Lutheran baptismal formula, because the Augsburg Confession states that "all men are born with sin; that is, without the fear of God, *without trust in him*," and because the same Confession allows only to the means of grace the production of that trust, that faith; because the other Lutheran confessions agree with this testimony, and because the Formula of Concord virtually condemns infant faith before baptism. See Dr. Jacobs' edition, p. 668, 11 and 13. The latter, which is condemned, reads: "The children of Christians, because they have been born of Christian and believing parents, are holy and the children of God even without and *before* baptism."

3. To teach Infant-Faith before baptism would ultimately lead to popular neglect of the sacrament as unnecessary.

4. It is frankly to be granted that the overwhelming majority of Lutheran liturgies and some dogmaticians have so inferred faith before baptism. This must have great weight in determining the product of a committee in the preparation of a formula.

5. Sufficient reason for the prevalence of such incorrect formulas and views is found in the hazy views of the past on the subject, in the weight of precedent or tradition, and above all in the fear of opposing what is taught in Art. XIII. of the Augsburg Confession: "Therefore men must use sacraments, so as to join faith with them, which believes the promises that are offered and declared unto us by the sacraments. Wherefore they condemn those that teach that the sacraments do justify by the

work done, and do not teach that faith which believes the remission of sins is requisite in the sacraments."

6. Those whom Art. XIII. would still trouble, should they deny infant faith before baptism, are to be reminded that as we interpret in the harmony of the Scriptures, so also in the harmony of the scriptural confession, must this article be interpreted in view of what is said in Art. II.: "*Born again by baptism and the Holy Spirit*"; in Art. V.: "*For the obtaining of this faith, the ministry of teaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments was instituted. For by the Word and Sacraments, as by instruments, the Holy Spirit is given, who worketh faith, where and when it pleaseth God, in those that hear the Gospel, etc*"; and in Art. IX.: "By baptism the grace of God is offered." It is frankly to be stated that in view of what is elsewhere taught in the Confession, *infant faith before baptism* dare not be asserted in Art. XIII.

7. If, on the ground of the definition of faith hereafter stated in IV., 5 (which read), it be claimed that that personality, as "the Godward faculty," "the reflex of the Creator," "the susceptibility for God's blessing,"—that it is already in itself truly faith in God, though merely "implicit" faith, "faith as an endowment of God," "original," "seminal faith," "faith yet dormant";—to such claim it is to be answered that that faculty, as the all-controlling centre of a human being, is likewise the sinward faculty, the susceptibility for influences from any source, the power for faith *in anything whatsoever*; further, that in man, as naturally born, that faculty is absolutely bent away from God and towards sin (original sin), has faith in sin, and cannot, until regenerated by the Holy Spirit (working, as ever, through His means) be turned towards God, have faith in God. The bent towards sin is never thoroughly eradicated in this life. To call that, which is the faculty for faith in *anything*, already faith in God, while yet by nature it absolutely cannot turn just in that one direction, towards God,—surely that is irrational and, above all, unscriptural. It would compel exclusion from the Scriptures of such words as: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God * * neither can he know them." It

would necessitate the conclusion that all unregenerate *adults* also, who have not absolutely hardened themselves against the influence of the Holy Spirit, already have saving faith; for they possess that faculty. The illustration in IV., 10, may help the understanding of the matter, as far as illustrations go.

IV. *Infant-Faith After Baptism.*

1. It is right to believe that faith is the immediate result of baptism, else baptized infants are not saved; for the Scriptures say that "without faith it is impossible to please God," and often repeat it in substance.

2. It is right because the Scriptures directly teach it, asserting that except a man be born again, be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot see, cannot enter the kingdom of God. Regeneration, baptism, are thus necessary just to *enter* (it is by neglecting "enter" that the text may be misconstrued) the Kingdom (Mark 1 : 15; Matt. 21 : 31 and 32; Matt. 18 : 3 and 6; etc.) The only possible conclusion is that regeneration=baptism=faith. Even more clearly is this taught in 1 John 5 : 1, 4 and 5 : "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born (perfect tense) of God. Whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world; and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith". (Faith=to have been born of God, born again, regenerated); and Titus 3 : 5 : Washing of regeneration, etc.

3. If it be objected, as it has been, that the Scriptures were addressed to adults and that "an application to conditions not in the minds of the sacred writers and which do not possess the elemental features that the passages presuppose" is wrong, —then it is to be answered: (a) The objector will have some serious difficulties thus in upholding inspiration; (b) He will condemn Christ (*e. g.*, Matt. 22 : 31–32) and Paul (*e. g.*, 1 Cor. 10 : 1–4) in their methods of Scripture interpretation; (c) He will largely destroy the idea of prophecy in both Old and New Testament. Above all, the objector is to be answered that by exactly the same rule the definition of faith (as necessarily involving knowledge, etc.), which he emphasizes so much

and claims so be scriptural—that this also applies only to adults and must be dropped for children.

4. If Infant-Faith, even after baptism, be objected to on the ground of psychological impossibility, it is to be answered that there the infant Jesus must be spoken of as having no faith in God.

5. It is to be answered again that faith has its root neither in the intellect, nor in the feelings, nor in the will, nor in all three; but deeper, in that all-controlling centre of a human being which makes him a personality (this is not trichotomistic). Faith is fundamentally merely the confidence of the human personality, as far as developed, and personality begins to develop with the first moment of life. To assert no personality for the infant is to assert that it is not human. Although its personality should be looked upon as infinitesimal, it is there; and since it is there, faith in God *may* be there.

6. It is right to believe in Infant-Faith immediately after baptism, else it would be useless to say: "I baptize thee *into* the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." For the name of God is God Himself, is the power of God (Prov. 18 : 10) and, unless faith results from baptism, the infant has been placed into no power of God excepting that which it already had (*i. e.*, parental influence). If it be said that those who deny faith after baptism nevertheless assert that some effect, some change, has been produced *within* the infant; that God's grace and power has come to it in something additional to what it already possessed—then it is to be answered that there can be no effect, change, excepting a change to what is fundamentally faith; God's grace to man is only "from faith to faith."

7. If it be objected that Infant-Faith after baptism involves the "*opus operatum*" bugbear, it is to be answered that it is just exactly as much "*opus operatum*" as we all attribute to the action of the Word with adults. The production of faith in an infant or an adult is always and entirely an *opus operatum* through means, completely a miracle through Word and Sacra-

ments, scripturally "not of yourselves—the gift of God." The action of Word and Sacrament are the same.

8. Such assertion of Infant-Faith after baptism is right for Lutherans because of the teaching of the Augsburg Confession as before quoted (III., 6) from Articles II., V and IX. and because of the agreeing testimony of all Lutheran confessions concerning the power of the Holy Spirit through the sacraments. The quotation above (III., 2) from the Formula of Concord, while condemning those who claim Infant-Faith before baptism, also condemns those who, accepting no Infant-Faith after baptism, rest the infant's salvation in a family-covenant and parental-faith idea, of which baptism is merely a seal.

9. To teach no added Divine grace, no faith, in the infant after baptism would ultimately lead to popular neglect of the Sacrament as unnecessary.

10. No false security is given to parents by teaching faith after baptism, for all who would not be neglectful under any teaching will readily recognize that the infant sapling, bent into the direction of sin by nature, when bent straight in faith towards God through the pull of baptism, will return, unless it be held there by binding influences until it has reached the free, confirmation age of independent straightness in faith towards God.

ARTICLE V.

INFANT FAITH—ADDENDA.

BY M. VALENTINE, D. D., LL. D.

The progress of the discussion of child-faith, as involved in the formula of Baptism questioning the infant concerning its belief, has brought out some things which justify recurrence to the subject. Justice alike to what we have maintained in the QUARTERLY and to the opposing views which have been offered in explanation and vindication of the plan of the Committee, seems to call for some notice of what has been thus offered, and for a brief *resumé* of the present state of the case.

We have welcomed Dr. Severinghaus's contribution to the discussion. Its amiable and courteous temper is attractive. Whether one agrees or disagrees, it strengthens the sentiment of fraternal regard. Discussion of differences in this spirit conciliates good-will and opens avenues for the settlement of truth. Could the inquiry go on and the points in dispute be reduced to exactitude, the result could not fail to be helpful. We are obliged, however, to say that the article has not done anything toward removing the difficulties of the idea of infant-faith as implied in the literal and natural meaning of the proposed formula, *i. e.*, as something which the infant possesses *before* baptism. And it must be borne in mind that this was the sole question raised on the subject in our first article, in the QUARTERLY for October, the only one published before Dr. Severinghaus wrote; and that whatever importance may attach to the further inquiry as to infant-faith as a *result* of baptismal grace, it stands wholly apart from the question raised by the Committee's formula. His article has not touched the problem. For it simply repeats ideas and assertions with which we have always been familiar, but whose repetition does not in the least answer the serious difficulties that have been pointed out. It ignores rather than meets the trouble. That Luther, for example, *for a time*, insisted that

in answer to prayer the nursling is endowed with faith for a believing reception of the sacrament and that without this we would have no right whatever to baptize it, and that even after he gave up the supposed *necessity* of such pre-baptismal faith, he yet cherished the idea that it might be bestowed, has been fully conceded. But to plead those personal and wavering views of Luther as the accepted and permanent teaching of Lutheran theology, cannot be seriously thought of in face of the notorious fact of their general abandonment by the dogmaticians. And it is to be particularly observed that in the entire article there is not offered a single line to meet the clear proof given that the idea of such faith before baptism is directly contrary to the fundamental Lutheran doctrines of original sin, of the means of grace, of baptism itself, and to the explicit standard definition of faith itself. To the great doctrinal objections to the formula understood according to what it says and as many want to take it, no answer has been even attempted. And the pages of easy assertive quotations which follow, gathered out of writers great and small, are utterly without relevancy to the question under discussion. For, manifestly, on their very face, they were not written at all to teach faith *before* baptism, but simply to set forth that indefinite grace which the dogmaticians were want to "call" faith as something wrought by baptism. The quotations from Melancthon, Hunnius, Gerhard, Chemnitz, and from Schmid, do not reach an inch beyond the question of the right of infants to baptism and their susceptibility to baptismal grace—*which no one disputes*. Every reader can see at once that they are as completely apart from the question raised by the formula as would be quotations from a treatise on Anatomy to settle the problem of free-will.

On the other hand the article can hardly fail to help to right conclusions. For, in addition to its failure to answer the doctrinal objections, leaving these stand in their impressive force, it makes positive concessions which cannot but count as all-sufficient reasons for refusing the offered formula. For, *first*, on pp. 158–159, it cordially and fully consents, that for the proper baptism and for baptismal grace in the case of the children of be-

lievers, or of the Church, God's plan of covenant love, the Charter of infant Church-membership, fully provides the needful "faith" in the faith of the parental life, to which God has committed the child, and which he has required to act for its baptism and Christian nurture—without requiring also in the unconscious child pre-baptismal faith for right reception of the sacrament. The conclusion must be clear and irresistible that the office which God himself has assigned to the parental faith we should neither *vacate*, nor trouble ourselves otherwise to provide for by a formula that shall attempt to install the nursling's own supposed personal faith. To do so is not only to do a useless thing, but directly and positively to infringe on the divine order. There can be no doubt, whatever, that according to fundamental and essential Lutheran teaching infant-baptism has its place in our Church on the basis of the divine institution of infant-membership in the Church of God in the Abrahamic covenant, with its sacramental seal of circumcision, continued through the thousands of years of the preparatory Old Testament dispensation, and fully recognized by Christ and his apostles in the New Testament when baptism succeeded in the room of circumcision.* From the very first God found in the parental faith the needful conditions for the "seal of the righteousness of faith" and the bestowal of his covenant grace and training. This fixes the law for the administration of baptism to infants, which an apostle assures us is, in the New Testament order, "the circumcision of Christ." We are glad to note the frank concession in the article that this view of the case presents "all that needs to be contended for." We need not, therefore, inquire after a personal faith which the unconscious child may be imagined to bring with it to baptism. We need not have a formula which questions the babe about it.

But it makes another equally just and valuable concession. Almost at the very beginning it says: "The form of words: 'Dost thou believe in God,' etc., and 'Wilt thou be baptized,' is

*For its Scripture verification see Matt. 19 : 13, 14; Mark 10 : 14; Luke 18 : 15; Matt. 28 : 19; Acts 2 : 39; 16 : 15, 33; 1 Cor. 1 : 16; Acts 2 : 25; Rom. 3 : 29, 30; 4 : 9-16; 15 : 5, 18; Gal. 3 : 14, 29; Eph. 2 : 4-20; 3 : 4-6; Col. 2 : 11, 12; 1 Cor. 7 : 14.

indeed objectionable when addressed to an infant, although venerable by long usage." If correct liturgical principle requires the omission of everything ambiguous, confusing, incongruous with the condition of the parties, then this anomalous performance of addressing the infant as if it possessed understanding, conscious will, and knowledge of an immense historical and theological range, deserves summary liturgical condemnation. Ever since the days of Augustine—how long before we know not—common sense and godly sincerity have worried themselves in effort to reconcile the performance with the truth of things and exonerate it from dealing in fiction, unreality and falsehood. Yes, it is "objectionable," liturgically. In this admission, again, the article is truly sound and serviceable.

We must now, however, respectfully submit that the just conclusion from these two concessions, as well as from the failure to answer the doctrinal difficulties, is *not* the one which the article suggests we should adopt. The concession that the personal faith of the infant is not a pre-requisite to its valid baptism certainly makes the formula inquiring into it *unnecessary*. How, then, under the additional concession that the formula is "objectionable," we are to be carried to the conclusion that we *should adopt* the unnecessary and objectionable thing, we cannot see. Yet this is the surprising course we are advised to take. We are counseled that since such a formula is found in our Church literature, "however objectionable" its expressions may be, "it is best to accept it without an ado, and learn to appreciate it as a barrier against the Romanizing trend in theology, upon the one hand, and Socinian upon the other," p. 160. This is truly a perverse and impotent conclusion. The vessel suddenly rushes into a port to which it is not due. Perhaps, however, the conclusion was not meant to be understood as drawn from the given premises, but rather in view of securing the "barriers" mentioned. But from this view it is as baseless as from the others. For who will pretend that the Lutheran Church has not other formulas than the "objectionable" one quite as well suited to safeguard against Romanism and Socinianism? It might well be questioned, indeed, whether the Church enjoys its secur-

ity from Romish tendencies by reason of this old formula which is Rome's favorite one from the days of early scholastic down to modern Romanism. And we all know that when about the middle of this century the so-called "New Lutherans," such as Vilmar, Leo, Stahl, Löhe, and Kliefoth, appeared in Germany, fully described by Lichtenberger, and characterized by Kurtz as "Romanizing," with a "taste for the romantic, historic, artistic hyper-Lutheran ecclesiastical tendencies," the strong misleading tendency in their case came from their excessive leaning toward "the noble, the venerable" features in the ancient liturgies, life and constitution of the Church.* And whence has come to the Church of England its Puseyism, its ritualistic and Romanizing trend, keeping the road to Rome well-filled with travellers? Not from its XXXIX Articles, which are Protestant, but from its Liturgy which was only partially reformed from the same venerable formulas and ecclesiastical settings. Is the article right in invoking the venerable forms of a thousand years as our sentinels against Romanism? And with respect to Socinianism, who does not know that whenever that ancient formula is accepted in its literal sense as meaning Infant-Faith *before* baptism, it distinctly allies itself with the Pelagian and Socinian anthropology as to original sin? Can any one read a pamphlet recently circulated in its advocacy without seeing evidence of such alliance?

The truth set forth in our article in the October QUARTERLY has been antagonized in a widely circulated pamphlet entitled "*Baptized Without Believing*" by "A member of the Committee (E. J. W)."

Of the spirit of the pamphlet we prefer to say nothing. Its whole discussion, indeed, might well be allowed to pass without notice, so far as it might be supposed to contain any facts or reasonings against the facts and conclusions presented in the article to which it has offered itself as a reply. But as it has been given out with a confident flourish as an answer to all objections made to the Committee's favorite formula and as a full vindication of the Committee's position, it seems proper to call

*Kurtz, Church Hist., Sec. 175, 1.

some attention to the method pursued and the reasoning employed, in order that it may be seen not only how utterly without valid force the pamphlet is, but how it in fact discredits the cause it advocates. It does not promise well at the very beginning, when it prefaces its defense of a *traditional formula*, through appeals to "authorities" and the use of various "reasonings," by discrediting the value of authorities and declaring that Lutherans owe "no allegiance to tradition or reason," advising the reader in advance that these things would not trammel the writer's presentation of the matter. In the light of these introductory statements, most of the surprising things encountered in the pamphlet find their only explanation.

Take, for instance, the attempt to destroy the significance and break the force of the action of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, in 1749, declaring against the Infant-Faith formula, and giving to the Lutheran Church in America its long and salutary freedom from it. One is startled to find the account of it manifestly shaped and colored with a view to belittle the whole transaction and bring it under contempt. The pamphlet, after declaring the authority of the act to be, "after all not so very formidable," says: "On Monday, June 5, 1749, three pastors, one deacon and one candidate, with several laymen, held a sort of convention at Lancaster, adjourning at 3 P. M. Any one familiar with their situation would conclude that certainly some other matters of grave importance engaged the attention of these missionaries during those brief hours, but before separating they agreed to change the form of the baptismal questions which had hitherto obtained in this country, and which had the almost universal sanction of the Church in the fatherland." Now what are the facts, according to the "Documentary History of the Ministerium?" Though the body is represented as consisting of only "three pastors," with several laymen, by treating Kurtz and Schaum as Deacon and Licentiate, these two were *not* Deacon and Licentiate. Kurtz had been ordained to the ministry at the meeting of the Synod in Philadelphia, Aug. 25, 1748.* That he is

*Doc. Hist., pp. 5, 6.

mentioned one place as Deacon Kurtz, simply shows that he was still carrying a former familiar designation, as we sometimes yet speak of the President as Major McKinley. And Schaum, referred to as a candidate, was ordained at Lancaster the day before the meeting of the Synod.* Both were as truly ordained ministers as were Mühlenberg, Brunholtz, and Handschuh. This rectification almost doubles the ordained membership of the convention. Mr. Hartwig, of New York, was absent. With this exception, it was the full regular meeting of the Synod, with lay representatives from the church councils of "The United Congregations," It is called "Our Church Convention," the "General Conference.† Mühlenberg writes of it: "All the preachers and delegates of the United Congregations assembled."‡ And from the enumeration of important questions considered and decided by the body, as given in the "Documentary History," it is easy to discover the breadth, seriousness and wisdom with which it was guiding the interests of the Church. This is the Synod, met solemnly in one of the commanding junctures in the development of the interests of our Church in America, which "One of the Committee" stigmatizes as "a sort of convention in Lancaster, adjourning at 3 P. M." And this only as preliminary to reflecting upon the genuine loyalty to principle, devotion to conviction, Christian integrity and courage, of those godly men, when it is intimated that these "three pastors, facing a period of peculiar trial, hastily fixed a matter to suit themselves, or rather, their exceedingly promiscuous and dissentious constituencies." In the name of righteousness, it may be asked, is it fair to impute the action of those consecrated servants of God to impulses or motives so unworthy? But the representation proceeds: "When forty years later the Pennsylvania Ministerium again tried its hands on Liturgical forms, rationalistic influences held sway, and these continued to leaven our theology and color all our literature for half a century later, and yet a professor of theology strenuously protests against a

*Doc. Hist., p. 25, 26.

†Doc. Hist. pp. 24, 26.

‡Doc. Hist., p. 26.

proposed departure from 'this position historically taken.' " What again are the *facts* in this respect? It was thirty-three, not "forty" years later, in 1782 when the Synod resumed consideration of the Church Agende, and resolved to have it printed. Mainly by a lack of funds the printing was delayed some years, during which some changes were made, including adoption of the form of Confirmation as introduced in Württemberg, but no change was made in the baptismal questions.* But the imputation that at this time "rationalistic influences held sway" is as unwarrantable and defamatory a charge as ever put forth. The facts? Part of the Constitution of the Synod in 1781, was: "Every minister professes to hold the word of God and our Symbolical Books in doctrine and life.† In 1783 the Synod pledged licentiate Hinkel to the "word of God, the Augsburg Confession, and the other Symbolical Book."‡ Surely one must be desperately set on despoiling the Synod of its good name and the influence of its solemn transaction, to make this devotion to the word of God, the Augsburg Confession and our other Symbolical Books identical with the "sway of rationalistic influences." Had the Synod become a set of arrant hypocrites? Dr. Spaeth vindicates Dr. Kunze against suspicion of rationalism so late as 1804, and testifies that "men like Helmuth, Schmidt and others preached the old gospel of Christ crucified with simple childlike faith."§ Finally when the Liturgy was at length printed in 1786, it bore the imprimatur of Henry Melchoir Mühlentburg, Senior of the Ministerium, and twenty-three others, among whom were Helmuth, Schmidt, Goering, Bager, etc., whose Lutheranism will stand any test which "One of the Committee" can legitimately apply. What would these men say could they speak from their graves?

But, further, what were the facts even as declared by this same member of the Committee when, in 1889, before this beam of a baptismal formula was in his eye, he published his HISTORY OF THE LUTHERANS IN AMERICA? There, after strong individual pictures of the adaptations and excellences of the organizers of

*Doc. Hist., pp. 183, 200.

†Doc. Hist., p. 175.

‡Doc. Hist., p. 188.

§Jubilee Services, p. 11.

the Synod, and after making record of "their elevated character as servants of God and their firmness in holding fast to the unaltered Augsburg Confession," he adds: "The Ministerium embraced in 1768 twenty-four members, and it would be no easy task to find in this country, at that time, another group of men measuring up to the standard of these in piety, in culture, in devotion to the Church and her Creed, and in self-sacrificing activity for the extension of Christ's kingdom and the upbuilding of the waste places of Zion."* And then follow several pages of glowing account of the rapid and blessed progress of the Church from the wisdom, consecration, direction and labors of these saintly men. It seems almost incredible that the writer, in his zeal for this formula, should be thus forgetful of his own high-wrought eulogy of these men and their work, and renounce the authority and reliability of his own History. And is it expected that the General Synod is going, by adoption of his formula, to set its seal of approval on an advocacy, which resorts to this sort of dealing with the plain facts of history and with the principle of self-consistency? This is one example of the method of the pamphlet.

Take another. On p. 3, the sneer of two interrogation points and one exclamation point, with the statement, "A break like that is a poor prop for an argument," is given as sufficient to discredit the right of Württemberg Lutheranism or its liturgical scholarship, to any consideration in the question of the Lutheran liturgies. The thing which drew this kind of treatment was our connecting with the rejection of the formula by the Church of Württemberg a word of reference to its steadfast Lutheranism and its honorable roll of theologians. We know well the readiness of some Lutherans to show aversion to the Lutheran Church of that country on account of its preference for less elaborate forms of worship than is desired in some other countries, and because of the large prevalence of Pietism there. But beyond this empty sneer, which can appeal only to party prejudice, not a word or fact of history is offered to justify the appeal or show that the Württemberg decision ought not to count with the full

*pp. 260, 267.

weight of a genuine Lutheran authority. What are the facts? Dr. Schaff declares: "It would be difficult to find a country which, in proportion to its size and the number of its inhabitants, gave birth to a greater number of distinguished scholars and literary men."* From the days of the Reformation there under Brentz and Schnepf, and the later influence of Jacob Andreä of the Form of Concord period, the Church has been Lutheran. "The Protestants of Würtemberg, who compose two-thirds of the population," says Schaff, "are originally Lutherans in doctrine and discipline, with the exception of a few colonies of Huguenots, which have long since become Germanized."† "He adds: "At a subsequent period the pietistic movement of Spener, which it is well known, lays the main stress on regeneration, conversion, and vital piety, in opposition to exclusive confessionalism and dead orthodoxy, exerted great influence in Würtemberg, but in a modified form."‡ Like other countries it suffered from the inroads of rationalism, but not worse than others. And those who know the history, know full well how strongly and successfully for a while the "old Tübingen School," including such strong Evangelical men as Bengel, Christian Frederick Schmid, Steudel, Storr, Flatt, and the two famous preachers, the Hofaker brothers, resisted and checked the rationalistic progress. And after rationalism had done its worst in the University, Dr. Schaff bears the testimony: "But the general character of the people is strongly and deeply religious. They cherish with grateful reverence the unbroken succession of pious divines and ministers from Bengel to Hofaker, who faithfully taught and preached the way of life during the infidel apostacy of the last and present centuries."§ And he adds the confirmatory facts: "It [Würtemberg] has, in proportion to its size, a larger number of pious ministers and laymen, than any part of Europe, except the Wupperthal, in Rhenish Prussia, England and Scotland. It contributes annually more men and means for the promotion of the kingdom of God, than many a Christian country of double

*Germany and its Universities, p. 93.

†Ib. p. 95.

‡Germany and its Universities, p. 95.

§Ib. p. 95.

the size and ten times its wealth.”* Since the overthrow of the various types of unbelief, the naturalism of Paulus, the development theory of Baur, and the mythical hypothesis of Strauss, it has numbered among its leaders such defenders of the evangelical faith as Oehler and Beck, and given such as Hoffman, Dörner and Christlieb to the state Church of Prussia.† As a State Church it binds its ministers to the Augsburg Confession. Is any further testimony needed? If so, it is fully supplied by Kübel, an eminent and thoroughly evangelical professor of Tübingen, recently deceased, in Herzog’s Real Encyclopædia: “As if Pietism no longer exists! The Würtemberg Pietism has been simply ignored, which through and through is the truly genuine, proper Pietism. Aside from a few insignificant exceptions, from the beginning to the present it has been neither sectarian nor rationalistic. Not merely has it tolerated the *teaching* of the Church, but it has held fast to it in all the fundamental doctrines. The pietistic piety made use of the specifically *Christian* truths of salvation, as reconciliation through the historical Christ, etc., as the absolutely necessary, and gave expression thereto in its hymns.”‡

Now it is this Church of Würtemberg which established itself from the beginning in the Lutheran doctrine, which has waged brave, persistent and conquering warfare against the assaults of rationalism, which has strenuously endeavored to have the orthodox truth bear its divinely intended fruitage of Christian living, and which has been a model of benevolent self sacrificing activity for the extension of the kingdom of God, that the pamphlet seeks, in the way indicated, to have contemptuously turned down in the consideration of a question of proper Lutheran ceremony. The facts of doctrine and history not being available or convenient for reasoning to the desired conclusion, an empty scoff is invoked to do service. This is a second example of its method.

Let us glance at another. On p. 6, the pamphlet represents

*Germany and its Universities, p. 94.

†Since the Committee has now gone to the Prussian Union for its model of Lutheran formula, it will hardly be regarded as out of place to speak of the eminent Lutherans who became connected with that body.

‡VOL. XII. 520.

that the idea of parental faith, acting vicarously for infant-baptism would imply that for the baptized only certain indefinite benefits of external relation and privilege, "like circumcised children who enjoyed the rights of citizenship in the Jewish Commonwealth, with no requirement of a spiritual life being mooted." The parallelism seems intended to suggest that *circumcision* meant only civic benefits or external good. The failure of the Mosaic or Sinaitic covenant to work salvation is then mentioned, and we are told that we should be careful about drawing analogies from that covenant for the religion of the New Testament—as if we had been drawing any analogies from that when we connected infant-baptism with the child-membership established in the Church by the *Abrahamic* everlasting covenant of *grace*. We are admonished, too, that "salvation is not of covenant," but "of the Lord"—as if being of the Lord were in contradiction of the covenant reality. The aim of the pamphlet is, manifestly, to push the covenant, with its family unity, as much as possible, out of sight, in order to substitute an absolute individualism, a complete atomism, of the children in the family. Thus a basis is sought for the supposed necessity of personal faith of infants as the pre-requisite for the reception of baptism with its spiritual grace, and with a view to obscure the analogy between baptism and circumcision as "seal of the righteousness of faith"—though Lutheran theology has been perpetually proclaiming and insisting on the analogy. And at length the pamphlet makes what looks like a triumphant appeal to Oehler's Old Testament Theology, which is quoted as declaring: "Circumcision is essentially distinguished from Christian baptism by not constituting an *immediate* personal relation between God and the recipient of the ordinance. It does not operate as an individual means of grace. Circumcision is no vehicle of sanctifying forces, as it makes no demand in reference to the internal state of the recipient." That looks conclusive. One is startled to have to face such a judgment from so eminent an Old Testament scholar, as to the utter secularity and externalism of the Old Testament sacrament of circumcision! But he is equally startled, on examination for relief of his perplexity, to find that

the quotation from Oehler has been stopped just where Oehler ends his negative view of the rite, in its relation to the nation and secular privileges. There is not a hint of the fact that Oehler, at the very beginning, defined the fundamental conception of circumcision by saying: "It obviously presupposes that the natural life is tainted with impurity, which must be removed in those who are called to covenant fellowship with God,"* and that after the statements quoted in the pamphlet he proceeds: "On the other hand, circumcision certainly makes ethical demands on him who *has* received it. It binds him to obedience to God, whose covenant sign he bears on his body and to a blameless walk before him. Thus it is the *symbol of the renewal and purification of the heart*. This signification of the rite is in the Old Testament specially brought out in the use of the phrase, *uncircumcision of heart*, to denote want of receptivity for the things of God; while on the other hand the purification of the heart, by which it becomes receptive for the things of God and capable of executing God's will, is called circumcision of heart." Thus Oehler himself, when rightly quoted, makes the grand import of circumcision to be its *spiritual* significance and bearing, fully affirming the analogy in this respect between it and baptism. But we have thus before us another example of the pamphlet's way of conducting its readers to the truth!

The use made of *Gerhard* is a varied instance. We had, by plain quotation, made Gerhard's rejection of infant-faith *before* baptism unmistakably clear. There is no faith as something possessed naturally or brought from birth. Dr. Frank's statement: "It is foolish to inquire for such a faith," simply echoes Gerhard's view. The pamphlet appeared before our second article in which Gerhard's *affirmation* of infant-faith as a *product* of baptism was made equally clear—a faith of very positive and living type.* His view on this is not in dispute. But the pamphlet, anxious for its notion of pre-baptismal faith, has appealed to Gerhard. How? The way is wonderful. On p. 9, after saying that "he

*p. 193.

†LUTH. QUART. for Jan. '99, p. 22.

wrote many pages in defense of infant-faith over against the attacks of the papists and the anabaptists," and giving a quotation, it tells us: "Then he [Gerhard] proceeds to speak about the Holy Spirit exciting, kindling faith in baptism," adding to explain the supposed implication of this: "and surely there must be something present to be excited, a spark to be kindled." *En passant*, we might fairly inquire about the logical legitimacy of the verbal legerdemain brought into requisition, when it is assumed that to "excite faith" is, not to create it, but to stir it up as something *already existent*, or to "kindle a spark" implies that there *is* a spark before it is "kindled." But Gerhard must parade in the interest of the view he repudiated; and so he is quoted as saying in a note: "Christ commands that we must become like little children if we would enter into the kingdom of heaven. Imagine now that the little child which is set before them [which certainly had not been baptized] was devoid of saving faith, does it not follow from the command of Christ that we must be like an unbeliever in order to enter the kingdom of God?" * * "We do not receive the kingdom of God except by faith in Christ, which therefore, if we must receive it as little children, goes to show that little children *truly* believe."*

This makes him a pleader for pre-baptismal infant-faith. If the reader, however, will compare it with Gerhard's language, noting the relations of part to part, he will find the case as follows: *First*, Gerhard is discussing the distinct and definite question whether "*baptized* infants believe," answering it affirmatively: "We prove the faith of infants received into the divine covenant through circumcision in the Old Testament and through baptism in the New Testament, from the following evidences." And he specifies Math. 18 : 36, and Mark 9 : 42. *Secondly*, that the "note" quoted in the pamphlet is upon these two passages of Scripture, arguing for the faith of a *baptized* child only. *Thirdly*, that the words: "*which certainly had not been baptized*," are *not* in Gerhard. And *fourthly*, that, on the contrary, on the preceding page Gerhard distinctly affirms of these children

*Pamphlet, p. 9.

brought to Christ and declared to be of the kingdom of God: "*Those little ones had already been received into the covenant of God through circumcision*—the spiritual import of which, he had just been emphatically declaring, was to them what *baptism is now*. So the problem how the staunch old dogmatician had been brought into advocacy of what he rejected, is solved. But it reminds us what a great difference may be made by a little inadvertent interpolation. Was not the pamphlet meant to impress us with the need of care in accepting "authorities?"

The writer of it is mistaken when he credits us with a "definition of faith." We only repeated the definition always maintained by our Church. We used it simply to show the impossibility of conceiving its essential elements present in the nursling brought for baptism. It is simply nonsensical to allege, as the writer has done, that it "shuts out" adults generally, "in fact pretty much all except theologians." In every infant school the teachers are able to greet the beginnings of the "knowledge, assent, and confidence" of an emerging faith. It has remained for the writer himself, however, to put forth a definition of faith—instead of the Church's standard statement of it. Proper respect for the effort—none for the product—requires a glance at it. It is something unique and marvelous among theological achievements. It assumes to express the definition given by God's word: "The evidence of things not seen;" but the divine definition would hardly be able to recognize itself in the outcome. It is variously phrased and described: "the organ which testifies of the invisible," "the supersensuous faculty," "the reverse of sight," "that endowment of man which makes him a religious being, which enables him to know the Father of spirits," "the vision of the unseen," "the Godward faculty," "the reflex of the Creator," "affinity for God." It is described as "an essential part of human nature," of which "no rational being can be destitute," something that belongs to humanity, "*pura naturalia*," not "*a donum superadditum*, something subsequently added," after the Roman Catholic idea of the righteousness of Adam as divine gift in addition to nature. Gathered out of this somewhat discordant and confusing variety of expression, the import of the

definition unquestionably is, that "faith" is the *natural human capacity or faculty for fellowship with God*. It is resolved into a *psychical faculty*, a natural capacity for *belief*, an essential endowment of the soul as human. But are we entitled to wipe out the distinction between the faculty and faith itself? The "faculty," at birth is not yet "faith" in any sense—let alone in the sense of the faith of the gospel. And when the psychical faculty for belief begins to act, it acts spontaneously in *any and every direction* in which knowledge guides the way—and only as knowledge leads. The "capacity" for faith is an essential of the human constitution. but like that of the intellect—and through it—it wakes into exercise only gradually out of childhood's unconscious condition. Natural faith, *i. e.*, faith in the sphere of natural things, necessarily belongs to every man. But this may yet be far off from *Christian* faith. It may be utterly earthly, secular, and Godless; and by force of natural depravity always will be unless the mind and heart be enlightened by the word of God and the enabling grace of the Holy Spirit. Christian faith, saving faith, exists not by nature, but through the means of grace. But could there be a more radical or deplorable surrender of the Lutheran doctrine of faith, and the dependence of faith upon the word and grace of God, than presented in this novel definition, which empties it of all its evangelical content and reduces it to the empty natural capacity of the human soul, yet dormant like an infant's conscience! The definition is truly a theological phenomenon. It is revolutionary; and if admitted, our Church will be at liberty to draw lines of erasure across Art. V of the Augsburg Confession about appointed divine means of working gospel-faith. All because of this new light shed on the nature of faith, enabling us to see it already naturally existing as an inborn reality in the unconscious infants brought to baptism! But seriously, if the acceptance of the offered formula leads to the manufacturing and adoption of such strangely absurd and unscriptural definitions of faith, so empty of evangelical content, and so contrary to the Lutheran and Biblical view of man's natural unbelief, would it not be a grievous wrong to the Church, to establish the formula in use among us?

Equally without validity is the pamphlet's attempt to install Math. 18 : 6 and Mark 9 : 42, as a divine, and therefore decisive, affirmation of infant-faith. It declares : "These words: 'Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me,' overthrow all authorities and all philosophies opposed to them." But, in fact, as every observant reader can see, the writer, in assuming to end the debate as if by a decision from the lips of Christ, is but dogmatically setting himself forth as authoritative and unquestionable interpreter of the reference of that passage. It is simply the word of "One-of the Committee," echoing the claim of various writers in our Church, that here offers itself as the divine and conclusive words for identifying "these little ones which believe" with infants, in opposition to the honest, careful, conscientious understanding of Christendom generally in all ages. This is the size of the modest claim of the pamphlet. To estimate its worth, let us glance at the situation. *First*, in the beginning of our discussion indubitable evidence was given of the significant and impressive fact that the entire Christian Church, from the first down to the Reformation, had utterly failed to understand Christ as there either referring to infants or asserting their faith. Hence the idea of infant-faith was consistently and steadily repudiated. The fact is a gigantic one—very troublesome to those who wish to parade Jesus' words as an *explicit*, all-settling affirmation of such faith and the supreme necessity of it. The pamphlet makes no attempt to deny the fact; but in order to minimize it and get it off hands discredited, it skilfully suggests that the authorities quoted in proof are not proper witnesses, and our quoting them a very suspicious thing : "So the attack must have resort to *Romanists*, who verily to a man are found on the side of the critic"—*as if the writers of the period in question were not the very ones to be called as witnesses*. But this little expedient,—very small—of crying 'Romanism,' instead of dealing squarely and fairly with the solid facts proved, is simply another little example of the pamphlet's method. *Secondly*, that all through that period, the words of Christ had no revealing light in which the Church could take the formula as meaning personal faith in infants. *Thirdly*, that since the Reformation, down to

to day, infant faith has not been given symbolical status in any Church of Christendom; and exegesis only in limited way and narrow range, under special dogmatic prepossessions, shows any ability to see it divinely revealed. Of the significance and force of all these facts, the pamphlet just chooses to take no account, except to set over against it its own exegetical dictum. But the case is still worse for the pamphlet. For not all the facts have yet been told. A few others need to be faced. *First*, that *Luther* himself, despite his eager desire to find Scripture for infant-faith, does not seem to have been able to find it asserted in that passage. A search through Luther's works by the help of completest index, has not discovered a solitary instance in which he interpreted the "little ones who believe" in that text as infants. But in numerous places he applies it to adult Christians and young people, humble disciples of Christ. As a single illustration—In a sermon, 1532, expatiating at length on Matt. 18 : 6, he says: "The Lord is very angry and sorely vexed that no interest is taken in the young people." On "who-soever offends one of these little ones," he says: "Whosoever teaches them to curse, swear, lie, slander and be unchaste, and the like, it were better for him," etc. It is particularly notable that not in the whole discussion does he find infants or infant-faith in this text. If anything contrary to this should be found elsewhere in Luther, it would only prove that his explanation was not invariable. *Secondly*: *The Form of Concord*, the exegetical and spiritual intuitions of whose writers the author of the pamphlet will not deny, in the only passage in which, according to Dr. Jacobs' extended index, Matt. 18 : 6, or Mark 9 : 42 is referred to in our Symbolical Books, distinctly and positively interprets the little ones as Christians in general. Speaking of untimely yielding and conformity in inexpedient external things, it says that by such conduct: "The truly believing are distressed, offended and weakened in their faith, which every Christian for the sake of his soul's welfare and salvation is bound to avoid, as it is written: 'Woe unto the world because of offenses;' Also, 'whoso shall offend one of these little

ones which believe in me,' etc."* *Thirdly*; Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, of the General Council Seminary, Philadelphia, in the *Lutheran Commentary*, out of his broad familiarity with Lutheran interpretation and theology, and earnest devotion to them, declares of the reference in Mark 9 : 47 : "The 'little ones' are, generally, humble and unassuming but sincere believers," and interprets Matt. 18 : 6 : "It appears to be here employed as a descriptive name of all who receive Christ in humility and faith." And though he yields to the general contention of Lutherans as to baptized children, and adds : "Little children are, however, included in the phrase, for they, too, may be converted and become believers at a very early age," he manifestly acknowledges the reference to be primarily and particularly to adult believers, and to "little children" only in the secondary sense in which they too may be led to stumble. Dr. Schaeffer was too close an adherent of the exegesis of Luther and the *Form of Concord*, to accept this latest fancy. Is anything more needed to show the size of the modesty of the pamphlet in thus presenting its naked word as to the reference of Christ in the passage, as if it must weigh against the exegetical understanding of almost all Christendom in all ages, as well as against all "authorities and philosophies, all tradition and reason !" It is another example of the method.

As part of the situation, it is of consequence to observe from the pamphlet that at least one member of the Committee takes the formula in its literal sense and holds to infant-faith *before* baptism. It declares—though mistakenly—this to be "*the traditional Lutheran view*—that it exists prior to baptism, or that it must *be produced* through the prayers of the parents and the Church preparatory to baptism." It interpolates a phrase in the quotation from Gerhard, to give it this position. And its unparalleled new definition of faith is invented to furnish the thing. Thus without attempting a word of disproof of the utter contradiction shown between such placing of faith and various fundamental doctrines of the Scriptures and Lutheran theology, undaunted by the perils of Pelagianism, it has proceeded to find faith an

*Part II. Chap. X : 16.

“essential part of human nature” though fallen—the empty natural psychological “faculty” for belief.

We have avoided noticing the various misconceptions and perversions of the statements and import of statements in our article. They are immaterial to the great questions of theological and historical truth and the practical interests of the Church involved in this discussion. We cheerfully let them pass. We are content simply to call attention the ways taken in dealing with established facts, legitimate authorities, basal truths of the Gospel, and ruling principles and teachings of evangelical theology. The unwarrantable ways discredit instead of assuring the conclusion. And we cannot but feel sure that the Church will decline to accept the employment of such methods of persuasion as at all complimentary to its Christian sense of right and regard for unambiguous fairness.

We greet with pleasure the article by “The Committee on the Common Service,” now in charge of the Forms for Ministerial Acts, presenting a translation of the three Forms for infant baptism as provided by the Prussian Church in 1895, with prefatory statement of their supposed bearing in the pending question. Note is made of the first two Forms as Lutheran, ‘Forms, with slight modification, accepted by the Lutheran Church from the beginning of her existence,’ and that these two are practically those originally published by the Committee. They, with the third Form, are declared to “embody the conclusions of the latest Lutheran liturgical studies of the largest, and in some respects the ablest, and the most advanced Lutheran body in the world.” They are printed to show “that the Committee has presented Lutheran Forms,” and are justified in the choice they have made.

But there are some considerations which need to be brought into account in estimating the force that should be given to the appeal to the Forms and facts thus presented. There seems to be danger that the point of the pending issue may be obscured or lost from view. For it is not at all, and never has been, whether

the Forms submitted by the Committee are "Lutheran Forms," in the sense of Forms which, under various modifications, have been accepted by the Lutheran Church from the beginning. This has not been questioned. Were this all, there would be no discussion. But the question is, and must remain, whether those submitted have been wisely selected and are in the best shape, and especially whether the first formula, and in part the second also, taken in their explicit phraseology, implying consciousness, 'desire,' 'seeking' and personal 'faith' in the unconscious babe, have been, despite past use, rightly adjusted to the truth of things and the fundamental conceptions of evangelical Lutheran theology. It is a far greater and more vital question than the simple, admitted historical fact that the Forms, in main features, have stood in Lutheran usage, after perhaps a thousand or more years of earlier service in the Roman Catholic Church. The question is: Do the peculiar features of these formulas bring any better adjustment to the truth of things, the condition of the child, and the fundamental definitions and teachings of our theology, than the formulas to which our Church in this country has been accustomed, as a reason for seeking to revolutionize the practice of the churches of the General Synod? Why return to a formula whose phraseology implies infant consciousness, will, and faith before baptism— notions which the Lutheran Church as such never affirmed, but has almost completely discarded—a formula which our Church in America a century and a half ago set aside? *This* is the point in discussion.

And it is to be noted that the Church whose Liturgy and scholarship are quoted for our following is not, after all, a *Lutheran* Church. The Committee's account itself shows this—but hardly fully: "The Prussian Union is made up of Lutheran and Reformed Churches." The terms of the Union, however, make it not a *conjunction* of the two 'Churches,' but a single body, the Prussian Church. The Lutheran and Reformed Confessions are allowed equal or common right in it, but it is a single Church, the Prussian State Church. Kahnis, an intense opponent of the Union, says: "The two sister Churches, hitherto separated, are

united into one national Church.”* Kurtz says: “The Union had only added a third denomination to the two previously existing.”† We can hardly understand by what sudden transformation these “Forms” are by the Committee made to stand before us as “the conclusions of the latest Lutheran liturgical studies of the largest, ablest, the most advanced *Lutheran body* in the world.” But it helps appearances in urging the formulas of that Liturgy on our Lutheran attention. And it adds to the impressiveness of the “present membership” of “our Church,” and gives stronger color to the suggested conclusion that “the issue” against the Forms “is not so much with the Committee as with the Lutheran Church.” Nevertheless the fact remains, that the Church of Prussia is not a *Lutheran Church*, and we fail to see why its adoption of any particular formulas should be held up as entitled to guide our Lutheran General Synod. We all know how promptly Lutherans who have joined that body have been denied the right to be quoted or stand as representatives of Lutheran theology or of the Lutheran Church. Such men as Nitsch, Dorner, Müller, are at once ruled out. There are in the United States congregations and Synods; representative of the Prussian Church; but neither the General Synod nor our district Synods hold fraternal correspondence with them or are specially anxious to imitate them. By what magic has the Prussian Church become a potent pattern for our choice of a Lutheran formula for baptism?

3. Deserving of note is the Committee’s statement: “The questions that have been raised belong to the domain of theology rather than that of formularies.” This may be said in order to obviate objection from the doctrinal indefiniteness of the Prussian Church, while using the endorsement of its “liturgical” scholarship and judgment, in our pending question in the sphere of mere *adiaphora* or external rites. However this may be, the Committee has recognized the chief source of objections to the formula—sound theology. Though the Committee, by credit-

*Hist. of Ger. Protestantism, (T. & T. Clark), p. 260.

†Church Hist. Sec. 178.

ing "*Lutheran* liturgical studies" and "the largest Lutheran body in the world" with approving these Prussian Forms, has suggested that they must be consistent with the pure Lutheran doctrine, attention may properly be called to the fact that it is just to the Prussian Union that we should *not* go, and would have no right to go, for a safeguarding or working out of the unity, consistency and completeness of the Lutheran system. It is just the grave doctrinal difficulties, in the formula implying pre-baptismal infant-faith, that the Committee, or those who favor the formula, have made no serious attempt to answer or remove. To point to the Prussian liturgy is no answer.

4. It is proper to note, too, that the Committee are not agreed as to the meaning of the formula. They say: "The Committee, as a whole, does not advocate infant-faith before baptism, nor does it concede that the first form teaches this, a position in which it is supported by the more thoughtful." As made evident by the pamphlet already noticed, one of the Committee does advocate infant-faith before the baptism, as if it so taught—shaping his discussion to show the *necessity* of it and to define it as naturally provided in the essentials of the human soul. Others, it seems, neither accept infant-faith in that relation nor take the formula as teaching it. And so we have the peculiar phenomenon of the Committee's urging their preference for the formula while making confession that they do not know what it means. The *members* of the Committee interpret it in very diverse senses, both theologically and liturgically. "As a whole," however, it is unable to settle and make known *the* meaning of it. But this very fact is the condemnation of the formula. It ought to settle the judgment against it. A formula that says one thing and means another, that literally requires a pre-baptismal infant-faith, a personal belief that extends through the whole range of the Apostles' Creed, but in truth only means to pre-figure the import of the covenant status to be given by baptism, a formula with no fixed sense, capable of interpretations which are at strife with Scripture and sound theology, or likely to leave on the hearer only confusion and perplexity, is not *liturgically* properly adapted for its service. The bringing forth of

the Prussian Liturgy no more disproves the felt mal-adaptation of the Form than does its use elsewhere despite a growing opposition to it and a gradual displacement of it.

5. Another consideration is closely connected with this. Our situation in America is different from that in Prussia. The conservatism of old countries clings especially to ancient usages. They have a sort of sacredness from ancestral associations and each generation accepts them under the law of training and habit. The adjustment of forms and customs lags behind the development of theology. Dorner informs us: "The Lutheran theology of the seventeenth century abandoned the standpoint, that faith must be required *before* baptism."* But the formula that expressed it has continued largely in use. In the freer spirit of adaptation in our country the practical wisdom and piety of our forefathers early made the needed change. The amazing thing is that here, in our happy and wholesome freedom from it, despite its flagrant doctrinal and liturgical incongruities, and an inability of the Committee to agree as to its true meaning, an alien and un-American reverence for what is simply "ancient" and "venerable," should persistently seek to bring the thing back! The pattern of the Prussian Church's *retention* of it is no parallel to this proposed *restoration* among us. The Prussian conditions are not the American conditions.

As over against the Prussian Church's failure to make the change, stands the fact of increasing objection to the formula, in the *Lutheran* Church. As already shown,† some of the early Lutheran Liturgies did not admit it. Rejections of it have also, in a measure, been shown. But the defection is far greater and more impressive than has yet been indicated. The fact of its exclusion from the Lutheran State Church of Würtemberg shown in its Liturgy in 1822, (adopted already in 1808), has additional impressiveness by the continued exclusion in a later revision of its Agende. A copy of the Würtemberg Church

*System of Chr. Doc., vol. IV., p. 283.

†QUARTERLY for Oct. '98, p. 473.

Book of 1842, in its seventh edition printed in 1898, has just come to hand. Though it offers four formulas, it allows no room for any that addresses the child. And what is notably observable is the evidence of the steady loyalty of that Church to Lutheranism—a loyalty manifested not only in the introductory declaration that the contents of the Book are such as are “based on the Scriptures and the Evangelical Confession of their fathers,” but in the form of reception of church-members from without, pledging them to faithful adherence “to the confession of our Evangelical Church, as it is particularly contained in the Augsburg Confession and Luther’s Catechism,” and by its use of the old Lutheran form of words in administering the Lord’s Supper.

But information has lately been published* of the surrender of the formula, not only by the *Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America*, in its Church Book, in both its Swedish and English service, in this country, but by the whole national Church of *Sweden*. According to the information furnished by Dr. C. E. Lindburg, Professor of Theology in the Augustana Theological Seminary, the Church of Sweden, which before had followed the traditional custom of addressing the questions to the child, dropped it entirely already in 1884. In the latest Church Book of Sweden, confirmed or authorized by the King in 1894, the baptism takes place immediately after reading the Apostles’ Creed, without any question. The American Augustana Synod recently published an English Church Book, a translation from its own Book in the Swedish language, conformed in general to that of the kingdom of Sweden, yet differing from it in that the Synod preserves the custom of asking questions, but addresses them to the sponsors. And it is very notable that the reasons given for the change are substantially those which have been pressing so generally upon the attention of thoughtful men elsewhere and have been urged in these discussions. Let the magnitude of this Swedish movement be clearly recognized. It is large and expressive. Very

*Art. by Prof. J. W. Richard in *Lutheran Observer*, of March 3, 1899.

significant is it that the Augustana Synod, though it is in connection with the General Council, has thus adopted an Order of its own in open repudiation of the Council's restoration of the old formula. It indicates that the Council's restoration is not acceptable to all in its own connection. And it is exceedingly significant that the Lutheran Church of Sweden, self-moved, has recognized the need of this change, enforced by Lutheran doctrine and the requirements of an intelligible, unperplexing, self-consistent administration of the sacrament. It is a most gratifying assurance that the great Swedish Lutheran Church is not in any such bondage to traditional usages as may interfere with the fittest practical adaptations in its administration of the means of grace and its accomplishment of its spiritual work. It is a high example, of whose significance we should take account.

We have before us the *English Liturgy* of the *Joint Synod of Ohio and other States*, one of the "General Bodies" of our Church in the United States—published in 1874, "for the use of Evangelical Lutheran Pastors." It contains but a single formula for infant baptism, and shows a complete exclusion of the Committee's favorite Order. That Body, with its District Synods, is marked by its earnest contention for confessional doctrine and genuine Lutheran usage, but its preparation and adoption of this Liturgy, with this exclusion, show that it recognizes its American environment, and the non-necessity and inadvisability of seeking to perpetuate the use of the formula among the English-speaking Lutheran Churches of this country. That the exclusion is to be taken with this meaning we are justified in regarding as certain by the fact that the opposition to the formula had been, already before, resounding through the teaching of the Professor of Theology, Dr. Schuette, in the Synod's Theological School, Capital University, Columbus, O., and then set forth in "*Before the Altar*," a volume presenting to the general ministry and churches the substance of his liturgical lectures. In this work we read: "The direct questioning of the infant is a feature strikingly strange to an evangelical mind." After a statement of what has been urged in its favor, we read: "On the other side it is urged that this form, taken as it reads, is contrary: first, to the

doctrine of original sin ; secondly, to the doctrine of baptism ; thirdly, to the true intent and purpose of sponsorship ; and fourthly, to fundamental rules of liturgies whereby everything abstruse and misleading is to be discarded." Then follows a reference to the *Theologische Zeitblaetter*, in which the author had already discussed the question at length.* So the subsequent adoption of the Liturgy, excluding this form, came as the Synodical conclusion of a well-considered and fully understood question. And the conclusion counts with the weight of a careful and intelligent decision as to what is due to sound doctrine and the conditions of the English-speaking Lutheran Church in America, over against Prussia's continuance in the routinism of tradition.

The *whole* issue of the pending question, as it seems to us, may be summed up in two *alternative* issues. *First*, that the General Synod prove itself true to the high and solemn duty of safeguarding the gospel and the Lutheran Confession of it, as well as liturgical intelligibility and reality, from the grave doctrinal errors involved in countenancing the notion of infant-faith before baptism. Or *secondly*, that the General Synod fail to be true to its antecedents and its lofty, sacred mission for both these interests of the Lutheran Church in America, by an uncalled-for and mistaken surrender of its own providentially given position, at the appeal of an unreasonable and alien veneration for ancient and traditional ceremonial forms.

*pp. 35, 36.

ARTICLE VI.

A COMMON CUP, OR INDIVIDUAL CUPS?

BY PROF. G. D. STAHLEY, M. D.

I. A COMMON CUP NOT DIVINELY ESSENTIAL.

The importance of a common cup in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, was not specifically declared by Christ, when he ordained this sacrament, and hence its use cannot be regarded as divinely essential. We are aware that the contrary is believed by many Christian people, but as we view the question, there do not seem to be good reasons for such a belief.

The custom has been, from time immemorial to use one, two, three or more cups, according to convenience,—but whatever the number, each is a common cup, being used by many persons in common.

This common-cup custom has come to be regarded as a religious obligation. The ancient Fathers chose to be very literal in their interpretation of the apostolic account of the institution of this sacrament, and as pious people are always very slow in departing from time-honored practices in matters pertaining to their religion, the dominating importance of the one-cup idea, has extensively prevailed, and the use of individual cups does not seem to have been practiced, or indeed suggested, till during recent years. The conspicuous absence of evidence that individual cups were ever advocated or used, is regarded by some writers as *prima facie* evidence that their introduction would be a wicked innovation. We fail to see the force of such negative evidence. A custom, sanctioned by time and followed by multitudes of people, may either be right or wrong, and cannot, in the nature of the case, be regarded, because of its persistency, as an unqualified expression of absolute truth.

The sacrament of the "broken body and shed blood" was established by our Lord immediately after the paschal meal. Matthew's record, as it pertains to the "shed blood" portion of

the rite, with which we are now concerned, is as follows : "And he took a cup and gave thanks and gave to them saying, Drink ye all of it, for this is my blood of the covenant." Mark says, "And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks he gave to them ; and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of the covenant." The revised version, as here quoted, uses the indefinite article "a,"—"a cup," indicating that no particular cup of those in use on that occasion was selected. But it certainly must have been a single cup, and that cup was used in common by the apostolic company.

We respectfully submit that entirely too much stress is laid on this material cup. It was not the essential thing. It was not blessed by Christ. It was simply a vehicle for the conveyance of the wine, which the Master had specifically blessed, and which he had divinely ordained should be the means through which great spiritual good should pass to his true followers. The wine symbolizes the blood of Christ, as he himself declares,—"This is my blood of the covenant." The cup, the material vehicle, he makes no reference to, and hence we are not authorized to attach to it any divine quality. It was the wine that he specifically blessed and commanded saying, "Drink ye all of it," and of which it is recorded,—“and they all drank of it.” They all, in common, drank of the wine which had been blessed, and herein was displayed that communion of thought and soul and purpose, which this sacrament was intended to establish and promulgate.

May it be that the cup devotees have been misled by the expression "And he took a cup * * saying, Drink ye all of it?" These phrases seem to be simply illustrations of that form of speech called *Metonymy* by rhetoricians, where "the name of one thing is used in place of another, when the two things are closely related." Hence the expression, "The drunkard is in his cups,"—the meaning of which is obvious. In Matthew 12 : 10 we read : "And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was stirred saying, who is this?" That is, the *people* of the city were stirred, and the *people* said, "Who is this?" The city itself, the material aggregation of buildings and walls and streets re-

mained quiet. Read the word *wine* instead of *cup* in the phrase "And he took a cup and gave thanks," and the remaining phrases are brought into harmony, thus,—And he took wine, and when he had given thanks he gave to them; and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, this is my blood of the covenant.

II. A COMMON CUP NOT IMPORTANT AS A SYMBOL.

But to turn to another phase of the subject. It is urged by the advocates of the common cup, that it is powerfully effective as a symbol, in developing and maintaining the oneness and equality of Christians. One of these writers says, "That drinking from the same cup expresses the union of believers in one body more strongly than it could be expressed in any other way, does not admit of question." We respectfully challenge the correctness of this assumption, and do very much question the influence of this symbol in producing the results stated. Whilst we cheerfully admit that symbols have their uses, yet we can see no good reason why this particular symbol should be so greatly magnified.

There can be no doubt but that the cultivation of Christian fellowship is solemnly incumbent on all professed followers of Christ. Paul said to the Gallatians, "For ye are all one in Christ Jesus." The principles of Christian unity and of loving sanctified fellowship, are certainly among the blessed privileges secured by Christ's death. Any agency that encourages the development of these divine virtues, and helps us to secure their ennobling benefits, should be sedulously pursued. But does the use of the common cup constitute such an agency? Does it appear that its influence, *per se*, has been to this end? It may be difficult for some, to mentally separate the directive influence of the sanctified wine, from the associated sentiment of the common cup, which an immemorial practice has welded together. But it ought not be difficult, on sober second thought, to realize and appreciate the fact, that according to Christ's own words, the medium of loving unity with him and of sanctified fellow-

ship among ourselves, is the wine and not the cup, for he said, "This is my blood of the covenant."

So much stress has been laid up on the common cup by some of its enthusiastic defenders, that one ought not be surprised if they should announce their belief in the vital efficacy of the cup, as over against the sanctified wine. They seem so sincere in their convictions and so earnest in their advocacy of the occult, but transcendent influence for good which they attribute to the use of the common cup, that unwittingly they seem to minimize the importance of the "shed blood." If one should desire to be so ultra literal and so punctilious in picking out the little word 'cup' in the apostolic account of our Lord's institution of the last Supper, Why not regret the impious neglect which failed to hand down, for the use of every believer, for all time to come, the identical cup used on that solemn occasion? Since this would have been manifestly impossible, Why not hold as absolutely essential, that all communion cups should and must be of exactly the same composition, and of the same shape, as the one originally used? Or, why not insist that the right of Baptism should have the same external setting as in apostolic days? The records indicate that natural streams of water were used. There were no baptismal fonts, or gold or silver bowls of churchly fashion, Why not be ultra literal in the sacrament of Baptism, as well as in the sacrament of the Supper?

Can the use of the common cup foster Christian fellowship? What is there in the promiscuous use of this material object, which tends to cultivate mutual regard and mutual fidelity. Suppose in a given case, my reader should wish to cultivate a fuller degree of human friendship between himself and an admired neighbor. How will he proceed? Will he invite him to his house and to his table, and not only so, but to the plate which has only partially cleared of food, to the knife he is still using, or to the cup of coffee half disposed of? Surely he will not show such lack of ordinary politeness. The neighbor cannot be wooed that way. His finer feelings will revolt, and he will spurn in disgust the proffered hospitality. We surely should not undertake to cultivate *Christian* fellowship, by means

of a method, which produces disgust in the cultivation of ordinary *human* friendship.

In our humble judgement the successful cultivation of Christian oneness of sentiment and the Christ-like spirit of equality, depends much more on the every-day sincerity with which we exemplify the virtues of the gospel, than on the punctilious observance of the material setting of any ordinance. "Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love." This was Paul's method of cultivating Christian unity and fellowship, and no substitute or auxiliary has ever shown comparable potency. The custom of attempting to cultivate the spirit of equality by drinking together from the same "loving cup" on Sunday, and then ignoring or disparaging our less-favored brethern during the remainder of the week, is as absurd in principle as it is unfortunately true in practice.

We cannot persuade ourselves to extol the one-cup. But there are several one-things, which we cannot magnify too greatly. These are,—the one "body broken," the one "blood shed," "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all and through all and in all."

III. THE COMMON CUP METHOD UNCLEANLY.

A third reason which we would urge against the use of a common cup, is that the method is uncleanly, and hence objectionable. A writer characterizes objectors to this method on this ground as "morbidly sensitive," "squeamish," "over nice," and complacently proceeds to say that any person who opposes the common cup on the ground of uncleanness is making the question a matter of "mere taste" and "reveals a state of mind, which if voluntary, suggests doubt of the fitness of the person to commune at all." To say the least, such an expression is both startling and offensive, and betrays a consciously weak cause and poverty of argument. We are amazed that a minister of the gospel should pronounce such an uncharitable judgment. Who made him a judge over the conscience of his fellow Christian?

There is a familiar aphorism that "cleanliness is next to god-

liness." It was natural that the repeated references of the Bible on this line, should thus have been crystalized into a trite saying. The salutary qualities of cleanliness are commended in the figurative expressions of "clean hands," "clean hearts," "clean ways," indicating that the principle of cleanliness is well-pleasing to God. We urge that the practice of cleanliness is not only proper and desirable, but that it is religiously obligatory, particularly when we are fulfilling the ordinances of God's appointment. All the conditions which surround our religion, and the methods used to propagate it, ought to be *objectively* pure and clean, in order that its *subjective* sacredness may be the more fittingly preserved and cultivated.

The use of the common cup is surely not a cleanly practice, and instead of aiding the cultivation of religious thoughts, we cannot but regard it as a hinderance thereto. The practice encourages a disagreeable promiscuousness, in which it is difficult to realize that there are any compensating benefits. It does not seem becoming to a dignified grade of intelligence. It is true that zoologically man is an animal, but he is an animal of high intelligence and of spiritual aspirations. He has not only a physical, but a religious and ethical nature as well. If regarded simply as an animal, he may be excused if his habits lack discrimination, but if he is to be regarded as the possessor of a discerning mind and of polite preferences, he should be willing to cultivate cleanliness and the reasonable proprieties in all things.

The common cup is a sure agent for receiving and distributing impurities. As the same cup is passed from person to person, the wine advances to the lips and then recedes into the cup, thus carrying with it the washings from many mouths. One portion of this impure wine is drunk by each succeeding person, and another portion which has come in contact with the lips, flows back into the cup again. The half empty cup, being frequently replenished, simply serves to mix the good with the polluted article, thus constantly keeping the supply impure.

We will not here specify the uncleanly and diseased conditions of the mouth, throat and nose, which frequently exist among communicants, for this aspect of the case is sufficiently

disagreeable without going into details. Some of these conditions are due to slovenly habits, whilst others are due to actual disease.

We submit that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, being a most holy rite, its sacred nature should not be marred by the method of its administration. That it is thus marred for many sincere and pious souls, is a question beyond the probability of a genuine doubt, the egotism of self-appointed censors to the contrary notwithstanding.

Even admitting that this whole question is only "a matter of taste," and observing that multitudes of Christian people, being convinced of the reasonableness of the arguments urged against the custom, are asking earnestly for a change, would it not be well to at least offer to those who so desire, the alternative of individual cups? It may be possible that those of us who believe in a change are the weaker brethern referred to by Paul, and if so, Would it not be well to make such arrangements as will secure our weak natures against offense? The principle is that the strong should bear the infirmities of the weak. This would offer a pleasing opportunity to stalwart orthodoxy, to extend patronizing assistance to the weak brethern. However, we do not desire to limit a privilege, for such we regard it, and hence suggest that the advantages of this reform, be offered to all, reserving for those who prefer to commune in the old way, the right and the opportunity so to do.

IV. THE COMMON CUP A PROBABLE SOURCE OF INFECTION.

But we desire to urge a fourth reason against the use of the common cup, and that is that it provides both a possible and probable means for the communication of infectious diseases. We will not here endeavor to instance indubitable cases of infection from this source, for there are none. As far as *proved* instances are concerned, we are willing to take the negative results of a ministerial writer on this subject, who, during his professional labors of nearly a quarter of a century among all kinds of people and every character of disease, and who has made diligent inquiry of many physicians, bacteriologists and sanita-

rians on this subject, yet declares that he has failed to find one clear case of infection from this source. This is negative evidence and we are willing to leave it on the scales for what inherent weight it has, begging, however, to add that in our judgment its weight is infinitesimal.

Infectious diseases are due to a micro-organism, averaging about the one fifteen-thousandth of an inch in length, and are usually called *bacteria*, or more commonly *microbes*. From the nature of their food and the material of their structure, scientists have concluded that they are plants. Although of microscopic size, they can be very destructive of human life. In our Spanish-American war, when the bullets of the Spaniards became monotonously ineffectual, the microbes of typhoid, and yellow fever, aimed their deadly shafts, and sadly decimated the ranks of the American army.

Many of these microbes have been artificially cultivated in laboratories, and it is found that they flourish best wherever filth exists. Hence the physician says to his patron, Cultivate personal cleanliness and avoid unclean surroundings. He does not say that from any given case of uncleanness, positive proof of disease may be produced. But he says, It is a very likely place for disease germs to flourish and multiply, therefore avoid it. He also says, Avoid any practice which affords a means of easy conveyance of disease germs from one person to another. The extreme reasonableness of this advice is at once apparent, and its application in our discussion clear.

The rules of health which physicians and sanitarians urge, are not, by any means, always based on isolated and definitely attested and proved cases of sickness or death, caused by the practice of opposite methods. These rules may often advise greater caution than is absolutely necessary, or forbid practices which in a particular case might do no harm. But we believe that the consensus of popular judgment is accustomed to regard the advice given as salutary. When we are dealing with so subtle and so powerful an enemy of the human race as a microscopic disease germ, it becomes us to be, not only ordinarily, but specially and persistently cautious.

Just here we wish to cite an illustration, which will, we hope,

make our argument plain. In many states, the state and municipal boards of health, positively forbid the holding of public funerals for persons who have died of some contagious or infectious disease, and the laws of the commonwealth give them authority to enforce their rules. The propriety of such regulations appeals approvingly to our enlightened common sense, and yet there is *not a single well attested case*, where infection can truthfully be asserted to have had its inception at a public funeral.* One might argue, that because of this absolute lack of evidence, and because of the aseptic methods practiced by our up-to-date funeral directors of to-day, immunity from danger is positively assured, and therefore the restrictions which would prevent attached friends and neighbors from expressing their fullest regard for the dead by holding a public funeral, are unnecessary and cruel. But we hear no such complaints. The enlightened sanitary conscience of the day approves of the prohibition, needlessly cautious though it seems. The parallelism between public funerals of the infected dead and the use of the common cup, is that both are *possible* and *probable* but *unproved* sources of infection, and our argument is, that if prohibitory regulations are sanctioned for the former, then they should, in all reason, be also sanctioned for the latter.

Another illustration also furnishes a parallelism, but of a different kind, the argument involved likewise justifying an important inference. There are well attested cases in *authentic medical literature*, where the germs of diphtheria have been transferred from one person to another, through the simple act of kissing. We submit, that the physical conditions which obtain in this act, are almost identical with those which attend the practice of persons drinking successively from a common cup. Our argument in this illustration is, that since the former habit has furnished

*We are aware that there is a general belief that cases of infection have been definitely traced to such funerals, but we have been particular to make careful inquiry of medical sanitary experts, whose official business it is to investigate all such suspicious cases, and we are authoritatively informed, that no authentic case of infection from this source is ever known to have occurred.

proved illustrations of infection, is it not reasonable to infer that the practice of the common cup, being so similar in its essential physical features, may also be fraught with danger?

Notwithstanding all negative evidence of actual infection, yet we submit that the common cup affords a possible, probable and easy means for the conveyance of the microscopic disease germ from person to person, and we hold that what is a possible, probable and easy source of evil should be avoided. We here quote from a personal letter received from an eminent member of a distinguished medical faculty: "The possibility of the conveyance of infectious micro-organisms by means of common drinking cups seems to me so manifest, that I should not hesitate to advocate sanitary precautions based on this possibility, even without being able to adduce specific instances of infection from this source. When one considers how frequently those infected with diphtheria, tuberculosis and syphilis harbor in their mouths the specific germs of the disease, it cannot be otherwise than that they may contaminate with these germs the cups and their contents."

The spirit of sanitary reform which is abroad in our land is both enlightened and Christian. It has done much for the betterment of mankind. Intelligent Christian, public benefactors, interested in prosecuting advantageous reformations, have been busily engaged in making many sanitary changes, and their delay in advocating the abrogation of the common communion cup, has been simply out of deference to the peculiar religious sentiment which has been thrown around this custom. Hence the reform is only a deferred one, and in the nature of the case must eventually be brought to pass. These Christian reformers, servants of the public, are becoming somewhat impatient. They cannot understand why dogmatic lines should be drawn across the way of sanitary progress, and they are becoming restive under intolerant adverse criticism in the prosecution of their labors. They have established rules for general sanitary guidance, have instituted various beneficial quarantine regulations, have put an embargo on the funerals of the infected dead, and they are beginning to feel that the time for unlimited deference to the preju-

dices of their brethern, in the matter of the dangerous common cup, is past, and that the custom should be speedily reformed.

Let us again revert to the topic of alleged insufficient testimony against the cup, as a cause of disease. The sources of disease are often very obscure, and causes are frequently assigned off-hand, which if they were carefully inquired into, would be found to be very inadequate. The bodies of different individuals vary much in their susceptibility to malign influences, and these influences are so varied and so complex, that it is practically impossible, in very many cases, to assign a single cause, and to prove it beyond a reasonable doubt. If a person in the community is overtaken with some infectious disease, a cause is at once sought for. Any imaginable or unimaginable source of infection may be inquired into and no objection will be raised, until some thoughtful person suggests the common communion service cup, when the spirit of religious intolerance cries out against the absurdity of such a suggestion, and investigation is at once throttled. No wonder there is no evidence against the cup as a source of disease. The evidence is not received on the same footing as is accorded other evidence. It is summarily ruled out of court. It is discarded, because, it is alleged, we are laying impious hands on "the most tender ceremonial of all history." It does not seem to avail when we plead, that it is not the essence of the ceremonial, but only its material and unessential setting that we desire to change. Because of these deep seated antagonisms to this reform, which the religious prejudices of the day are appealed to to uphold, it is a very unpopular task for either a minister or a physician to join the reforming party. Besides this existing prejudice, the very nature of the case may discourage them. The infinite smallness of the disease germs, the numerous avenues of infection beside the common cup, the slowness of development of some of the most poisonous of these germs, all make it utterly impossible to provide positive and detailed proof, that any given case of disease is one of undoubted common cup origin. This unequal battle against the bias of centuries, and a positive demand for

impossible proof, is enough to discourage the most ardent reformer.

Even regarding diseases in which communicability of germs has been positively proved, there is often great difference of opinion as to the extent to which this view should be pressed. This difference exists not only among the laity, but also among physicians. Tuberculosis or consumption of the lungs, is admitted to be a communicable disease, and whilst many physicians believe that it should be strictly treated as such and quarantined against, both for the benefit of the patient and the protection of others, yet there are many physicians who do not hold this view. On the subject of vaccination there is also a great difference of opinion. The fearful ravages of small-pox in the past, and the wonderful efficacy of vaccination in mitigating or preventing this dreadful disease, is a matter of history and is well attested, and yet there is to-day a wonderfully vigorous Anti-vaccination Society in England, which is doing all it can through literature and speech, to destroy public confidence in this benign measure. Their argument is, that the infectious character of small-pox has been unduly magnified and that modern medical methods for the treatment of this disease, need no such an ally as vaccination. These two instances are sufficient to prove that it is utter folly to declare the charge of infection from the common cup, as unproved, until there shall exist a unanimity of opinion, both among the laity and among physicians, as to the actual transference of disease germs, in the present custom. If agreement cannot be reached when positive proof is on record and abundantly attested, it will surely never occur, when, in the very nature of the case, indubitable evidence cannot be had.

In the first part of this paper we denied the claim that the use of the common cup was sacredly obligatory. If it is thus obligatory under unknown or undetermined conditions of infection, then it is also obligatory, even though it is definitely known that several of the persons at a given communion table are infected with the germs of some specific disease. Such a sacred obligation as is claimed for the method of the common cup, can

have no exceptions. Disease or no disease, the ordinance must be administered in just that way and in no other. And indeed, such an administration of the sacrament, even under infectious conditions, may yield no harmful results. As in war, not every bullet kills a man, so here, the little microbe of the one fifteen thousandth of an inch in length, does not always hit its mark. If it were always effectual, our tenure of life would be most uncertain, and the human family would be greatly handicapped in its struggle for power and place. A fortuitous concurrence of conditions is necessary, in order to bring about successful infection. Just as in the fertilization of flowers by means of pollen grains, the unsuccessful to the successful ones in the process, are as millions to one. Fortunately for us, the micro-organism of the common cup is at a considerable disadvantage, for wine is not the kind of a medium in which it thrives best, and the time for its transference from person to person is very brief. But that it does often succeed, we do not hesitate to believe and declare.

The human mouth is a favorite breeding and lodging place for certain micro-organisms. The products of their life processes are often very poisonous, and we will do well to inquire whether we are not culpable if we continue to encourage and practice a custom which provides an easy means for the transference of these poisons from person to person. These bacteria and their poisons, are met with, not only in the mouths of the diseased or slovenly, but in the mouths of cleanly persons as well. On these points we here insert several quotations from an authoritative work entitled "Bacteria and their Products," by German Sims Woodhead, M. D., (Edin.,) pages 337, 338, 343. The author says,—“From what we know of the biology of these organisms, we can readily understand that the mouth should form a kind of hot house or forcing ground for their cultivation. Here is a moist cavity, kept at a comparatively high temperature, covered with an epithelium (lining) which is constantly being partially or completely shed, to which there is ready access from the outside air, and through which food material is constantly being passed, particles of which, despite the greatest care and

the utmost cleanliness, always remain in small crevices between the teeth, or perhaps more important still, between the gums and the teeth. * * * * *

It is now generally accepted that about eight or ten different micro-organisms are almost constantly met with in the mouth, and that six may be said to be invariably present. * * * *

* * * Quite recently Sternberg, Fraenkel, Klein* and others have shown that, though the pure saliva as it runs into the mouth is non-pathogenic (not disease producing) it acquires toxic (poisonous) properties as soon as it becomes mixed with the organisms which are usually found in the mouth, this being especially the case in persons suffering from certain infective diseases. One observer has found that his own saliva is *permanently so toxic* that it invariably causes the death of small animals into which it is inoculated; it is almost as fatal as hydrophobic saliva." These statements and the quality of the scientific evidence here adduced is absolutely beyond dispute, and indicates the alarming danger to which we are exposed in the use of the common sacramental cup.

Of the forms of disease which may be communicated by the use of the common cup, we particularly mention diphtheria and tuberculosis.

But there is another disease, born and nurtured under the vilest conditions, which we wish to refer to in this connection, but which we will not here name. If my reader feels like resenting the suggestion that a Christian communicant may be the possessor of a loathsome disease, let us remind him that the man's present life is no criterion of what it may have been. He may now be a sincere Christian, yet by reason of wicked folly in his youth his body may be polluted by this foul disease. Indeed he may have been of pure heart and righteous life from babyhood up, and yet the poison of this disease may be in him, for God himself gives testimony on this point,—“I will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, even to the third and fourth generation of them that hate me.” The grace of God can do marvel-

*Let it be noted that these men stand in the fore-front of bacteriological investigators.

ous things for fallen humanity. It can cleanse the foulest heart and cause it to be forever afterwards, a well spring of divine and saving impulses, but since the days when the Master walked among us and restored loathsome lepers to physical soundness, no such miraculous transformations have occurred. The microbe of this disease has been the curse of humanity for centuries, and the constant despair of the medical profession with all its splendid modern armament. It is as elusive as Satan himself. Whilst its manifestations on the human body are often very apparent and loathsome, yet it is usually well disguised, and in a given case, the victim of its poison may be the most respectable looking and best nourished man in the company.

Why close our eyes to the reality of the common cup source of infection? Why allow the innate holiness of the sacramental feast to lead us into those ecstasies of feeling which cause us to disregard the dangers attendant on the time-honored method of its administration? Sentiment is a good thing, and a religious sentiment deserves to be reverently regarded. Our every day life would be "flat, stale and unprofitable" without the spice of sentiment, and a religion devoid of sentiment is also devoid of life. But certainly there should be great discrimination exercised as to the time and place, and the material object and conditions, under which this religious sentiment should be encouraged. Sentiment intelligently directed may eventuate in great good, but if thoughtlessly exercised, much harm may result. We submit, that the sentiment of the common cup has been overestimated as to its religious value, and has unwittingly warped the judgment of many, on a question which vitally concerns us, socially, morally and physically.

Paul said, "Let everything be done decently and in order," according to the best light we have, and according to methods which will insure the greatest unmixed good to the greatest number of believers.

The times are rapidly ripening for a change. The enlightened Christian conscience is being aroused on this subject and is beginning to understand that no inherent divine obligation attaches to the use of the common cup, that the precious blood of Christ

is the saving part of the ordinance, that the use of the cup, in common, is a most disagreeable and uncleanly procedure, and that it may be the means of communicating the germs of deadly diseases. Let us hope that the day is not far distant, when the reform from the common cup to individual cups, will be universally inaugurated.

ARTICLE VII.

THAT INDIVIDUAL COMMUNION CUP.

BY REV. S. S. RAHN, PH. D.

In a late issue of a newspaper the editor stated, that the pastor of the leading and most influential church (Presbyterian) of the town, had given as his opinion, on the above mooted subject: "It is only a matter of time when all the churches will see the propriety of it and adopt it." Time may verify his prediction. But, at present, there seems to be no urgent demand, nor clamor, for this departure from the ancient and time-honored custom of the Church. This same editor asked, at the time, when the *individual cup* was first used. No one ventured to answer. Possibly, it was regarded as a vexed question, or one that would raise a storm among the clergy of the community, and so the matter was let severely (?) alone. Prudence, too, suggested this, as a wise plan to avoid controversy. This, however, does not settle the question before the Church. It appears that some good and earnest men are now among its vigorous advocates. But how, and by whom did it originate? Perchance, the idea germinated in the fertile brain of one skilled in "the new theology," or latest science. Doubtless, he had a dream—fell into a trance while worn with study, etc., suddenly awakening, thrust the problem upon the Christian world, as a fresh revelation from heaven. And, as there are to be found many good people always on the alert, ready for any advanced thought, the *new* discovery was favorably received. But it had to be supported with good and sound reasons before it must be adopted. Of these, the one of most weight seems to be *the*

sanitary. It is claimed that "diseases may be transmitted by *all* drinking from the same cup." Has any one known certainly such to have taken place? But, says one, "there is danger of it." It may be granted that there is a *little* risk to the participants.

Will any assert positively that there is no danger of catching or giving diseases by persons sitting together in the church, or standing and kneeling side by side at the altar? May not one have latent malady, and he unconsciously and unintentionally scatter its poisonous seeds among those who come near? Nor is this all. There are numerous channels through which disease may flow with its destructive power. Leading philanthropists are bestowing thought and study on this subject. Not long ago the *New York Sunday World*, which by a scientific investigation found greenbacks and bank bills to contain germs of disease, brought forth comment from various leading newspapers. Only the remarks from one are given. The *Buffalo News* says: "*The New York World*, of Sunday, had an article showing the frightful state of things in the bills current in that city."

Various tests were made, and the showing of microbes and growth of every illegitimate kind was something astonishing. It may be news to some people that diseases of the most dangerous kind can be carried in paper bills. There is not a loathsome plague that torments vicious humanity, but may be communicated to innocent persons whose lives are clean in every way, by the handling of paper money corrupted by passing from hand to hand."

Well, since the germs of nearly all the ills of humanity may lurk in the bank bills, and so be communicated from one person to another, it will be the part of prudence to dispense with their use—these paper notes at least must be laid aside. This would reduce all trade to the use of specie. Would this be beneficial to individuals, or to the country?

It might, perchance, be hailed with delight by not a few who are longing for "more silver," "more gold." But, *this* is not all. We should have to stop all communications through the mails, and the exchange of all commodities, lest disease be carried

hither and thither into every corner of the earth. And what of the thousands and millions of people of all classes and conditions who are moving to and fro in the towns and cities, and who travel upon the highways everywhere by means of coach and locomotive and vessel? Any danger of spreading disease and death in that? Let the advocates of "the individual cup" throw on the light here. To be sure, we are living in constant peril from these and other sources. But in which is the greatest danger of disseminating plagues and pestilences? This is an all-important question, which in the mind of the Christian and benefactor of the race should have at least some attention.

The compassionate Lord of heaven would hardly have instituted and commanded the observance of a rite in the churches, so fraught with direful effects to his disciples, for he came not to destroy, but to save the children of men. But look at it a little closer. The Church, following the example of her divine Master through the centuries, has used *the one cup* in the administration of the Holy Supper. And, during all these years, how many of the millions who have drunk from the *one* cup have been known to contract disease and die? The assertion is ventured that the cases have been comparatively few. Is the simple fear that sickness in divers forms may lie concealed in the wine cup of the Eucharist a just or valid reason for substituting a new practice in place of the one so old? Not only must the word be preached in its purity, but *the sacrament must also be administered according to the Gospel*. The Gospel rule is *one cup* for the recipients.

There is another reason given for introducing the individual communion cup. Not so much here a dread of contracting a fatal disorder by drinking from the cup after one who may be infected with disease, as the horror of sipping after one whose mouth is, perchance, not clean and whose breath is not sweet. Not many days ago an intelligent business man said: "I favor a cup for each communicant. When we offer our friends water or anything to drink we set a vessel for each one. It would not be nice and polite to ask several to drink from the same glass one after another." This sounds well, and is all right from a

sacred are not to be lowered to the level of temporal matters. The custom of society, the pride and wisdom of men, perhaps, have more to do with the desired change than any other motive. The apostle Paul says, "the wisdom of the world is foolish with God." And so it is.

The effort of some to have a cup for each communicant instead of *the one cup for all* is not the first attempt of man to improve on the divine economy. Human conceit has time and again led individuals in the Church to undertake to do better for the omniscient Lord, than he knows to do for himself. But their presumption, as might be expected, comes to naught, since it is not of him who purposes wisely and executes righteously. The history of the Church shows that all vain attempts have worked disastrously.

1. Take the case of Sarah. Jehovah has assured Abraham of his blessing and protection, with a *fourth* visit to him in the second period of his life. As yet he was childless, but possessed vast wealth. God then gave a plainer revelation and made it more emphatic with the promise that his own son should be his heir. "To wait patiently for the fulfillment of the promise, in spite of natural obstacles, was too much, if not for the faith of Abraham, at least for that of Sarah." Hence, in order to expedite matters, she advises her husband that the promised heir must come through her handmaid, since she herself had become hopeless. The sequence shows what mischief she wrought. We see here, as elsewhere, that God will not suffer his purposes thwarted by the ingenuity of finite beings.

2. Note again the case of Rebekah to secure the blessing for her favorite son Jacob. God had expressly told her before the birth of her two sons that "the elder should serve the younger," *i. e.*, that Jacob was his chosen one to represent Abraham's faithful descendants. Lo, the fruits of her wily trick. To avert danger from Jacob by his brother, Rebekah must needs send him to her kindred in Padan-Aram, where he remained many years; and so she is deprived of his presence and love at home.

Through her stratagem she makes sorrow for herself and Isaac instead of bringing joy.

3. Again, Irsael's demand for a king to rule over them and lead in the day of battle did not bring with it perpetual peace and prosperity. Wars and rumors of wars, strifes, rebellions, national unrest and disasters followed rapidly as the result of human sovereignty in the kingdom of God's peculiar and favored people.

4. Another instance in which man essays to help the Lord is seen in the case of Uzzah, when the ark of God was being carried from Kirjath-Jearim to the city of David. As the procession reached the threshing-floor of Chidor (or Nachon,) the oxen shook the cart (or stumbled), and Uzzah put forth his hand to steady the ark, forgetting that Jehovah needed not his aid. Instant death was the punishment for his profanation, to the great grief of David. "But Uzzah's fate was not merely the penalty of his own rashness. The improper mode of transporting the ark, which ought to have been borne on the shoulders of Levites, was the primary cause of his unholy deed; and David distinctly recognized it as a punishment on the people in general, 'because *we sought him not after the due order.*' " The melancholy interruption suffered here is proof of Jehovah's displeasure, when men vainly attempt to deal with things most sacred.

Take one more case, that of Jeroboam in establishing places of worship at Dan and at Bethel. It is needless to cite particulars. "The thing became a sin." It was idolatry and God destroyed the altar upon which he burned incense at Bethel.

Certainly, no one will presume to advocate, for a moment, anything in our religion and the Church which conflicts with decency, for *all things must be done decently*. It is, also, said somewhere, "cleanliness is next to godliness." It may be confidently assumed that our Lord and Redeemer was the perfect type of culture and neatness. He was the world's model *gentleman* for all time and under all circumstances. Nor should the great Saviour be suspected of instituting a ceremony among His followers which glances in the direction of impropriety. He could

not do this, being an example for all to imitate. The trouble is with the Church. Instead of being in the world and *not of it*, it is in the world and the world *in it*. The spirit of Christianity is opposed to the spirit of this world. The spirit of Christ and the religion of the apostles are meekness and humility. The divine Teacher will have no pride, no aristocracy, in the kingdom he died to establish. Behold him washing the disciples feet. Here is set the example of a lovely, gentle ministry. When he celebrated that last Passover feast and instituted the sacrament of the Holy Communion in his Church, we see him sitting down at the table with the disciples, after the necessary preparations were completed. Jewish custom required of the guests that their feet be washed before eating the paschal supper. But the twelve were not "prompted by their feeling to perform this servile work in humility." Then the meek and loving Saviour, rising from the place he was, and pouring water into a basin and girding himself with a towel, began to wash his disciples feet. In this he would shame them and give them a lesson of humility for all time. On this point Dr. Kurtz well says: "Christ establishes a connection between the washing of the feet and the baptism of John. The disciples received through the latter the first consecration to the kingdom of God, and had part with Christ; the whole man had been symbolically cleansed by it. But as they had again become unclean through their daily intercourse with the world (not the whole body, however, but only the feet), it was necessary that this uncleanness also should be removed, in order that they might continue to have part with Christ, and be qualified to partake of that meal by which their communion with him was established. Herein consisted the symbolical meaning of the washing of the disciples' feet. The baptism of John, and the washing of the feet previous to the paschal meal, correspond to Christian Baptism and the remission of sins previous to the reception of the Lord's Supper. The gifts which were symbolically exhibited in the former, are really bestowed in the latter." The teaching here is suggestive and worthy of consideration.

But says one, "it is really nauseating to drink after men and

women whose mouths and breaths are defiled by the use of snuff, liquors and tobacco." Well, it must be confessed that this is disgusting to the taste of the pure Christian. Yet, should the way of the Lord be perverted to gratify those who are indulging in habits which are unbecoming a child of God? The good Master, who came to uplift, and cleanse, and purify, and save from all evil practices, says: "If any man will come after me let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." Self-denial is here enjoined. Who that loves the Lord is unwilling to make some sacrifice for him? It is not recorded that Jesus ever indulged in a useless, ugly and wasteful habit. He never polluted his lips with any filthy and poisonous stuff.

Think of the most lovely and spotless character of the ages tarnished by being saturated with the essence of alcohol and nicotine and steeped in the fumes of a noxious weed! Has such a blemish ever been found in that sinless life? Pure and heavenly minded as he was, he could not, and would not descend from the high plane of perfect manhood to ape the quadruped that chews the cud, nor yet make a steam engine of himself by puffing smoke from his mouth and nostrils, as he moved among his fellows. The human body, created for a sublime destiny, should not be degraded to low and vicious practices. The great apostle Paul says: "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are" [1 Cor. 3: 16, 17].

The remedy lies in obedience to the divine word. "Let a man examine himself and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup." This course is necessary in order to become worthy partakers of the Holy Sacrament. The Church has always urged fasting, prayer, self-examination, repentance, upon those who would show forth the Lord's death. Instead of having a cup for each communicant, let those who drink spirits, and smoke and chew tobacco, and rub snuff, abstain, for a season at least—*fast*, for a few days, nay, undergo a process of purification. This is in keeping with the apostle's earnest exhortation:

I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present *your bodies* a living sacrifice, etc.," [Rom. 12 : 1, 2.] If any are unwilling thus to prepare for this most solemn part of worship, if they will not make such sacrifice, then let it be understood that they commune, when the rest that have properly fitted themselves shall have done. Let this custom, also, obtain with all who have sore mouths and contagious diseases. "Oh!" but says another, "there are the long mustache gentry. They plunge that overgrown appendage into the wine cup, and that is not at all nice." Some one suggests *a mustache cup*. A clipping would be more becoming to the humble believer in Christ. Certain practices, diseases, and accidents among the Israelites were unclean in the sight of God, and there was required a season for purification before the evil-doers and unfortunates could enter into the congregation. May we not suppose that, if the use of tobacco and snuff had obtained then, those so indulging would have been urged to forbear for *a* time, if not for *all* time. It does seem that a sincere Christian ought never to fall into a useless, filthy, wasteful habit. Jesus never encouraged folly, nor uncleanness, nor extravagance. He became *poor* that we through his poverty might be rich. Only a perverted, depraved taste craves strong drink and tobacco. And the needless waste of money to gratify the acquired habit is appalling. Something like one billion and five hundred million of dollars spent annually in this country for that which is not nourishing to either body or soul. Here is food for serious thought.

The *one cup for all* is not a mere accident, but significant of the *one redeeming blood*. The unerring Master, in ordaining the Holy Supper, says: "Drink ye all of it," *i. e.*, "do *ye all* drink of it;" "for this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you." "And *they all* drank of it," says St. Mark. Obeying this command of their gracious Lord, *they all* become partakers of the *one* aliment of life.

St. Paul, writing of Israel in the desert, says: "They did *all* eat of the same spiritual meat; and did *all* drink of the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them; and that Rock was Christ [1 Cor. 10 : 3, 4]. In

the same chapter, when he comes to speak of the sacrament of the altar, he writes: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion (*participation in*) of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion (*participation in*) of the body of Christ? For we being many are one bread and one body: for we are *all* partakers of that *one* bread" (vs. 16, 17). The apostle here speaks of "*the* cup which we bless;" not *a* cup, or *any* cup, or *several* cups, which would be the case, if each communicant had a separate cup. The words of inspiration are too plain to be misunderstood.

"There is *one* Lord, *one* faith, *one* baptism, *one* God and Father of us all," *one* Savior, whose *one body* and *one blood* are offered for sin, and given in the Supper under the form of the *one* bread (*loaf*) and the *one* cup. Too full of meaning and blessing is that little "*one*" to be destroyed. Was there more than *one* cup of suffering for Jesus to drink? We are all *one* body in Christ who is the Head. Let not, then, the oneness of believers in him be impaired. It were better to adhere to that ancient usage, which has been embalmed by the love and faith and prayers and toils and sacrifices of apostles, martyrs, confessors, and reformers. But alas! 'tis too true, that there is a tendency on the part of many to break away from "*the old paths, the good way.*" In these latter days of progress in everything, the Church, it is feared, is being drifted from her safe moorage.

Many claim that Christianity is at a low ebb today—that the Church is weak, and sickly, and has not power to prevail with God or man; but why? Simply because not "rooted and grounded" in the knowledge and spirit of the distinctive, fundamental teachings of God's revealed word, "*The good old way*" of apostolic faith and practice, the old way of martyrs and reformers, and the fathers, and of a "great cloud of witnesses," who have testified for God, is widely departed from; and so it happens that the popular faith and teaching of the day is a vague, a halting, a compromising, a negative, a milk-and-water system of doctrine—not the strong, pure, life-giving and soul-saving doctrine of the impregnable Word. The experience of the wisest and purest in the Church since its founding, teaches, that *the old*

paths, the good and tried and successful way, are safest and best, Why did the ill-fated steamship, City of Columbus, a few years ago, go down (off Gay Head Light) freighted with so many precious human lives? Did she wreck in the old and well-known course? No, but aside of this safe and long-tried track over which many had sailed unharmed, and not far away she struck the unseen and hidden rocks and was lost. Thus on the great ocean of life there is a known and secure course. The great Captain of our salvation has pointed it out and warns of the perils along the way. No danger lies in the path of His truth and ethics, but in venturing upon some new way or driven by storms from it as the City of Columbus was. It is said the night was dark and stormy, and the waves furious, and so the trusted captain lost his bearings, and destruction of the ship followed.

Amid the various and conflicting views and teachings in the moral and spiritual world it sometimes becomes difficult to discern the truth. Then it is that the servants of the divine Master must be most circumspect. Who doubts that at present there is much perversion in our holy religion? These perversions have been called "*religionisms*" by the great and sainted Dr. C. P. Krauth. A few of his sentences are in point: "These religionisms have disturbed the peace of the Church through the ages. They are a source of sorrow to the Church now. I might call attention to the Pharisaism, the Sadduceeism, the Paganism, the Samaritanism, of our time, but time will not permit. These religionisms are universal, but their tendencies are far from their sharply formulating themselves in every case. While each of them has perhaps a body in which it is relatively predominant, *all bodies* have representatives of all these tendencies. The widest extremes meet in the actual memberships of all communions." It is true that absolute purity in doctrine and cultus is not easy of attainment, yet the apostle exhorts, "that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the Gospel, [Phil. 1 : 28; also Jude 3]. And it were well to ponder the simple rule of our Confession: "It is our duty to perform those good works which God has commanded."

his word says : "As often as ye drink *this cup*, ye do show the Lord's death."

The all-gracious Lord, in instituting the Holy Sacrament for the special comfort and strengthening of those who humbly confess their sins, and who hunger and thirst after righteousness, did not design that it should adapt itself to the weakness and imperfection of man. It is not the duty of Church to gratify the perverted taste or to encourage the false notion of her unsanctioned children. The whole thing seems wrong and shows a lack of faith in God. It is of that same spirit which is constantly seeking and devising new measures and methods to convert and save humanity. It is the evil one striving for the mastery over professed disciples. Dr. South seemed to discern this, when he wrote: "A will *vitiated* and grown out of love with the truth disposes the understanding to error and delusion." A want of love for the truth is the cause of all unscriptural views and practices. The outlook for Zion to-day is a matter of grave consideration to her devoted friends. The old ship, that has weathered so many violent storms in the past, is even now being tossed by the waves of a furious tempest. Her present officers, many of them; have imbibed the spirit of the times, and in their ardent zeal they wish her to keep pace with every onward movement. The world may be going too fast for the good of humanity. Dr. Max Nordau declares "the characteristic development of the age to be a sort of cultivated insanity or idiocy." Was he extravagant in his assertion? If so, will it be affirmed that the Spirit of the great Restorer is back of the mighty rush and is hurrying us to the consummation of the ages? True, he inspires every beneficent work and movement, that will allay the pains of distressed human kind, and usher in a period of peace and good will among the nations.

The *individual communion cup* is an innovation which the whole Church is not yet ready to introduce. There are humble, yet clear-headed and conservative men and women, in every Christian congregation, who are loath to give up an old and tried custom, especially, *one* they believe accords with the Scriptures. The people of God should, therefore, be very discreet in

the adoption of a novelty in the services of the sanctuary, lest offense be given. The law of expediency should here hold. But whereunto would this new thing lead? Like the rented pew system, would it not embolden pride, selfishness, and extravagance in the house of the Lord? In worship should the poor be separated from the rich by elegant cushioned seats and costly silver communion cups? For if a cup for each one should become the custom, no doubt each communicant would prefer to furnish his own cup. If the church provide the cups it would be expensive in a membership of 500 or 1,000 or 2,000. A difficult task too for the pastor, it would seem, when the administration of the Supper takes place.

Is not much involved in this question?

ARTICLE VIII.

THE INDIVIDUAL CUP IN USE.

BY REV. LUTHER DE YOE, A. M.

The individual cup has been used by the congregation of Messiah Lutheran Church, of Harrisburg, Pa., for two years.

During this time we have had excellent opportunity to study the administration of the holy communion under the changes it necessitates. Speaking for my congregation I can say, we know the mode is right and are thankful that we have adopted it. We have always been confident that the reasons we had for adopting the form were abundantly sufficient. There are certain facts connected with the administration by the one cup that are trying and disgusting. Those facts are eliminated by the use of the individual cup. Administering the communion by the one cup is neither the only right nor the only necessary form. That makes it a privilege and a duty to speak freely of the unnecessary evils that its continued use imposes.

The number partaking of the sacrament with us is often times large. From five to seven hundred persons commune during

the same service. This affords a comparatively good opportunity for the study of methods. The one cup is annoying to men who wear a mustache. It is seldom that the mustache can be kept from sweeping into the wine. There are few men to whom this fact is not annoying. It is so to every man who has enjoyed anything that pertains to culture. Any man knows that there is no law in God's Word that compels him to partake of wine into which his mustache must drop, and pass that wine to be partaken of by some one else. I have seen particles of dust (and worse) gather from this source and float upon the wine in the common cup. With the one cup method some one was compelled to drink that wine—and dust also. I know this is disgusting; but we can speak with freedom, because the imposition that continues the fact is altogether unnecessary. Now and then a person may be found who is indifferent to these things. The indifference, however, does not come from holy thoughts, but uncleanly habits. There are persons who have affections of the head and throat. They would not breathe over the water that another is about to drink. They do not want to breathe over the wine that another is to use at the communion. They know how trying their disease is to themselves, and they are anxious not to impose any of its affliction upon others, that is, unnecessarily so. They regret that the communion cup must be passed from their lips to the lips of another individual.

When we adopted the individual cup we took these facts into consideration. Not only the annoyance given to those who did not cause the annoyance; but also the trial that belonged to those who knew that results that came from them must be very great disturbances to those who were near them. No one would ask that at their home two hundred promiscuous guests should drink from the same cup. The Lord does not ask such a disorderly practice from those who gather at his table. To very many persons the one cup is tolerable, simply because they will not permit their right ideas to express themselves. The one cup is no more decent, nor necessary in the Church than it is in the home.

The highest medical authorities condemn the one cup method,

and urge the use of a cup for each individual communicant. October 27th, 1897, the American Health Association held a convention in Philadelphia. The Association is composed of the best medical authorities in the United States. The doctors composing the convention considered it worth their while to adopt a resolution commending the churches that use the individual cup. They also urged the churches using the one cup to adopt the method of the individual cup. A large number of eminent Christian physicians have spoken very decidedly in favor of this mode.

The opinions of these men influenced us, and helped us to attain the decision that we did attain. Besides these considerations, we knew that the individual cup was as scriptural, yes, more scriptural, because more orderly than the one cup.

We cannot have one cup for all Christians to-day. Thousands of communion cups are used by the thousands of Christian congregations of the world. It is no more unscriptural to have one cup for each individual in the different congregations, than it is to have one cup for each congregation. To arrange a portion of the wine for each individual is no more unscriptural than to arrange a portion of the bread for each one. The wine is taken from the one chalice, the bread is taken from the one loaf.

The disposition of our congregation helped very much to make the introduction of the individual cups possible. The people of Messiah are a loyal, intelligent, progressive people. They listened to a brief statement of reasons that satisfied them that the use of the individual cup was not wrong, that it was better than the use of the one cup. Without any general discussion or voting the people permitted the introduction of the form. We have since quietly recognized that the change was thoroughly right, and as far as I know, without any exception we have been happy because of it. If the congregation had not been of this disposition the introduction of the individual cup might have been postponed.

The administration with the individual cup is very simple. It is also as impressive as any mode that can be used in the administration of the Lord's Supper.

We have about eight hundred small glasses. We have trays that hold thirty-five glasses each. The trays are of dark wood and made with forms into which the glasses fit. Then we have a cabinet, into which about eighteen or twenty trays filled with glasses can be passed. The glasses are brought in this cabinet and placed upon the communion table. Three of the ladies of the congregation have charge of the communion set. They arrange the cups for the service. The glasses have the wine placed in them either Saturday night or Sunday morning.

Two of the officers of the church assist in the distribution. One is at one end of the line of those communing, and the other at the other end. The one at the end at which I start with the distribution has an empty tray. I hand the glass with the wine in it to the communicant. The officer with the empty tray follows me. The glasses from which wine has been used are handed to him. When we reach the other end of the table the officer standing there takes my empty tray and exchanges it with the other officer for his tray of empty glasses. The empty glasses are placed in another cabinet prepared for that purpose. It is all done very quietly and somewhat more quickly than according to the one cup method. There are many details concerning the administration by this mode that others might wish to know and which I will be happy to describe in answer to questions that may be asked of me.

The introduction of this method has helped Messiah in many ways. It has helped the congregation in developing its spirit of intelligent independence. By every such step as this the people are strengthened to ask concerning any measure: "Is it best?" If it is, then to introduce it no matter what the sentiment or lower reasons that encourage something else might be. This one fact is of help to us beyond what I can tell. We are satisfied that this mode is best and right, and we use it. I know a number of congregations that have adopted the mode. They unite in sending in the same report; each time the individual cup is used, it furnishes a new demonstration of the fact that it is clearly best. If this paper has made some of the reasons we

had for adopting the individual cup clear, and has sufficiently explained some of the essential features of its administration, I shall be gratified.

ARTICLE IX.

THE LAST PASSOVER AND THE DAY OF CRUCIFIXION.

BY REV. J. C. KUNZMAN, A. M.

With the words, in the Appendix to the Gospel according to St. Mark, "it is not merely a date which is involved," we agree. He alone is the Saviour of the world whose life and death prove that he has fulfilled up to the time of his ascension every "jot and tittle" of the law and the prophets, which had reference to that portion of his mission. Our assurances of the promises remaining rest on the certainty of those already fulfilled. But the accent must be laid on the time of the death by which we were redeemed, rather than on the time of the Supper; by which the redemption is applied. In promise, Christ has been offered and "slain from the foundation of the world"; but in the fulness of time he was made under the law, to fulfil the law, even to his death on the cross. The death is the centre, once for all, and not the Supper which is to be repeated often, and does not find its complete fulfillment "until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God." The blessings which flow from Christ our Passover antedate the Jewish passover, as they will outlast the present Christian Passover, or the period of the Church; but they all centre in the fact that Christ is the Lamb of God slain from the foundation of the world; and that He has come to supersede the Jewish paschal lambs, by occupying their room and place.

When on his last visit to the Holy City, He told his disciples that all things written concerning the Son of man were now to be fulfilled and centred it all in his death. He continually referred to "my hour," and that hour was none other than the hour of his death. He had power to lay down his life. No

man had power to take it from him. He laid down his life on the day and hour when the fulfilment of the law demanded.

There is no contradiction either between John and the Synoptists, or between the Law and the Gospels; but they dovetail in every particular. There is no necessity of trying to force John into agreement with the Synoptists, nor *vice versa*; there always was harmony. The prescriptions of the law of the passover in the Old Testament, the specific narratives of the four Gospels, and the testimony of the early Church are all in harmony as to the day of the Saviour's death and the institution of the last supper.

FIRST THEN AS TO THE LAW.

In Ex. 12; Lev. 23; Num. 9 and Deut. 26, Moses gives the law of the Passover. 1st. Nisan, the Passover month, was to be the first month of the sacred year.

2nd. On the 10th day of the month every one was to select his lamb and keep it until the fourteenth.

3rd. On the fourteenth, toward its close, at even; rather between the two evenings, *i. e.*, before the sun set on the 14th and the stars appeared on the 15th, the whole assembly were to kill the lamb. This was the day of preparation.

4th. At the beginning of the 15th, *i. e.*, on the night which immediately followed the close of the 14th, the lamb was to be eaten. (a) It was not to be eaten sodden or raw, but roasted with fire, accompanied with bitter herbs and unleavened bread. (b) What remained was to be burned before morning. (c) No one was permitted to leave the room during the night and before morning. (d) The 15th day of Nisan, on whatever day it fell, was a Sabbath of Rest; a day of Holy convocation, on which no servile work was to be done. This day was the first day of the feast, and the 14th was the "first day of unleavened bread."

5th. On the day after the weekly and not the festival Sabbath, *i. e.*, on the first day of the week, the first fruits were to be waived before the Lord.

6th. Those who were ceremonially unclean at the time of the

Passover were constrained to wait a month longer and keep what was known as the "Little Passover." Two points need to be brought out clearly: The Festival Sabbath and the first day of unleavened bread. There were other than the seventh day Sabbaths among the Jews and according to the law. The 15th day of Nisan was the first day of the feast, and that according to the law was the Festival Sabbath, no matter upon which day of the week it fell. It was so also with the first day of Pentecost, the feast of trumpets and the day of atonement. "It shall be unto you a Sabbath of solemn rest, and ye shall afflict your souls in the ninth day of the month at even, from even unto even shall ye keep your Sabbath." See also Ex. 12 : 16 ; Lev. 23 : 7, 8, 22, 28, 35, 39; Deut. 16 : 8.

THE FIRST DAY OF UNLEAVENED BREAD.

In Ex. 12 : 18 Moses says: "In the first month, on the 14th day of the month, at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the one and twentieth day at even." This makes exactly seven days of twenty-four hours each, and yet it makes eight days if we count according to sunset and sunrise. The 14th day was thus the first day of unleavened bread, being the first period of time when the law demanded that unleavened bread be eaten. The Jerusalem Talmud, Tr. Pesachim XII. says: "He who on the day before the feast, *i. e.*, on the 14th day of Nisan, eats leavened bread is like unto him who holds adulterous intercourse with his bride." As on the 14th at even, *i. e.*, toward its close unleaven was first demanded by the law (though pious Jews began earlier) this was the first day of unleavened bread and the 15th was the first day of the feast, because on that day the lamb was eaten, and that at the beginning of the day, and was therefore the Festival, the great Sabbath of the Passover. But the Jews purified their dwellings and ate unleavened bread before the time required by law. Kitto says: "The process of purification was effected two or three days before the Passover." Geikie tells us in his life of Christ that the master of the house drew the water for the baking of the unleavened bread on the afternoon of the

13th, and others say that the water was from the well of the Temple.

There are some other particulars, important, here omitted, because they do not specially bear on the date of the crucifixion. Four days are of special importance in the law of the Passover: viz., the 10th, or the day of selection of the lamb; the 14th at whose close, rather before whose close, the lamb must be slain; the 15th, the Festival Sabbath at whose beginning the lamb must be eaten; the day after the regular Sabbath, the first day of the week, when the wave sheaf, the first fruits must be waived before the Lord. To properly fulfill all these types, they must be fulfilled on the day set by God. Christ went to the cross when his hour had come according to the appointment of God, and that appointment is contained in his law. He came in the fulness of time, and all that he suffered was in its season. We would therefore expect him to be selected on the 10th; slain on the 14th, and rise as the first fruits of the harvest on the day after the regular Sabbath.

It cannot be disputed that the Saviour died whilst Pontius Pilate was Procurator, A. D. 28–33; during the Passover and on the day of preparation, John 19: 14. As to the year of his death, it cannot be placed any earlier than 28 nor later than A. D. 30. Edersheim fixes it in the year A. D., 29, and this we accept as the only year of all these here given which will at all fit into the requirements of the law or the details of the Gospels. It is also beyond dispute that Christ entered Jerusalem on a Sunday, a first day of the week, and that he arose just seven days afterward, hence also on a first day of a week; then his entrance occurred on Sunday the 10th day of Nisan, which would make Monday the 11th, Tuesday the 12th, Wednesday the 13th, Thursday the 14th and Friday the 15th, the first day of the feast, the Festival Sabbath; and Saturday the regular weekly Sabbath the 16th, and the day of resurrection the 17th. These days are fixed on the Hebrew calendar, and also on the Christian calendar, and fastened to the year A. D. 29 beyond the power of man to dislodge them. The Hebrews have kept their Sabbaths as we our Sundays intact from that time until

now, and even before that time. The days and dates of Nisan above given can only be found in the year A. D. 29, A. D. 14 and A. D. 44, and in no others. Hence, only in these years can Thursday and Friday fall respectively on the 14th and 15th of Nisan, and the important Sundays on the 10th and 17th.

A. D. 28 in Nisan arranges the days thus, Thursday 4th, Friday 5th, Sunday 7th; A. D. 29 in Nisan arranges the days thus, Thursday 7th, Friday 8th, Sunday 10th; A. D. 30 in Nisan arranges the days thus, Thursday 3rd, Friday 4th, Sunday 6th.

It will be easy for the reader to find the dates for the rest of the days of Nisan in these years, and he will find that only in the year A. D. 29 do we have dates which at all take up what is fixed in the law, and shown to have been fulfilled on the self-same day in the Gospels. Not only science in astronomy, but also the revelation in the law and the Gospels fixes these dates. But St. John also fixes the day of crucifixion on the preparation day. This could not possibly have been on the 15th of Nisan, because the 15th was the first day of the feast, a solemn Sabbath of rest. The preparation included the purchases to be made for the feast, the arrangement of the place of celebration, the removal of all leaven and the slaying of the lamb, and this was all completed before the sunset of the 14th, and no part of it could be done on the 15th. He who had not completed his preparation, even to the slaying and roasting of the lamb by the close of the 14th must wait with his Passover one month longer, even to the "Little Passover"; no, no, preparation could not be made on the 15th, and it was in no sense the day of preparation; it was the Great Festival Sabbath. The law fixes the death of the paschal lamb for the 14th, and in this year the waive sheaf, the first fruits, were waived before the Lord, three days afterward, on the day of resurrection.

TIME INDICATIONS OF HOLY WEEK IN THE EVANGELISTS.

We must be careful to note and keep in mind that the Jewish day begins in the evening (It was evening, it was morning, day first), and not at midnight as it is with us.

John gives us the first indication of time during that Passover. The Saviour reaches Bethany on Friday, toward the beginning of the Sabbath, the 9th of Nisan. This was six days before the Paschal Feast, the Passover, which took place on the 15th. The 10th of Nisan begins with the feast at which the anointing took place, and then in the morning of that same day, he entered into Jerusalem, John 12 : 1-50. Here John ceases to give us any hint of time until we enter with Christ the upper room, Mark 11 : 1-10. Here we must follow Mark, who gives us the details of Christ's entry on the 10th, and notes his being in the temple and going at "eventide" into Bethany with the twelve, verse 1. He, however continues, and alone tells us what took place on Monday the 11th, and that according to his custom he lodged in the night at Bethany, Mat. 11 : 12-19, and on Tuesday the 12th in the morning, came again to Jerusalem, etc., Mark 11 : 20-12 : 44.

Now neither John, nor Mark, nor Matthew gives us any time hints as to Wednesday the 13th; but Luke fills up the gap: He states that Christ was "teaching daily in the temple." He gives some particulars which Mark does not, but in connection with these joins what Mark narrates as taking place on Tuesday and tells us that he lodged at night "in the Mount of Olives," or Bethany. This completes the 12th, and begins Wednesday, the 13th, of Nisan, leaving the Saviour with his disciples to seek refreshments for the toils of the coming morning of the 13th, when we find "all the people come early in the morning to him in the temple to hear him," Luke 21 : 38. Then he mentions that "the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh." What he said in the temple on this day is recorded, Matt. 23 : 1-39. "The first day of unleavened bread came, on which the Passover must be sacrificed," which is the 16th of Nisan undoubtedly. This brings to the *beginning* of the 14th day of Nisan. Christ is in the Mount of Olives, and he sent Peter and John to prepare for the events which took place in that upper room on this night, Thursday the 14th of Nisan; the preparation day, the day on which the Passover must be killed about 20 hours after this gathering in the upper room. This day, like all Jewish

days, began at 6 P. M., sun-set, and by the time the first stars appeared and the twilight had departed, Christ and his disciples were partaking of the last supper. The events which followed each other in rapid succession are clearly and fully given.

If Christ instituted the Lord's Supper on the night of Thursday the 14th day of Nisan, then he expired on the cross at 3 P. M., on the following afternoon, even of this same day. The Church has always agreed that Christ did institute the Supper on Thursday night, which was at the beginning of the day as the Jews reckon time, and how the modern Church can deny that he died on that same day, when the evangelists are so unanimous and clear from the Supper onward, is what none of my readers can explain. It is inexplicable.

THE RECORDS OF THE EVANGELISTS.

Nisan 10th, Palm Sunday, the first day of the week marks Christ's entry into Jerusalem. We must remember, and always keep it clearly before us, that the Jewish day begins at 6 o'clock P. M., and not at midnight as with us. This according to the law was Selection day, the selection of the lamb. As devout Jews, we find Jesus and his disciples "daily in the temple" during the passover week, Matt. 26 : 55 ; Mark 12 : 35 and Luke 19 : 47. The beginning of this first day was the night spent at Bethany, at whose Supper the anointing of Jesus, etc., took place. The "Epaurion" of John 12 : 12 does not separate the evening supper at Bethany from the morning entry into Jerusalem by a new day, but by the dawn, the aurora, of the same day. This Sunday was the day in which the people acknowledged him the coming one, cried to him for deliverance, in which he cleansed *the temple* ; in which God endorsed him, the Greeks sought him ; Judas agreed on the price for his betrayal ; the High Priest and the council selected Him with prophetic insight, not their own, to bear the sins of the world, John 12 : 2-50. Matt. 21 : 1-17. Mark 11 : 1-11. Luke 19 : 29-46. On the evening of this day Christ and the twelve lodged at Bethany.

The second day of the week, Nisan 11th, Monday.—Luke and John are silent concerning the second day ; but Matthew and

Mark tell us that he spent the night, the beginning of this day at Bethany, and that (Prooi Epaurion) early in the morning he returned to Jerusalem, cursed the barren fig tree, Matt. 21 : 18–19, cleansed *the temple* for the second time during this week, enraged the chief priests and scribes whilst the multitudes were astonished at his teaching. Mark ends this day's transactions, saying that, whenever evening came, he went out of the city. Mark 12 : 11–19.

The third day of the week, Nisan 12th, Tuesday.—The night or beginning of this day was spent beyond the city, probably at Bethany, and Mark continues to narrate by telling that in the morning they passed by and saw the fig tree withered away from the roots, and Matthew that the disciples were astonished at its withered condition. Matt. 21 : 20–22. Mark 11 : 20–26. We must here follow Mark as he alone connects this day with the second. As Mark locates the dispute in the temple, the question concerning John the Baptist, the parable of the vineyard, the question of the Herodians about the tribute money, of the Sadducees about the resurrection, of the Pharisees about the great commandment. His sitting over against the treasury, locates these things on the third day, 11 : 20—12 : 44 ; therefore what is recorded in Matt. 21 : 20—22 : 46 and Luke 20 : 1–47 also belongs to this day, as will readily appear by reading their records. At the close of this day his enemies forbid the asking of him any more questions, and hence, after this day they no more came to Christ.

The Fourth day, Nisan 13th, Wednesday.—Here neither Matthew, Mark, nor John gives us any time indications, and hence it has always been regarded as a silent day in the Lord's ministry. But we know that Christ until his seizure was every day in the temple. Here Luke, 21 : 37–38, gives us the first indication of time in his record of this week, and after writing in harmony with Matthew and Mark what occurred on the day previous, tells us, with special reference to the day that it was the Saviour's custom to teach *in the temple every day*, and to leave every night and lodge in the Mount of Olives. Hence on this morning, according to his custom, we find him in the tem-

ple, and that *very early*, and *all the people* came to hear him. The Pharisees and Scribes had on the day previous forbidden their adherents the asking him any more questions. He now addresses the people and what was said to them is given in Matt. 23 : 1-39. These were the common people who heard him gladly, and in whose presence they had determined not to seize Jesus. What he said on the Last Things was to his disciples. The records are for this day Luke 21 : 5-22 : 6, Mark 13 : 1-14 : 2, Matt. 23 : 1-26 : 5. The feast of unleavened bread was drawing near. Two days after this the feast of unleavened bread came, not the first day of unleavened bread. The record proves that the Saviour left the temple and went beyond the city, to the Mount of Olives and now directs his two Disciples, John and Peter, to complete the preparation for the Passover. It was now the afternoon of Wednesday, the 13th, which was by custom, not law, the beginning of unleaven among the Jews, and at the same time the preparation for the supper of the 14th, which was in turn, the preparation for the Paschal supper of the 15th, the real day of the feast, according to the law. Sunday the 10th was also a preparation day, and on it the lambs were selected for the sacrifice. This was a continuance of that preparation, viz.: the gathering out of the leaven and the making ready of the supper, but not the Passover supper. On the 13th, in the evening, Jesus had said that the Passover, was yet two days removed; hence that supper must take place both according to the saying of the Saviour and the demands of the law, on the evening of the 15th. It was on the afternoon of the 13th which ushered in the first day of unleaven according to the law (*i. e.*, at the close of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th) that the man bearing a pitcher could be met, whom they followed and there made ready the supper. With this sunset, the 13th of Nisan closes.

The fifth day, the 14th of Nisan, Thursday. This is the first day of unleavened bread, Matt. 26 : 17; Mark 14 : 12; Luke 22 : 7; at the dawning of which Christ sent Peter and John to prepare, and he and the disciples followed them to the upper room. It was not yet time to celebrate the Paschal Supper of

the old covenant, yea, it was not time to kill the Paschal lamb according to the law. The Passover must be killed between the two evenings of the 14th and 15th, and not at all on the evening of the 14th, *i. e.*, on the evening beginning the 14th. It shows very little appreciation of the fidelity of the Saviour to the law of God, the law which was ordained in his hands, to think that he would arbitrarily, or in any way annul, neglect, or fail to conform to the smallest detail of that law. He himself consented to be made under the law, and he did not become the end of the law to believers until he himself had ended it all, by fulfilling it all.

The Saviour is on this night with his disciples in that upper room. What took place in that upper room, before they left it that night is found in Matt. 26 : 20-35 ; Mark 14 : 17-25 ; Luke 22 : 14-38 ; John 13 : 1, 17 : 26. By comparing these evangelical records, we shall find that they do not only harmonize, but also that this was not the passover meal. 1st. John says that it was "before the feast of the Passover" that the supper took place ; that supper could not hence be the Paschal Feast, for no paschal lamb could be legally slain, and to say that it was the feast, would not only run counter to John's plain statement, but even do worse, make Christ a violator of the law. The lamest attempt to get away from the plain words is to make it appear that the Synoptists describe one event and St. John another. The record is sufficient without comment to confute this.

2nd. Where is the lamb, if this be the Paschal Feast ? Peter and John are not said to have gone to the temple and provided a lamb. There is not a syllable about the presence of or eating of a lamb, or by which a lamb might be inferred.

3rd. At the feast of the Passover, nothing sodden, boiled, soaked with moisture could be present, no juices ; but Matthew mentions a dish into which they dipped ; likewise, also Mark and Luke tell us that he dipped the sop and gave it to Judas. This could not take place at a Passover feast or supper. The idea that it was the juice of the bitter herbs and vinegar, will not explain. The law specified no vinegar for the Passover, and Christ added nothing and took nothing away. The bitter herbs

were to be eaten and not pressed into juice, and there is no mention of them here.

4th. When Judas left, the disciples thought that because he had the bag, he had been sent out to buy something for the feast, and this shows that full preparations had not yet been made, and that the provision of Peter and John was not for the Passover Feast.

5th. The earliest traditions and first Christian writers, who speak on the subject, declare that this was not the Passover Supper, Apollinarius, Clement of Alexandria. Julius Africanus, Hyppolitus and Tertullian.

6th. The overwhelming fact that Christ himself positively declares that he would not eat the Passover until it was fulfilled in the kingdom of God. There is a forceful contrasting of the two passovers in these words of the Saviour, Luke 22 : 15, "With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer; for I say unto you, *I will not* eat it (the Passover) *until* it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God."

7th. Those eating the Passover were not permitted to leave the room until next morning, and whilst some may pass over this argument lightly, I would remind them that this part of the law had never been repealed. Christ and his disciples did leave the house before morning and hence again this could not have been the Passover Supper, for it would make Christ a violator of the law and not a fulfiller of it, even the ceremonial law.

8th. The law of types and symbols also demand that both Christ and the lamb die on the same day and time, and so they did on the eve of the 14th of Nisan.

Dr. C. P. Krauth in his *Conservative Reformation* also contends most earnestly that this was not the Paschal Supper, but the supper on Christ the living lamb, pages 596-7. We locate this supper then on the beginning of Thursday, the night, the 14th of Nisan, and hence it could also for this reason not be a Passover Supper. As this is the proper location of the supper, then Christ was crucified on the afternoon of this same day, and hence died when the type died in the temple; the fulfillment of which was signalled to the priests by the rending of the veil at

that very hour. Christ could not, according to the law die later than between the evenings of the 14th and 15th of Nisan. But a Friday crucifixion makes him die between the evenings of the 15th and 16th of Nisan, and this is too late. He fulfilled Moses and the prophets to the very letter, and the evangelists, over against the confusion of the saints, prove it.

I take it therefore as proven, for the reasons given above, that Christ on this year did not celebrate the Passover Supper. This involves one of two things: Either that this was the night of the 14th, the night before his crucifixion, and thus the law is squared with, or if it is the night of the 15th, Friday, then you make Christ a violator of the law of God, and cut off his soul from the people of God; all this is involved in one day.

Now note the events of this night, Thursday, Nisan 14th: the supper, conversation, leaving of Judas; the same night, after ending supper and singing a hymn, they go to Gethsemane.

The Saviour tells his Disciples that they shall all be offended in him this night, that Peter would deny him before the second cock-crowing. The first cock-crowing was at midnight, and the second in this instance, according to Luke was about the space of an hour thereafter, Luke 22 : 54-62. This gives us the data by which to locate the leaving of the upper room, the Gethsemane sorrows, the arrest, the leading of Jesus to Annas first, the sending him bound to Caiaphas the *de facto* high priest, the haste of the trial and condemnation on the assertion of blasphemy, Matt. 26 : 50-75, Mark 14 : 26-72, Luke 22 : 39-62, John 18 : 1-27. The time of the trial could not have lasted two hours, and thus we have not passed two o'clock of the 14th of Nisan.

He is now placed in the hands of cruel men, whilst the Sanhedrim is hastily called together, Luke 23 ; 63-65.

It was very early before day break that they led him again to Caiaphas and the whole council. This took place at the temple, for Judas came thither after he saw that Christ was condemned, and returned to them the thirty pieces of silver, Matt. 27 : 1-10, Mark 15 : 1, Luke 22 : 66-71. The trial did not last long; they called no witnesses, and Jesus was satisfied to place the

means for his condemnation in their power; his hour was at hand and he was willing to lay down his life. He is condemned, and hence *judicially* dead and buried, and from this time unto his resurrection, it is 72 hours, *i. e.*, 3 times 24, exactly three days. They take him to Pilate. He in turn sends him to Herod, who speedily returns him, as he received no satisfaction. Then Pilate wrestles with the problem and finally yields to the Jews; the whole assembly which was to kill the Paschal lamb and condemn the innocent. Matt. 27 : 1-26, Mark 15 : 1-15, Luke 23 : 1-15, John 18 : 28-19 : 16. This, John tells us, was about the sixth hour, 19 : 14. The Synoptists in their reckoning use Jewish time, whilst John employs the Roman time. It was, hence, according to the Roman time, 6 o'clock, A. M., Nisan 14th, and there are still 12 hours before this day ends.

The Saviour is now for a time committed into the cruel hands of the soldiery, whilst the crosses are being made ready, Matt. 26 : 27-30, Mark 15 : 16-19.

The next step is going forth to Calvary, and Mark tells us that it was, according to the Hebrew reckoning, the third hour, 9 A. M., and still on the 14th of Nisan, when he was crucified. The Synoptists all tell us that Christ died about the 9th hour, 3 P. M., and hence still the 14th of Nisan. Matt. 27 : 31-56, Mark 15 : 32-42, Luke 23 : 26-49, John 19 : 17-37. Now comes the taking down from the cross and the burial of the dead body of the Saviour; this was still the *Preparation day*. The body is given to Joseph and Nicodemus for burial, Matt. 27 57-61, Mark 15 : 42-47, Luke 23 : 50-56, John 19 : 38-42. This is *still Preparation, the 14th of Nisan*.

The sixth day, Nisan 15th, Friday.—Matthew speaks of this day as the morrow after the preparation. Mark calls the day after the preparation, the Sabbath day. Luke speaks of the Sabbath drawing on because they had buried Christ on the eve of the preparation day, and John states that the day after preparation was a sabbath, "a high day," a great Sabbath. So it was, but for these very reasons it was not a seventh day Sabbath. On

whatever day the 15th day of Nisan fell, whether on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday or Friday, that day was a Sabbath? There were then this year two Sabbaths in succession, a festival Sabbath on this Friday, the 15th, and the weekly Sabbath on Saturday, the 16th of Nisan. It was on this, the morning after the preparation day and also after the eating of the Passover, that the chief priests and Pharisees came to Pilate and obtained the guard to secure the sepulchre. They would not go into the pretorium on the morning of the 14th, lest they might be prevented from eating the Passover on the night of the 15th, the beginning of the day. But now they *had eaten the Passover*, and as their enmity to Jesus was great, and much to them depended on keeping the body beyond the third, or at least until the third day, we are not surprised at their violation of the Festival Sabbath in this case, and not in the former. They obtained the guard, Matt. 27 : 62–66. It was on this day that the women, who had contracted, doubtless, in some way, ceremonial defilement, (and who were hence *not bound to keep* this Passover, and this Festival Sabbath, but would wait for the Little Passover in the month following,) prepared spices and ointments after they returned from the tomb, Luke 23 : 55–56. The Festival Sabbath had no doubt come before they had finished their preparation ; for we find them sitting over against the sepulchre on the eve of the 14th, after the burial had been completed and the stone rolled to the door and when the Festival Sabbath *had dawned*, Joseph and Nicodemus became ceremonially defiled by handling the body of Jesus, and we cannot think of the women being present and not aiding in this work of love.

The seventh day, the 16th of Nisan, Saturday.—This was the weekly Sabbath. Here Luke continues after telling us that the women, when they had returned from the tomb on the Festival Sabbath, prepared spices and ointments, and says : “And on the Sabbath day they rested *according to the commandment*.” We say that this cannot refer to the Festival Sabbath ; since the entire record goes to show that they, after the seizure of Christ were making no preparations for the keeping of that Passover, and as pious Jews they were not bound to do so, as God himself had

provided the Little Passover a month later for such as could not keep the other, or were interrupted. Not only had all preparations stopped in that direction, but the women at least were absorbed in preparing on the Festival Sabbath, but not on the 7th day Sabbath, spices for the anointing of Jesus.

During this day the guard paced to and fro in front of the sepulchre, neither the woman nor the Disciples appearing on the scene.

Sunday the 17th of Nisan, the first day of the week, all the Evangelists report that on the first day of the week the women came to the empty tomb. Mark and Luke tell us that the Sabbath was past, the seventh-day Sabbath on which the women rested. But Matthew takes in both the Festival and the seventh-day Sabbath and tells us, in the original Greek which the revisors even did not know what to do with *Ὁψέ δέ σαββάτων*.

"Late after the *Sabbaths* (for its night had already passed, 11 hours of it) at the growing toward day-light on the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre." Matt. 28 : 1. This first day of the week was the day after the regular Sabbath on which the wave-sheaf, the first fruits of the harvest, were to be waived before the Lord; and on this day Christ becomes the first fruits of them that slept, and, with the rising saints, the wave-sheaf of the coming harvest. Thus we have a complete harmony of all the references to the Saviour's death, and experiences during that week, and in every detail they harmonize with all that was declared of him in the law, the prophets and Evangelists, and with what he said concerning his own death and resurrection.

It remains but to sum up the argument as briefly as possible, as well as the testimony of the early Church. See also argument on the Supper.

1. The entry of the Saviour into Jerusalem on the 10th day of Nisan, being the first day of the week, where it fits according to the demands of the law and the Gospel records, fixes the resurrection on the 17th of Nisan as the first day of the week. This makes the weekly Sabbath fall on Saturday, the 16th of Nisan, the Festival Sabbath on Friday the 15th of Nisan, and

the "first day of unleavened bread, on Thursday the 14th of Nisan, when the Passover must be killed," or Preparation Day. We have shown by the dates and the records that the records of the Gospel meet the demands of the law, and hence the statement of Paul is significantly true: "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us." When? do you ask? Why, when the "Passover must be sacrificed" on the 14th of Nisan, which fell on Thursday, as the above clearly proves.

2nd. The fact that the supper in the upper room was not the Passover supper, but occurred "before the feast," is proof that it was partaken of on the night of the 14th, at its beginning according to Jewish reckoning. Being "before the feast," the supper could not have been on the 15th, and hence it was not the Paschal Feast fixed by the law on the 15th, and the death could not have been on the 15th. It is impossible to take the records and show by any of the evangelists that it was the Passover Supper. Luke and John clearly and squarely state that it was not the Passover Supper, and Matthew and Mark show that Christ was already in the tomb on preparation day, and hence was dead when the Passover feast occurred.

3rd. The records of John together with the Synoptists show that Christ was condemned, crucified and buried on the preparation day. This was the 14th of Nisan. The 15th, was the first day of the feast, a holy Sabbath, and as John specially singles it out, "a high day" in which no servile work was done. On the day of preparation, all leaven had to be removed, in its afternoon no more leaven was to be eaten, and in its even the Passover lamb was to be slain. The day of preparation ended at the setting of the sun, and the first day of the feast the 15th of Nisan began. But we find the Saviour crucified and buried on the preparation day, hence the 14th of Nisan.

4th. The determination of his enemies not to seize him and kill him at the feast nor in the presence of the multitude, but in their absence, and the Saviour's giving himself willingly into their hands, looks to and really demands his crucifixion to be at the time appointed by them. It was their hour and that of the power of darkness, and nothing was done to interfere with their

plans. Christ suffered them to do unto him as they listed. To seize him on the night of the 15th, and to attempt his death on its day when the city would have been full of strangers, might have defeated their purpose. We believe here also the word that they did unto him as they listed: That their program was carried out as they had arranged it, on the 14th of Nisan. To the same conclusion is this fact that Christ speaks of his hour which was to come when he would depart, and that hour according to the law, is not later than 6 P. M. on the 14th of Nisan.

5th. The fact that the day after preparation day was a Sabbath, "a high day," and the day after this "high day" was also a Sabbath, is incontestable proof that Christ was crucified on Thursday. We know both from the Gospel records and the succession of days in the year on which a resurrection of the Saviour could occur on the first day of the week, and that the 17th of Nisan, that the 16th must consequently be the regular seventh day Sabbath, and the 15th be the Festival Sabbath, a Friday; and the day of the slaying of the lamb, the preparation day must also be the 14th and Thursday. His dead body was not permitted to hang on the cross on the Festival Sabbath, and hence was taken down on the 14th of Nisan.

Now Matthew 28 : 1, in the original Greek shows that more than one Sabbath had preceded that first day of the week on which the resurrection occurred. The Sabbaths, the Festival Sabbath, the 15th of Nisan and the seventh day Sabbath, the 16th of Nisan were both passed, long past, 11 hours past, when the women came and saw the empty tomb. Now we know that the Festival Sabbath, the "high day" followed the preparation day on which the Saviour was crucified and that this Sabbath was followed by the seventh day Sabbath. This is evident from a comparison of John with Matthew and Luke as well as from the order of the succession of days: the law of the Passover week.

But a careful study of Luke 23 : 50-49 will show us (a) preparation day on which they laid the body in the tomb. (b) The Festival Sabbath which was dawning, had begun to dawn whilst

the women were sitting over against the sepulchre, on which they returned and prepared spices and ointments with which to anoint the body of Jesus. But some one may say, then the women violated the Sabbath. Not at all, they had doubtless become unclean along Nicodemus and Joseph, at any rate they had been so occupied with the Saviour's suffering, his taking from the cross and burial, that they made no preparation for the celebration of the passover at this season, and they were not bound to keep that festival Sabbath, for they had the option to wait for the "Little Passover" which came in the following month. There is no getting away from it that this Sabbath had dawned before they left the sepulchre, and that they spent it in preparing the spices and ointments.

(c.) But we have another Sabbath in this paragraph, "*on which they rested according to the commandment.*" This was a Sabbath from which nothing could absolve, this was the Sabbath according to the commandment from Sinai and on this they rested. So here we see how fully the records harmonize with and among themselves.

6th. The fact that the Jews would not enter the pretorium to prevent their being defiled and consequently prevented from eating the passover, which could only be eaten at the very beginning of the 15th of Nisan, proves that this all occurred on the 14th of Nisan, and it is all the stronger proof because it is so incidental. Had the trial and crucifixion occurred on the 13th, these Jews might have defiled themselves and again cleansed themselves before the time to eat the passover at the beginning of the 15th, the day of the feast. But the trial occurring on the morning and the death on the afternoon of the 14th, they would have remained unclean until "the even" of the 15th, until the feast of the passover would have been past.

They did go into the pretorium on the day after Preparation, on the 15th of Nisan, on the Festival Sabbath, to secure the guard, but by that period of the day had already eaten the Passover.

7th. The declaration of the Saviour as to his resurrection will not harmonize with what we now call an arbitrary and most unwarranted placing of the crucifixion on Friday. The

Saviour knew when he would die and when he would rise. The law and the type had already been given for both. He came to fulfill both. The expressions concerning the interval between his death and resurrection vary in form, but they must all be fulfilled to the letter. Whether we translate "after three days" or "in three days" or "on the third day," they all mark an interval of three days as passing between the two events, death and resurrection. In the language of the Bible it takes an "evening and a morning" to constitute a day. In harmony with this the Saviour promised that he would be "three days and three nights in the grave." We are satisfied that you can take a part of the whole, but you must have at least part of three days and three nights to fulfill the Saviour's announcement. The confusion is not in the Bible. The law is plain, the Gospels are also clear, the Saviour speaks in harmony with the facts; he foreknew and he was "three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." This demands a Thursday crucifixion.

WITNESS OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

There are other points in the Scripture, as well as the argument from astronomy which might occupy our time, but they could do no more than to add testimony to the harmony which these divine records always yield, when they are premitted to speak for themselves. We will show in conclusion from the history of the early Church that a Friday crucifixion has been forced on the Church by prejudice backed by power. No one can follow the Easter controversy from the days of Polycarp down to the Council of Nice without seeing that arbitrariness in the interpretation of scripture and history triumphed. The record as to the Apostles is clear. They observed up to the time of the destruction of the temple, at least, the hours of prayer, the days of unleavened bread, the Passover and the Pentecost *at the same time and on the same days as did the Jews*. Whilst in addition to this they kept the first day of the week, which the Jews did not keep, they had no reason to separate from the order of the temple. This would fix the celebration of the slaying of the Passover lamb on the 14th of Nisan; and if we find

some in the early Church setting themselves up against the Passover days observed by the Jews, we are constrained to conclude that *prima facie* they were not in harmony with the Apostles. Yea, even after the temple was destroyed up to the time when in the year A. D., 136, under the Emperor Hadrian, the first Bishop of Gentile blood occupied the Sea of Jerusalem, the Passover was celebrated after Jewish computation. Such is the testimony of Epiphanius: "Under the first fifteen Bishops of Jerusalem the Pascha was celebrated according to Jewish reckoning." In the dispute which afterward arose between the East and the West, Schaff in his Church History Vol. 2 page 212, thus characterizes each party: "The Johannean practice of Asia, represented here the spirit of adhesion to historical precision, and had the advantage of an immovable Easter, without being Judaizing in anything but the observance of the fixed day of the month. The Roman custom represented the spirit of freedom and discretionary change, and the independence of the Christian Festival system." In other words the one was exact and the other was arbitrary. About the year 150 A. D. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John came to Rome and endeavored to persuade Anicetus to observe the crucifixion on the 14th day of Nisan, the day he had always observed with John, the disciple of our Lord and the Apostles with whom he had associated. He did not succeed in this, but they parted amicably. Melito, Bishop of Sardis, in the middle of the second century in his two books on the Passover maintained that the crucifixion took place on the 14th of Nisan. Apollinaris, Bishop of Hiarapolis in A. D., 161-180, after refuting the teaching of those who claim that Christ ate the Paschal lamb with his disciples on the 14th and was slain on the 15th of Nisan fixes the date of his death thus: "The 14th is the true Passover of the Lord, the great sacrifice of the son of God in place of the lamb, who was lifted upon the horns of the unicorn, and who was buried on the day of the Passover."

Eusebius testifies: "The parishes of all Asia as from an older tradition, held that the 14th of the moon on which the Jews were commanded to sacrifice the lamb, should be observed as

the festival of the Saviour's Passover." As the controversy grew, Victor, the Bishop of Rome, excommunicated all the Asiatics who would not consent to forsake the observance of the 14th of Nisan as the day of Christ's death. Many Bishops, among them Irenaeus, remonstrated against such conduct, and whilst reserving for themselves the privilege of always celebrating the Lord's resurrection on a Sunday, whether it was the exact 17th or not, declared that Polycrates and the Eastern Church were in harmony with the ancient custom.

Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus: "We observe the exact day, neither adding or taking away. For in Asia also great lights have fallen asleep, who shall rise again on the day of the Lord's coming, when he shall come again with glory from heaven, and shall seek out all his servants. Among these are Philip, one of the twelve Apostles, moreover, John who was both a witness and a teacher, who reclined on the bosom of the Lord, and Polycarp, in Smyrna, 'bishop and martyr.'" Then he names others, and says, "All these observed the 14th day of the Passover, according to the Gospel, deviating in no respect, but following the rule of faith. And I also, Polycrates, the least of you all, do according to the tradition of my relatives, some of whom I have closely followed. For seven of my relatives were bishops, and I am the eighth. And my people always observed the day when the people (*i. e.*, the Jews) put away leaven, (14th of Nisan.) I therefore, brethren, who have lived sixty-five years in the Lord and have met with the brethren throughout the world, and have gone through every Holy Scripture, am not frightened by terrifying words. For those greater than I have said, 'We ought to obey God rather than man.'"

Clement, of Alexandria, in his words on the Passover says: "In the preceding years then, the Lord, keeping the Passover, ate that which was slain by the Jews; but when he proclaimed himself to be the Passover, the Lamb of God, led as a sheep to the slaughter, immediately he taught his disciples the mystery of the type on the 13th, on which they also asked of him, "where wilt thou that we make ready to eat the Passover." But

the Saviour suffered on the next day, being himself the Passover.”

The controversy continued and the question was decided and Easter fixed neither according to law, Gospel nor the testimony of history. The Council of Nice, in A. D. 325, fixed Easter according to an arbitrary rule, “this Council considered it unbecoming in Christians to follow the usage of the unbelieving, hostile Jews, and ordained that Easter should always be celebrated on the first Sunday after the first full moon succeeding the vernal equinox (March 21st), and always after the Jewish Passover. If the full moon occurs on a Sunday, Easter day is the Sunday after; by this arrangement, Easter may occur as early as March 22nd, and as late as April 25th.” A most exact method to find the day of resurrection or crucifixion? Schaff, page 211, Vol. 2, confesses, “Nevertheless the (14th day) observance was probably the oldest, and in accordance with the Synoptic tradition of the last Passover of the Lord, which it commemorated.”

But the leading interest of the question for the early Church (western, not eastern) was not the astronomical, nor dogmatical, but the ritualistic.” In other words, Astronomy and Dogmas were given to the winds for the sake of a ritual not based on exact truth. Hyppolitus takes the position with Polycarp, in his *Chronicon Paschale*. The testimony of the Church is in harmony with that of the word.

Luther at the Diet at Worms maintained that even œcumenical councils may err, and that their decisions must be judged by the word and not *vice versa*. An arbitrary spirit may even sway a council to do an arbitrary thing, especially when prejudice is aroused, as in this case against the Jews. We ask a careful examination of the testimony of the law and the records of the Gospels, and there will come unto us renewed assurance that God’s word is harmonious, and that the Saviour it proposes has fulfilled the law to the last jot and tittle.

ARTICLE X.

EDUCATION AMONG THE EARLY LUTHERANS OF
AMERICA.

BY BERNARD C. STEINER, PH. D.

The Lutheran Church in the United States has stood more firmly for education under Church auspices than any other Protestant body. The parish schools of Congregationalists in New England and of Episcopalians in some of the other colonies are almost forgotten; but in many parts of our country the Lutheran parish schools still remain. The recent publication by the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of a volume, containing the proceedings of the annual Lutheran conventions from 1748 to 1821, furnishes us with many interesting particulars as to the early interest of the Church in education. It is noticeable that in this scattered and impoverished condition, the early Lutheran immigrants did not forget to place a school by the side of the church, whenever it was practicable. In the first convention, that of 1748, the few clergymen and elders who were present inquired of each other as to the condition of the schools. Some pastors reported that their charges had none, but all state that they are anxious to have one, if possible. Rev. Mr. Brunnholtz, of Philadelphia, reports that "he has, out of love for the common welfare, had a school in his house for three years and a half."

The formation of a central organization in the Church seems to have strengthened its educational interests and, two years later, the records tell us that the "schools, as far as possible, are flourishing in all the congregations, Goshenhoppen and the other small congregations excepted." Of course, the condition of these schools varied, owing to local causes. Thus, in 1762, the schoolmaster at Lancaster is reported as "a ready and gifted man, who would be capable of still more important service," but "the lack of room and of a proper code of rules" is complained

of. At the same convention Reading reports "a well managed school of eighty children or more; Lebanon has as yet no school," on account of the poverty of the people; and Easton none, "because the people are too scattered." At Oley the school "has fallen into decay," because they have been forced to discharge a "worthless schoolmaster," and at New York the school is "badly managed" by another of the same sort. In one of the Swedish congregations has come the entering wedge of an English school. The supervision of these schools was in the hands of the clergyman and a neglect in the "due visitation of them" led to admonition from the convention, as was the case with reference to the pastor at Hagerstown in 1790.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, we find the growth of the English language in the Church becoming clearly visible. The report of Rev. Mr. Krug to the convention in 1795, was that in Frederick, Md., "many parents prefer to send their children to English schools," and the Philadelphia pastors also report that the "preference for English is very strong." Several of the pastors report at this convention that they have union schools with the Reformed Church in the locality. This condition of affairs had probably existed from the earliest times in rural communities. The jealousy with which the convention looked to the interests of these schools and their fear that a system of public education supported by the State would undermine the parochial system is seen at the first suggestion of such a public system. In 1796, "a member stated to the meeting that the design of the Assembly" of Pennsylvania, "to establish free schools throughout the State would very much injure our German schools, especially in regard to the religion taught in them and might very likely destroy them." To avoid this danger, a committee was appointed to "consider the matter and draft a petition" to the General Assembly. No report from this committee is on record.

With the increase in membership and congregations, the number of schools gradually increased. Some city congregations, as that in Baltimore in 1797 had both a German and an English school, while in country charges schools were often

kept merely during the winter or the summer. The reports to the convention were, of course, only from such schools as were under congregational control and hence do not represent all that was done in behalf of education in the territory of the churches. In 1813, the convention is careful to enter on its minutes that "there are many more German schools in our country than are given here." For, in many places, the "neighboring farmers have established" schools "among themselves and of which they themselves have control." The convention of the next year lamented that so many congregations were so parsimonious towards their schoolmasters and teachers, but the Church at large was faithful in establishing schools and two hundred and three parochial schools were reported to the convention of 1821.

The pedagogical views of the early Lutherans in America are seen in an extended answer to the question "What is the best method of conducting Kinderlehre?" This answer is found in the minutes of the Convention of 1760. Education is closely connected with religion and with worship in the family and the congregation. Uniformity of catechisms is insisted on. The holy Scripture is the centre of education. "Children should not be taught spelling and reading from the Testament or Bible, especially if they were scolded or punished in learning, because this occasioned an aversion and contempt towards the holy word of God." Care must be taken "that the Bible is presented to the children as the highest treasure and most precious gem and so regarded and used that it tastes like sugar and honey to them." "There are other convenient and useful books to be found, in which the children may learn to read and spell." The importance of early education is emphasized. If nothing is accomplished with the children, the best opportunity is lost. "Therefore, we ought also be supplied with small books, in which divine workings of grace on little children are recorded, for good, edifying, and easily understood examples most readily impress the tender hearts of children." "Above all, the youth should be objects of most diligent labor; they ought to be spared from too much memorizing, and in memorizing a thought the object should be that it be well analyzed and made clear to

their weak intellectual powers and be so brought to them that it will fill not only the memory but also the other powers of the soul with pleasure and with life."

The thought of the conventions was not limited to elementary education, though the pressing needs of the people confined their efforts to that field for many years. As early as 1773, Rev. Henry Muhlenberg, Sr., called to the attention of the Convention the fact that "a beginning has already been made for a German Seminary in Philadelphia," where "capable subjects might be prepared in the necessary languages and knowledge, etc., and some of the most capable and promising be received into such institution, further instructed and practiced in the theoretical and practical divinity and, under God's assistance, be set apart and prepared as school teachers, catechists, and country preachers." In 1785, "Dr. Kunze made a report concerning a new university in New York," and in 1787, Franklin College was founded at Lancaster, under the joint control of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. Somehow, its early promise was not fulfilled, and the convention of 1818, found that "this institution has been so much neglected thus far." A committee reported at the next convention, recommending that one hundred dollars be paid out of the treasury for this college, if the Reformed Church should do the same. In 1821, it was found that the Reformed Church had agreed and the appropriation was made. Franklin College, however, was not to be of great importance, until the Lutherans relinquished entire control to the Reformed Church some thirty years later.

In 1820, a suggestion was made to the convention that an institution at Middletown, Pennsylvania, known as "Freyische Waisenhaus" might be built up as a Theological Seminary. Thus we see that at the close of the period covered by the printed minutes of the conventions, the higher education was beginning to receive attention, as the elementary education had been devotedly supported from the beginning.

ARTICLE XI.

REV. SOLOMON SCHAEFFER.

BY REV. J. A. BROWN, D. D.

Rev. Solomon Schaeffer was a native of Loudoun county, Va. His parents emigrated to America from Germany. Solomon the subject of this sketch, was the youngest of a family of eight children. His father died when Solomon was six years old. His mother is said to have been an eminent Christian, and through her prayers and pious example he was brought to Christ early in life and united with the Lutheran Church, under the ministry of Rev. Abraham Reck, of precious memory, who was pastor of the Lutheran Church in Loudoun county at that time. Solomon was a shoemaker and worked at his trade until he entered the ministry. He had no educational advantages beyond those afforded by common country schools. When quite young he was impressed with a desire to labor for Christ and in connection with his kinsman, Mr. George Kabrich, established prayer-meetings through the country, in school-houses and private dwellings, and their labors were greatly blessed.

About this time Rev. D. I. Hawn became pastor of the Loudoun charge. Under his supervision Mr. Schaeffer commenced preparing for the Gospel ministry. For several years he devoted his spare time to the English branches and such theological studies as his pastor recommended. He received temporary license to preach the Gospel from the Virginia Synod in 1841, and in the year 1845 he was transferred to the Synod of South Western Va., in whose bounds he lived and labored during his whole ministerial life.

Toward the close of the year 1839, through the influence of Rev. Hawn he received a call from a small Lutheran congregation in Montgomery county, and in May, 1840, he commenced his labors here, and with what success the survivors of old St. Peter's Church can testify.

Here was the beginning of the great work which Mr. Schaeffer inaugurated. Although this was simply an old building and the only Lutheran Church in Montgomery county at that time, it was the centre of his influence. He had not long ministered to the spiritual wants of this little congregation before a deep interest began to be manifested. The church was crowded with anxious hearers. Marked attention was given to the preacher's work and soon the whole community became aroused upon the subject of religion. A general awakening occurred, and multitudes of the old and young were brought to Christ. At the ensuing communion service, after this first protracted effort there were forty-nine persons confirmed. A larger church was demanded, and in a very short time a brick building was placed upon the site of the old log cabin.

Mr. Schaeffer now went to work and established preaching places wherever there was an opening, and so popular and effectual was his preaching that congregations were formed in some localities where the Lutheran Church had never been heard of. His labors were not confined to his own immediate charge. It is well known by the older people at least, that nearly all the Lutheran churches in Montgomery, Floyd, Craig and Giles counties owe their existence to his labors and influence. At least ten churches in these counties have been established directly through his exertions. Considering his limited advantages and the fact that his support was always inadequate, this is a record which we do not often find even amongst the pioneers of our Church.

Brother Schaeffer was deservedly popular amongst the people. He made no pretension to literature or literary display, yet even the outside world esteemed and respected him. He was a fair exemplification of the truth that, bad as the world is, it appreciates character. It is truly interesting to contrast the present condition of the Lutheran Church in the counties named with that of thirty-five or forty years ago, and to consider that the wonderful change effected is the indirect result of the faithful and self-denying labors of an humble disciple of Jesus! That a man with no pretensions beyond those of an humble Christian

should exert such a wide-spread influence and produce such wonderful results in a community, is truly remarkable, and we must conclude that the secret of his wonderful success lay in the fact that he lived near to his God and recognized his helping hand in all that he undertook.

And here we might ask, What would the Lutheran Church probably be to-day, in the counties named, but for the aggressive spirit that prompted him to go out into the hedges and highways, and bring lost sinners into the fold of Jesus? And such are the men we need, men who will adapt themselves to any and every condition of life. Some of the churches Br. S. organized are now amongst the prominent churches of the Synod of S. W. Va.

In many respects Solomon Schaeffer was no ordinary man. As a Christian his piety was not of a negative character, but a principle which governed all his actions and appeared in all his labors. In his intercourse with his brethren he was always frank and cordial and kind, willing even to make personal sacrifices to confer a favor. He was naturally very modest and unassuming both in the pulpit and out of it, never thinking more highly of himself than he ought to think, often showing a want of confidence in himself and placing a low estimate upon his own abilities. On one occasion he was elected president of Synod, but could not be prevailed on to serve because he did not consider himself qualified for the position.

This same timid nature often made him appear to disadvantage in our synodical conventions. He seldom took part in the discussions of Synod, preferring to be a silent listener, unless some topic was under consideration upon which he believed he could throw some light.

It is greatly to be regretted that we have so little material for a more complete and satisfactory biographical sketch of one who was so eminently useful and who is so deserving of a permanent record in the history of our Church. He kept no diary, and no record of his official acts could be found. But by reference to the minutes of Synod it will be seen that his reports

were always full and satisfactory, both as to accessions in his membership and contribution to church purposes. And many of his former parishioners are yet living who bear in affectionate remembrance the exhortations and instructions given whilst ministering to them the holy things. In short the testimony of all who knew him is that Solomon Schaeffer was eminently a good man. Even men of the world who had little regard for the Christian religion in itself when in his presence seemed to feel the influence of a pure and godly spirit. And in his pulpit performances, however unpretentious and unadorned, he always commanded the attention and respect of his hearers. He was a noble specimen of a genial, loving disciple, whose countenance was always illuminated with kindly feeling and who seemed to possess the very spirit of his Master, and that spirit pervaded his whole ministerial life, and doubtless was the secret of his success in his work. His power lay in calling sinners to repentance and bringing them to Christ. He had no sympathy with those extravagant notions that some Christians indulge in, but he was an ardent friend of genuine revivals, and labored in every way which he believed to be proper to build up the Church of Christ.

Before Br. Schaeffer came to Montgomery, vital piety was at a low ebb in the churches. Very little spirituality existed amongst church members. Many of them indulged in practices of doubtful propriety. But through his influence and faithfulness, changes were soon brought about. Family alters were erected in many households, Christian duties in general were attended to, and a new and bright era dawned upon the churches.

In his private character Br. Schaeffer possessed a quiet and gentle disposition, a mild and amiable spirit. He was ever ready to minister to the temporal and spiritual wants of others. So tenderly was he beloved by his people that at the time of his death it was feared that his place in the Church could never be filled.

In November, 1842, Br. Schaeffer was married to Elizabeth Sibole, daughter of John and Catharine Sibole, of Montgomery county. By this marriage ten children were born, five sons and

five daughters. Three sons and four daughters are yet living, all of whom are worthy members of the Lutheran Church.

Br. Schaeffer was a man of untiring industry. Having a large family dependent upon him and receiving but a meager salary he was compelled to resort to some secular employment for a support, and this in connection with his extensive pastoral work preyed upon his health and perhaps hastened his end.

He was buried with Masonic honor in the family grave-yard, on the farm of father Sibole, followed by an immense concourse of people, "sorrowing most of all that they should see his face no more." Some time afterwards Dr. Bittle held memorial services in several churches in Montgomery county. A beautiful monument marks his place of rest with this simple inscription:

Sacred to the memory of Rev. Solomon Schaeffer, who was born May the 6th, 1809, and departed this life Nov. 1, 1871. Age 62 years, 5 months and 25 days.

"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord"

Erected by the ladies of the charge in which he labored for 31 years.

A number of meetings were held in the churches of his charge and resolutions passed expressive of the deep sorrow felt for the loss of our so universally esteemed. Long years will pass away before the memory of this good man will be forgotten.

The following lines were contributed by Mrs. Dr. Henry Ribble, of Montgomery county, and respectfully dedicated to the bereaved family of Rev. Solomon Schaeffer:

Our pastor is weary, he seeks his repose ;
Oppressed with earth's sorrows, its cares and its woes,
In meek resignation he kisses the rod,
And sighs, "Sweet affliction that brings near to God."
His hand in his Saviour's, his head on his breast,
As calm as an infant he sinks to his rest.
Kind angels attending, their lone vigils keep,
And weep o'er the sleeper—if angels can weep.
Fulfilling their mission, they bear him away,
In slumber still wrapt, to the realm of bright day ;
He wakens in heaven, his Saviour is there,
And this welcome plaudit falls sweet on his ear ;
"Well done, faithful servant ! receive thy reward
For thy patient and zeal in proclaiming my word ;

A crown for thy forehead, all glowing with stars,
The souls thou hast won through thy labors and prayers ;
Here are mansions of rest and joys evermore,
Prepared for the faithful are laid up in store."
In rapt adoration the glorified soul
Sees the wonders of heaven to his vision unfold,
Then catching the strain of the heavenly band,
Shouts forth, "Hallelujah to God and the Lamb."

We will close this imperfect sketch with a beautiful tribute from Prof. Greiner which he kindly allowed us to use.

"Solomon Schaeffer was one of the most aggressive men in church work this synod ever had. His education was fair, according to the standard of forty years ago, and whatever ability he had, whether natural or acquired, was sacredly and honestly given to his Master's service. His simple, sincere, earnest piety was evident in his social intercourse and church work. His life was filled with labor and many sorrowing days came and went, and left him sad and weary and heart sore. He experienced trouble in his business affairs and had heavy domestic afflictions. We feel that we are not saying too much when we say that he was a faithful pastor, but was not appreciated as he deserved to be. It was no doubt true as some of his members said 'we never did for him what we ought.'"

The circumstances of his death were sad, and yet there are beautiful, comforting thoughts associated with his last hours. His health has been feeble for some time, and while his going surprised all, yet many of his friends were thinking how near the end might be. The evening preceding his death, when the family retired, he was left alone in the room, for he said, "I want to lie down and rest." And these words, so far as we know, "*I want to lie down and rest,*" were his last. Poor, weary heart! Many a time before, had it wanted to rest and could not, but now its time had come. The family closed the door and he was left alone. No, not alone, God was there. What occurred in that room that night, nobody will ever know. The fire burned brightly and shed its beams of light and warmth around the room, and they fell on the face of Solomon Schaeffer as he lay there, taking his rest. Nobody knows how many angels passed

between heaven and earth that night. No one can tell how many filled that room, or folded their wings, whiter than snow, outside. Nobody saw them leave noiseless as the snow flakes that fell about them; nobody saw what they were carrying. The night passed on, the fire died out and left the room cold and dark and cheerless. When the morning sun looked into that room its bright rays fell upon the face of Solomon Schaeffer, taking his rest. Yes, he had entered upon that rest "that remains for the people of God."



ARTICLE XII.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY PROF. DAVID H. BAUSLIN, D. D.

Luke 11 : 1-4, about the census when our Lord was born, has always been something of a puzzle to commentators, and even by some such radical critics as Baur and Renan, has been made a ground for challenging Luke's reliability as an historian. The objections against it are summed up by Dr. Marcus Dods, in the *Critical Review*, for January, 1899, thus :

"It is a demonstrated fact that Augustus never ordered any general census to be made of the whole Roman world; that even if he had done so, such an order could not have extended to Palestine, which was an independent kingdom; that even if a census had been made in Palestine, that did not necessitate the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem, since the Roman method was to count the population at their actual residence; that no census was ever held in Judea till A. D. 6-7; and that Quirinius never governed Syria during the life of Herod."

But Prof. Ramsey in his new work entitled, "Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?" now comes forward and answers all of the objections, except that about Quirinius. He shows conclusively, that various recent census documents in Egypt, prove that there

were periodical enrollments there under the Roman Empire, and that the period was of fourteen years. The periods are given as B. C. 9; A. D. 6, 20 etc. Personal and property census were taken separately, the former by household." This system extended also to Syria, when it would fall B. C. 6-7, corresponding to that in A. D. 7. Prof. Ramsey thinks appeals for delay by Herod brought it from B. C. 8, to B. C. 6 or 7 which he thinks we may reasonably infer was the year of the birth of Jesus. We cannot enter into the details of proof, but Dr. Dods well calls it "a great contribution towards the solution of one of the hardest historical problems of the New Testament."

The English "Fernley Lecture" for 1898, on "The Range of Christian Experience," by Rev. Dr. Moss, urges such as the following: (1) Christian experience is as manifold as is human temperament on the one hand, or the gifts of God's grace on the other. (2) Christianity must be valued "by its effective concern for the whole man." (3) This is true of the body, which Christianity neither over-indulges nor over-restrains. (4) It is especially true of the mind, "for the Christian religion when rightly viewed, proves favorable to culture." Non-religious men, it is shown, are ever inclined towards melancholy, while "the finest thinking owes generally its inspiration, its guidance or its issue to religion." (5) James Martineau defined health as "the condition of the equilibrium of the instincts," while Dr. Moss shows that religion is the "co-ordinating power" which furnishes this equilibrium. (6) All men seek good health, hence all men seek God. Spencer defines life as agreement with environment, so Dr. Moss shows that religion alone brings agreement with nature, with human influences and with God, all of which are part of man's environment. (7) Henry Drummond found altruism to be the last step in evolution; but Dr. Moss argues that these two ideas are incompatible, evolution and love are exclusive terms, "for evolution works by stern and ruthless laws, and to mate evolution with compassion is the unholy and most alien of wedlocks." Christianity with its cross-bearing, its "sub-

stituted self," is the secret of victory in the struggle of human life.

The ritualistic controversy still goes forward with unabated interest and intensity in the Anglican Church, and English journals are full of discussions bearing upon the absorbing question in both the Church and the State. Such articles as "Lessons from the Mass," and "Ceremonialism *vs.* Experimental Religion," in the *Contemporary Review* for February, and the "Invocation of Saints" and "Sacerdotalism" in the January *Church Quarterly Review*" indicate something of the breadth of the discussion. One of the best articles on the prevailing situation is that of Mr. W. H. Mallock, the author of "Is Life Worth Living" in the December *Nineteenth Century*, on the question "Does the Church of England teach anything?" Mr. Mallock argues that the Anglican Church of to-day is broad at the cost of consistencies and authorities. To illustrate his point he takes as one illustration the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and claims that the English Church teaches three opposite doctrines. His portrayal of the divergencies on the same subject in a Church whose only bond of union is the prayer book, and hypothetical "apostolic succession," is a clever bit of satire. He says:

"It might happen on any Sunday, owing to the most ordinary of accidents, that three clergymen might be assisting in the celebration of the same communion, who, if each were to speak his own personal conviction, would severally address the intending communicants thus. One would say: 'There will shortly be present on this altar the actual flesh and blood that suffered and was shed on Calvary. If you do not believe this, you will eat and drink damnation, not discerning the Lord's body' Another would say: 'If you really allow yourself to believe in this vile materialism with which my brother in Christ has been enticing you, you run the risk of being damned for the awful sin of idolatry'; while the third would say: 'If you listen to what you have been told by either of them, you will, in an intellectual sense, be neither more or less than fools.'"

That great modifications are being made in Calvinism by alleged Calvinists is evinced in a recent English publication, entitled, "Christ the Substitute, a series of studies in Christian Doctrine based upon the conception of God's universal Fatherhood," by E. Reeves Palmer, M. A. Mr. Palmer professes to be a Calvinist such as he thinks Calvin would probably have been had he lived in our day. The modifications, however, which this hypothesis of a nineteenth century Calvinism is made the vehicle of introducing into the Calvinistic system, to use Mr. Palmer's own words, are "very considerable." First of all he thinks Calvin's starting point was wrong, and so Mr. Palmer proposes to substitute for the idea of God's sovereignty from which Calvin started, the idea of the Fatherhood of God. On this subject and man's sonship he says much that is true, and beautifully and suggestively expressed. He sets forth an idea of substitution quite different from that of the orthodox Calvinist, against which doctrine he brings no less than five objections. He thinks it limits the substitutionary work to the atonement, takes an erroneous view of the atonement, is artificial and inadequate, misses the real problem of salvation, and is incompatible with the idea of Fatherhood. Mr. Palmer's own theory is this:

"Jesus Christ is the Substitute to man for the original head and representative of the race. He undoes for humanity all that the original man should not have done but did, and does for humanity all that the original man should have done but did not, and so makes possible and actual the salvation and restoration of mankind. This substitution to man rather than instead of man, includes every part of Christ's redemptive work, from his incarnation upon earth to his eternal life in heaven. The Son of Man, therefore, repents, works righteousness, makes atonement and rises into the new life. He dies not instead of men, but for them, so that they like him may also die to sin."

In his discussion of the doctrine of election also Mr. Palmer criticises the statement of it in the Westminster Assembly's Catechism, and gives a rendering of the idea of election from the standpoint of fatherhood as opposed to that of sovereignty,

which is in direct opposition to all the teaching of Augustine and Calvin.

The *Church Quarterly Review* of London, for January, contains an elaborate review of Hall's "Kenotic theory." Dr. Hall maintains that the "Kenotic" interpretation of Philippians 2 : 7 is inconsistent with the context in which the verse occurs, the use of the word *κενόω* in every other place in the New Testament in which it is used, the general teaching of the Scriptures, etc., the traditional theology of the Christian Church. Dr. Hall summarizes as follows his "reasons for rejecting the Kenotic theory": (1) The Scriptures do not justify the Kenotic theory, but on the contrary contain truths and statements which are inconsistent with it. (2) The theory is inconsistent with the dogmatic decrees of the Ecumenical councils touching the incarnation and our Lord's person. (3) It is rejected by Catholic doctors in general of every age. (4) The arguments by which it is supported are fallacious. (5) It is inconsistent with more than one fundamental truth of our religion, and tends inevitably to Socinianism.

The same *Review* furnishes an article called forth by the recently published life of the late Dr. R. W. Dale, which gives an insight into the views and life of one of the greatest, if not the greatest theologian among English non-conformists of this generation. The article among other things presents Dr. Dale's view of the sacraments which strongly approaches the Lutheran view. So advanced were his views that his biographer, his own son, says "that his father probably stood almost alone among congregationalists in his conception of the nature and office of the Lord's Supper." In speaking of Dr. Dale, one of his closest friends said "it is the men of strong and deep convictions who are most able to respect those who hold opposite views as firmly, as intelligently, and as tenaciously as they cling to their own." This was finely illustrated in the great dissenter's warm friendship for such Anglicans as Canon Liddon, Dean Paget, Bishop

Westcott, Dr. Bright and Dean Church. After reading the life of Dr. Pusey, he could even say this of the Tractarians—"The blessing of God was in it (the Tractarian movement) though we did not see it, and in a form they did not understand, in the lives and the devotion of these men a new endowment of the Holy Spirit came into the life of England." Again, Dr. Dale said of Pusey's Life: "I closed the book with a deep impression of the nobleness and massiveness of his nature, and feeling more than ever that the power of God was in him. The absence of joy in his religious life was only the inevitable effect of his conception of God's method of saving men, in parting with the Lutheran truth concerning justification he parted with the springs of gladness," In view of the superficial judgment of the day regarding Christian doctrine, the impression of a thinker like Dale, regarding the solemnity of dogmatic teaching, is significant. He said, "to touch any of the central doctrines of the Christian faith is to incur the gravest responsibility."

Prof. Edward L. Curtis, D. D., contributes to the January *Bibliotheca Sacra*, a timely article on "The Outlook in Theology." What he says of some phases of biblical criticism contains something of a note of admonition: "In spite of these outlooks for a highest constructive religious criticism of the Bible, we must recognize that the results of biblical criticism, taken as a whole are radical and revolutionary. They have destroyed the infallibility of both the Old and New Testament, and at first blush this looks as though Protestant Christianity were at an end; for Protestant Christianity has been supposed to be entirely based upon an infallible Bible. The underlying Protestant idea, however, is not that Christianity is based upon the Bible, but upon a divine revelation. The adage, 'the Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestantism,' is true only when we make the Bible and the divine or supernatural revelation convertible terms."

In the same Quarterly, the editor, Dr. G. Frederick Wright, in an article on "Dr. Driver's Proof Texts," calls to account

rather sharply some of the hypotheses of one of the most advanced of the critics. Dr. Driver has sought among other things to maintain the universal proposition that "in the early stages of a nation's history the memory of the past is preserved habitually by oral tradition." The editor calls in question the English critic's authority for any such sweeping statement. "It is difficult," says Dr. Wright, "to see how he can make it in the face of the fact that the Tel-el-Amana tablets, representing only a single discovery in Egypt, furnish literary matter from officers, scattered over Palestine and Syria, which amounts in bulk to that of the whole Pentateuch, and which was written shortly before the time of Moses. Indeed, the discoveries in Babylonia and Egypt are all emphasizing the importance which was set upon written documents in pre-Mosaic times. Thus, the ordinary theory, which makes Moses and his generation responsible for the Pentateuch, is receiving a support from these discoveries which many modern critics do not have either the perspicacity to perceive or the frankness to acknowledge. In the light of our present information it would be out of all analogy with the habits of the time and place for the generation to which Moses belonged to have left no written records of the momentous events which they witnessed and of which they were a part."

Dr. J. N. Fradenburg contributed an article to a recent issue of the *Methodist Review* on "The Covenant of Salt." He arranges the various biblical passages in certain groups according to the ideas that are most prominent in them, and illustrates them by copious references to ethnic notions and rites. He holds the blood covenant to be the original type from which other forms have come, remarking at the same time that, if Dr. Trumbull's views are accepted, the threshold covenant must be of equal antiquity. In dealing with the difficult passage in Mark IX. : 42-48, he follows the revised version in omitting the clause, "and every sacrifice shall be salted with fire," and translates the remaining sentence, "for every one shall be salted for the fire," as "every disciple shall be prepared for the sacrifice." On this he follows such scholars as Edersheim.

A contribution of unusual interest is made to the March number of the *Methodist Review* by Dr. S. P. Cadman, on the "Oxford Movement and its Leaders." The writer shows in his finely written article that he has read the recently published book of rare interest, by Mr. Arthur Rogers, entitled "Men and Movements in the English Church." It is high praise for a Methodist that Dr. Cadman confers upon that most interesting, but from our standpoint, in many respects, erroneous movement, in these lines: "The Oxford movement has presented genuine saintliness and popularized religion. It has crowded empty churches, and founded innumerable aids for the betterment of life and the relief of the poor. It exists and its work gains way, not because of its deterrents, but despite them, and it finds its strength in the life flowing out from God in Christ to all believers. A just and lawful doctrine of the Church has been established and maintained. Hymnology has been enriched, and worship no longer regards coldness and even outward irreverence as the measure of its acceptance with God. * * The forward movement of Methodism owes much of its aggressive and evangelizing temper to the Oxford movement."

Not a few of the best and most experienced and successful pastors, as well as writers on Practical Theology, have come to the conclusion in view of certain pronounced tendencies of the day, that organization in the Church is being somewhat overdone. To organize a church is to make definite arrangements for various kinds of work, and to assign these to different individuals or groups who shall be responsible for their performance. It is questionable, however, whether in some churches functions have not been multiplied beyond capacity. In the "*Reformed Church Review*," for January, Rev. Dr. Bridenbaugh contributes a sensible article on this timely subject, under the title—"The Scope and Limitations of Organization Within the Church." He wisely discusses the necessity of organization, but points out the disadvantages and evils of over-organization. He says:

"It requires but little reflection to be convinced that the present tendency of many churches is to over-organization, and to a

consequent dissipation of spiritual energies. There are congregations, in which have come to exist several practically independent organizations, working often at cross-purposes. Ambitious persons, who are not made officers according to their wish in some existing society, have a weakness for starting something else, in which they can personally figure. They will have more societies, and will strive by mechanical means and novel methods to awaken enthusiasm, such enthusiasm, alas, as manifests itself too often in an epidemic of conventions where the chief characteristics are the swinging of hats and waving of handkerchiefs."

We find a strong article by Professor James Lindsay, in the "*Presbyterian and Reformed Review*," on Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher, who is called "the representative Theologian of the nineteenth century." In criticism of that great genius's view of religion as consisting in a feeling of dependence on God Prof. Lindsay has this to say: "Our religion must obviously be no mere feeling of absolute dependence upon God, as it came with Schleiermacher's presentation of it, to be in its very essence. Religion is for us a feeling of trust, of confidence and of freedom in God. We must not be swept away by the current of our feelings, but have the basis of our religious life laid deep in the mind's views of the truth of God, in the heart's convictions of his holiness and love, and in the fixed and firm determination of the will that is made one with him by faith and joyous self surrender."

Of the utility of the study of Church history to the theologian Prof. Graebner, the editor, says in the "*Theological Quarterly*" of the Missouri Synod.—"The theologian who studies ecclesiastical history and knows what he is about will find in the records of former times and events the ailments under which the Church in those days; and more especially the teachers of the Church, or men considering themselves as such and so considered by others, have suffered, the efforts successful or unsuccessful which were made to cure such ailments, the fearful ravages made by

heresies and abuses when they developed into epidemic spreading over great parts of the Church."

A special interest attaches to an article by Mr. W. B. Parker in the *New World* on "The Religion of Mr. Kipling," in view of his recent critical illness. The writer of the article thinks that the appearance of Kipling's noble Recessional at the Queen's Jubilee, "may well be considered one of the chief religious views of the past two years," He thinks also that the majesty of that great poem reassures us that the succession of great English poets is being kept up, as well as confirms us in the faith that great art is forever inseparable from religion. He further thinks that this gifted man, of whom he writes, has uttered for us afresh in poems which, like the Recessional, have at once voiced the hopes and prayers of our generation, "those feelings which make up the body of our faith."

The *American Journal of Theology* gives much attention to attempts to define Ritschlianism. In the January number again Rev. Dr. Macintosh, of Scotland, contributes a strong and learned article on "The Ritschlian Doctrine of theoretical and religious knowledge." It indicates the difficulty of defining such specious theologians as that of the school of Ritschl.

II.

GERMAN.

BY S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A. M.

Frey, of Dorpat, in a recent publication, declares unconditionally against Animism in Israel. Schwally, in 1892, claimed that as far back as we can trace Israel's history, we find an animistic belief going along with Jehovah religion. Frey studies the habits and customs of the people, (which last long after the beliefs which caused them, have ceased to be,) when they come into history, and finds merely belief in the existence of spirits after death, and no trace of a corresponding cult.

Sellin, of Vienna, in his "Serubbabel" of last year, tries to fill the gaps in our knowledge of the first post-exilian century. He claims that the prophets inaugurated a movement among those who returned in the time of Cyrus, which resulted in making Serubbabel king. The whole thing ended in a fruitful catastrophe. Jerusalem was again devastated, the temple profaned, and Serubbabel suffered martyrdom. In fact he is the subject of the songs of Deutero-Isaiah. By this the Messianic hope was ruined. On the one hand dark despair, and on the other the ray of salvation, which a single great genius brought forth in dark night by turning the attention of his countrymen from the future to the past, in which its ideals lay. These are the two elements that explain the genius of Judaism.

Nowack, speaking of this book, says that such an event as Serubbabel's elevation to kingship, (with its following events), is quite possible, but raises the question as to whether Sellin's positive proofs justify such a conclusion. They consist chiefly of the beautiful explanation which such an event would give to several knotty questions of this and the immediately following period. Nowack characterizes the whole thing as a theory for specialists to work upon, and adds that according to his information and thinking, there are many insurmountable difficulties in the way which make it untenable.

Steuernagel, of Halle, in *T. R.* for December, in commenting on recent critical literature on the Hexateuch, claims that its apologists demand a preconceived notion of the manner and forms of revelation in order to come to a right understanding of it, without telling us whence we are to get it; the critics on the other hand, study the documents of revelation, test them even in details and thus gain their conception of the manner and forms of revelation. The apologists, (among whom is Green, of Princeton,) are, as a class, superficial and frequently misrepresent the critics and their work.

Siegfried, of Jena, prepared the vol. on Solomon's Song, in Nowack's "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament." In it he

holds with Wetzstein, Budde, Stade, *et. al.*, that this so-called song is a collection of marriage-songs, in all probability, of Palestinian-Jewish origin.

Bachmann, Gymnasial professor in Munich, published a book in January, with the title, "The Personal Experience of Salvation and its meaning for Faith according to the Testimony of the Apostles." In it he investigates the question whether and to what extent the content of saving truth can be derived from the consciousness of salvation of the Christian, by consulting the apostolic letters, and concludes that they show agreement on the following points: A rich and blessed experience of the salvation freely given in Christ is peculiar to the Christian. But the real content of salvation towers high above this experience. Therefore, faith is not grounded on experience, but both go back to the salvation given in Christ, which is offered in the Gospel and must be voluntarily accepted.

Harnack and Kaftan have attempted to prove that ecclesiastical sanction is the essential characteristic of dogma, (Harnack in "Prolegomena Zur Disziplin der Dogmengeschichte," and Kaftan in "Glaube und Dogma,") and on the strength of this they assert a certain appreciable difference between dogmas and formulated expressions of Christian doctrine. Stange, of Halle, in "Das Dogma und seine Beurteilung in der neueren Dogmengeschichte," seeks to show from the history of dogma that ecclesiastical recognition is its second element, while free doctrinal development and scientific expression constitute its first element.

E. Pfennigsdorf, of Haarzgerode, in *T. R.* for December, in reviewing certain publications of the last three years bearing on Materialism, concludes that "the reign of theoretical materialism is coming to an end." Already in 1896, the great naturalist Raoul Pitet published an important book which concludes all in the declaration: "Theoretical Materialism is dead." Materialism has scarcely a representative among the deep thinkers and epoch-

making investigators of the present; all the more does it yet reign in the middle and lower planes of culture—the press and the literature of the day. Materialism cannot explain the world of phenomena. It looks as if we will have a period of speculation. The books reviewed (Mengi, Köhler, Steude, Wyneken, Schellwein and Drews), show not merely the close of the old epoch, but also the beginning of a new one. The title of Drews' work, is "The Ego as the Fundamental Problem of Metaphysics, an Introduction to Speculative Philosophy." He attempts here to explain the entire realm of Metaphysics from the standpoint of the Ego, and at the same time to bring to light the meaning of the Cartesian "Cogito ergo sum," for the new philosophy, even for Kant.

Pastor Buettner at the Moellner Conference in Hanover, Sept. 1898, read a practical paper on Confession. Speaking about private confession, he expresses regret that individual confession had been given up for almost 200 years, and added that it would be madness to want to force its introduction now, when individualism reigns, and that we can be satisfied that we still retain the so-called public confession, which of course exists and has its meaning only in connection with the sacramental life of the Church.

From the report of the attendance at the German Universities for the summer semester of 1898, as given in Schneider's *Theologisches Jahrbuch*, we gather the following interesting figures: Total number of matriculated students, 32,231. Attendance during summer semester 1895, 29,107. Present attendance divided as follows (the figures in parenthesis show the number of students during previous semester.): Students of theology, Protestant, 2681, (2746); Catholic, 1571, (1153); Law, 8972, (7952); Medicine, 8291, (7849); Philosophy [which embraces everything else taught in a German University,] 10,715, (9812). In the winter semester of 97–98 there were 2350 foreigners registered as students at universities. During the summer semester

of '98, 309 women attended the various universities, 166 of whom are credited to Berlin. Excluding the members of theological faculties there are 2178 instructors in German universities, of whom 277 are Catholic, *i. e.*, less than 14 per cent., while 36 per cent. of the population of the Empire belong to that faith. This disproportion does not speak well for Rome's boasted influence in matters of education. From the summer of 1890 to the summer of 1898, the number of theological students decreased almost 40 per cent.,—from 4527 to 2682. "Without doubt the former number was far ahead of the demand." Only Erlangen and Griefswald have maintained their numbers with little or no change. The present attendance of students of theology at the various universities is as follows:

Halle 433; Leipzig 319; Berlin 315; Tuebingen, Evangelical 309, Catholic 170; Griefswald 249; Erlangen 235; Goettingen 143; Marburg 130; Breslau, Evangelical 82, Catholic 291; Bonn, Evangelical 76, Catholic 291; Strassburg 71; Koenigsberg 69; Kiel 60; Giessen 59; Heidelberg 58; Jena 47; Rostock 27. The four universities whose faculties are entirely Catholic stand as follows: Muenster 305; Freiburg 210; Munich 155; Würtzburg 135. Of the larger universities, Berlin, Erlangen and Leipzig show a decrease while Halle and Tuebingen have increased. The average attendance at other institutions of learning for all Germany is 50 for every 10,000 of the population. The average attendance at these institutions according to creed is for every 10,000 Protestants 55, for every 1000 Catholics 22, for every 10,000 Dissenters 49, and for every 10,000 Jews 432.

The circulation of *C. W.* in 1893 was 4555. At present it is 4200.

In Brunswick it is proposed to allow laborers to work till the hour of service and after 3 P. M. every Sunday. The *A. E. L. Kz.* heartily condemns this, but prefaces its remarks by saying: "We know ourselves to be entirely free from a legal acceptance of the third commandment."

Prof. Nitzsch, of Kiel, son of the great theologian, died Dec.

19th, 1898. Schraeder of Goettingen, a former student of Cremer of Griefswald, has been called to the chair of the latter.

The German Emperor has given Prof. Hauck of Leipzig the prize for the best work on German history produced during the last five years. His "Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands," which has now unreserved commendation and admiration from the professors of profane history, brought him this distinction.

Karl von Buchrucker, head of the Bavarian Lutheran Church, founder of the *N. K. Z.*, and author of the Catechism and Bible History recently adopted in Bavaria, died, Jan. 29th.

ARTICLE XIII.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Dr. Martin Luther's Vorreden, historische und philologische Schriften.

Als Supplement des sechsten Bandes: *Auslegung des Alten Testaments.* Auslegung über die Propheten Obadjah bis Maleachi. 4to. pp. 2195.

This is volume XIV. of the Walch Edition, carefully revised and splendidly issued by the Missouri Synod under the editorial supervision of Prof. A. F. Hoppe. The larger portion of this volume 810-2195 consists of Luther's Exposition of the Minor Prophets from Obadiah to Malachi forming thus a supplement to Vol. VI., noticed in the *QUARTERLY* of January 1898, and having been for the most part obtained from the Zwickau and Altenburg MSS.

The remainder of the volume consists of miscellaneous material of absorbing interest—a collection which if Luther could be translated into Lutheran English would make one of the most popular and fascinating publications that could be produced in this age.

We have first a series of prefaces to the German translation of the Bible, including those to nearly all of the individual books—sometimes several—and also those to the Apocrypha. Then we have a number of Luther's Prefaces to Biblical Commentaries from the hand of other authors, and after these a number of his prefaces to books and writings by other authors, closing with Prefaces to Collections and Editions of his own writings.

Four hundred pages are taken up with Luther's historical and philological writings: his Chronicon of the Age of the World,—which he challenges others to improve—his theological use of Logic, his transla-

tions of Æsop's Fables, his complaint of the birds against Luther and his servant, &c.

The volume opens with a fierce attack upon the thieving publishers who reprint his books, copyright having been as yet unknown. He scores them for their greed and dishonesty, but what irritates him most is the merciless mutilation of his own text. While he seems to have received no royalty, or to have cared precious little for it, it naturally and justly made him furious to find that these robbers of his literary property had no conscience on the matter of printing them correctly or incorrectly, no concern whether they falsified his meaning or garbled it to an extent that Luther himself could no longer recognize it as his own. "They go on rips raps," he scolds, "their one aim is money, whereas if they were the right kind of printers, they would know very well that too much pains cannot be taken in such work as printing, as has often been attested to me by those who have made the effort." In line with his denunciation of those who so cruelly wronged him by their wretched reprints he begs his friends and his foes, his master printer and his readers, that they will allow his German New Testament of 1539 to be his own. If they find it defective then let them make a translation for themselves, and not tinker at his. Luther's honest soul very properly protested against all literary dishonesty.

That this oracle of his age spoke, like a true prophet for all time, is strikingly manifest in his complaint that for high offices and grave public business such untried and unfit men were employed. Civil-service reform, like every other reform, appears to have had its first champion in this immortal reformer.

E. J. WOLF.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

Extemporaneous Oratory. For Professional and Amateur Speakers.

By James M. Buckley, L. L. D. 480 pages. Price \$1.50.

This is a book for all who serve the public; for all such are liable to be called upon to present their thoughts in speech. In general, three methods of public speech are open to the young student: Writing and reading; writing and reciting; and the extemporaneous method. Each has its supporters and advantages. But it would be hard to read the opening chapters of this book without becoming an advocate of the last named system. Extemporaneous does not mean necessarily unpremeditated. The student is particularly warned against the careless, off-hand style of speaking. Dr. Buckley's well known mastery of his art led to a request for this book. It is, therefore, not a mere compilation, but the result of rich and ripe experience. It presents a system of careful mental training by which the mind is stored with forms of expression and taught to work as readily before the public as in the study. The truths to be presented are gathered and arranged beforehand, but the final form of the deliverance is left to the "birth of the occasion." We especially commend the chapters on word getting and assimilation.

It would be expecting too much to suppose that the reader should be in sympathy with every precept set forth. But the subject matter is of such a character that it is adaptable to the individual mould. We heartily commend Dr. Buckley's work, especially to the young preacher and to the teacher, as a text-book.

STANLEY BILLHEIMER.

Dwellers in Gotham. A Romance of New York. By Allan Dale, New York.

The author of this book has chosen good material. And that he has written with a sincere purpose, is all too evident. Were he a more polished writer, he might have succeeded as an essayist. For the author and his bold moral arguments are continually before the reader. But his sentences are slovenly and unfinished, he uses too many adjectives, and seems not to understand the accurate use of words. His English is marred by colloquial expressions and the occasional use of slang. That unexcusable solecism, "quite a little," is frequent. He seems to possess neither the imagination nor the art to turn his material into readable fiction. In this volume of three hundred and ninety-two pages—which are too many pages for the development of a very slight plot, characters enough for three such volumes are introduced, each one with his full family history. These characters appear and disappear as seems necessary to keep up the debating school on social questions which the writer maintains throughout the book. They all talk alike in figures of speech and parables, with some airy witticisms thrown in. The dialogue is stiff and forced, a mere mask for the author's thoughts and arguments.

Many of the proper names employed are suggestive, as if used in an attempt to help out the weak and inconsistent characterization. The story has no perspective, and hence no movement, though one stumbles on several scenes, any of which might be intended for a climax. As the great number of characters presented, cannot be naturally disposed of, the author closes the book with an epilogue, in which he tells, very frankly from his own point of view, what became of everybody, using the impure English of the business world to do so.

We believe that the right to criticise a book adversely is confined to those persons who make their criticisms helpful to the writer by pointing out his failures from a technical stand-point. Space fails us, or we should be glad to do this more fully. The mechanical work on the book is very fine.

M. E. RICHARD.

A. J. HOLMAN AND COMPANY, PHILADELPHIA.

The Holman Comparative Self-Pronouncing S. S. Teachers' Bible. Containing, in Combined Text, the Authorized and Revised Versions of the Old and New Testaments.

It is a pleasure to call attention to this LINEAR PARALLEL Edition of the Bible. Its method of presenting the texts of the Authorized and Re-

vised Versions on the same page by giving the reading in a large-type line where the versions agree, and in upper and lower parallel lines in small type where they differ, is certainly the most convenient and satisfactory of all the methods we have yet seen. It is a most happy expedient for presenting the different readings to the eye and facilitating comparison. The edition cannot fail to become a favorite one with Sabbath School teachers and other students of the Scriptures. M. VALENTINE.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Book of Worship with Hymns and Tunes. Published by the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. Price \$1.25.

This book is the revised "Book of Worship," ordered by the General Synod at its Canton (Ohio) convention in 1893. It has been eagerly awaited by many churches and will, no doubt, meet with a rapid sale.

The revision pertained to the hymns and tunes. The work has been done by two committees of five each, and we believe that the verdict of the churches, after a fair trial, will be that it has been done well.

Somewhat over two hundred hymns have been added, and nearly an equal number omitted. Those that have been introduced are of such excellence that they will meet with general acceptance, quite a large percentage being drawn from the rich treasures of German hymnology. A few of those omitted will be missed by some with sincere regret; the most of them, however, are omitted without material loss. The changes made have been unquestionably to the improvement of the book.

Some changes in the hymns themselves conduce, in our judgment, to their betterment. For example, we like the certitude of

"And *knows* her guilt was there,"

in the fourth stanza of hymn 232 much better than the elements of apprehensiveness in "*hopes* her guilt was there." We also like the changes made in the hymn beginning, "I love thy Zion, Lord." Not many will be found willing to *invite* a curse upon themselves for any shortcomings in their love for the Church or for their fellow-believers, and a promiscuous congregation should not be asked to do it. Other changes deserve like approval.

These hymns as a whole are "spiritual songs," fit means for the expression of the heart's devotion. They meet the requirements of a true hymn in being addressed to the Lord and in turning the heart Godward in its devotions and aspirations. The revision is a real enrichment and the sincere thanks of the Church are due to the men who have done their perplexing work so faithfully and well.

The index of first lines of stanzas as well as of the hymns is a good feature. We shall let some one else speak of the tunes, as our musical education has been neglected and we cannot pass judgment on them. The names of the committeemen, however, are an assurance in themselves that their work will bear a fair critical test. P. M. BIKLE.

☞ Several important book-reviews are held over till July.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JULY, 1899.

ARTICLE I.

WILD BEASTS AND ANGELS.

BY PROF. W. H. WYNN, PH. D., D. D.

We have heard the complaint, that what we call spiritual temptation is habitually overlooked, or misconceived, by those who assume to formulate the teachings of our Lord. There is almost no mention of it in any of our creeds. Turning over a number of volumes on Christian theology, by men of vast learning and unquestioned wealth of spiritual resource, we do not find the subject so much as mentioned—though, of course, in many connections it has not failed to be cogently implied.* How shall we account for the oversight, when, manifestly, the inner half of our Lord's high ministry in the world was given over to it, and solicitude against it was imbedded in the very heart of his compendious prayer? Nay, more, it was not an over-statement of Christ's mission to fallen men, to say, comprehensively, that he was tempted in all points as we are, that he might succor them that are tempted. That is to say, he becomes a Saviour, by having his incarnate qualification inure from this source. Redeemer and redeemed—for both alike there is a moral necessity, that the path upward should lead through seasons of soul-wrestling that are baptisms of fire. They quicken,

*Luther wrote: "If I live, I will write a book on temptations, for without a knowledge of that subject, no man can thoroughly understand the Holy Scriptures, or feel the due love and fear of the Lord."—A promise which was never fulfilled, yet, incidentally, in his voluminous writings much depth of thought and insight has been lavished on the subject—See quotations in Michelet's *Life of Luther*, especially Chapt. 6.

they refine, they bring in great accessions of power. Indeed, from the teaching and example of our Lord, we must infer, that one comes into the realization of spiritual energy and up-building in no other way—that temptation, if we can adequately fathom it, is somehow organically included in the economy of spiritual life.

Perhaps it has been habitually avoided, as the sad unwelcome accompaniment of a new experience that is promised to be one of joy. To be tried, to be harrassed, to be thrown into doubt, to have an agony of soul come over us, making the heavens black above us, and the earth a wilderness—this does not comport well with a gospel of good news. To have a trial of that kind before the joy of the new life has dawned, as Christian in Bunyan's allegory, must fall into the "Slough of Despond," and quail beneath the "Burning Mountain," before the "Wicket-Gate" is reached—all this perhaps is inevitable. The wavering purpose to enter upon the narrow way, can be steadied only by threatened drowning in the depths of despair, or imminent consumings of the wrath of God. But to have these furnaces burn all along the way—burn of necessity—looks like making deliverance a misnomer, and keeping up the cry of captivity, in a land where the disappointed pilgrim hoped to be free. Bunyan's allegory is limited and distorted to this extent. In the presence of this cross, the pack on Pilgrim's back breaks and rolls away, but other trials remain, of which this crushing burden was only a type. Both before and after, seasons of temptation occur, with varying intensity, down even to the lurid Inferno of the Valley of the Shadow of Death; but they are essentially the same experience, assuming new shapes, as the inventive genius of the great Dreamer might suggest. Bunyan had the deep soul of a prophet, and saw the necessity of temptation, and divined even its essential nature, but fell into caprice with reference to its function, because of his scholastic conception of regenerate life. It came upon Pilgrim here and there, incidentally, knowing no law, as a visitation each time of some special offense, and might easily have been avoided by simply keeping the feet in the narrow way. The result is a story of

weird fascination, and gloom—the new life heavily shrouded with the acerbities of an austere imagination, and the arbitrary supernaturalism of the Puritanic creed. The new life must be a sad life, if Bunyan's great allegory pictures it well—therefore, possibly, our optimistic theologians have consented that this aspect of it shall be overlooked or slurred.

But sad or otherwise, are we not obliged to think upon temptation in this way, as a trial involving the spiritual fortunes of the soul that is tried, and always persisting, as long as human frailty attempts to rise up after having been put down. Was not the great Exemplar himself a Man of Sorrow, and acquainted with grief, because of these recurring seasons of soul-struggle, fiercer in his case than mortal man could ever have endured? Reference to the Master's temptation suggests the particular in which this whole vast subject has been misconceived. Sorrow there is no doubt, divine sorrow, following close upon the footsteps of the Nazarene everywhere he goes, so that even when he walks solitary in Solomon's Porch, seeking shelter from the winter without, and we can see him alone, the air of sadness visibly clings to his going, and mingles with his supernatural calm. If a day passes with him in peace, he must go to his Gethsemane in the night. A momentary gleam of satisfaction suffuses his countenance while fondling little children on the dusty highway—a smile of complacency, no doubt, in the baby symbol of innocence, a whole kingdom of which he was setting up in the world—but straightway he must go groaning over the bier of some dead man, or wrestle with the malign powers that are driving his generation mad. A career of sorrow like that might very well end with a crown of thorns. Nevertheless the gospel of Jesus is not, as Mr. Carlyle would have it, the apotheosis of sorrow. Every view of the incarnate ministry is inadequate, which puts the divine suffering on exhibition for its own sake. Jesus is manifestly the sad one, submitting to whatever of malignancy there is in the hearts of evil men, and to the fiercer onset of the powers that rush in upon him from the other world. It was a larger work he had on hand than we shall ever know, and to reach it, he had to tread the wine press of the

wrath of God. In his long fast in Quarantania, in Gethsemane, on the cross—these are but glimpses, and condensed representations, as of some great painting in meagerest outline, of those temptation struggles to which his deepest inner history was tragically subjected—but the end in view, we can easily see, was not the agony for its own sake.

What, then, is the meaning of temptation, from which not even the Master himself was exempt? In answering this, we must assume that the detailed account of our Lord's trial in the wilderness was of pedagogic import, and that in broad outline it was designed to describe, in symbol, the kind of painful experience through which we must pass—we, his followers—if we would hope to enter into life. Our Lord inaugurated his kingdom with no blare of trumpets in princely parade. It was in the privacy of a long fast, in a deep desert, fighting with the "wild beasts" that are predatory on the souls of men, and calling in legions of angels who should help him in his need. It is the seriousness of human life, and human uplifting, that is so powerfully depicted in that opening struggle, and not the sorrow of it—a lesson as to how vast a work it is, to lift up a soul from sin, and give it back to God. Men are light-minded under sin, until its miserable consequences have overtaken them, and then they drop into despair. The universe becomes to them a trifle, and the moral order of the world a farce. They make a mock of it all, until their vices come home to judgment, and then they stretch out frail imbecile hands to specters of the air. Now the panorama in the wilderness, is the divine Master teaching, by symbol, how this illusion is to be removed.

Let us go with him there—led of the spirit—rapt away—*snatched*, it would seem—as by some eternal exigency of his mission, to have it symbolically epitomized in this opening scene. As we are using *symbol*, freely, with reference to this stage in the redemptive mission of our Lord, let us understand that the incarnation is itself but the bringing of God down to the comprehension of men in living symbol—Jesus dramatizing the divine mind and the divine love, within the limitations and experiences of our human estate. Our Lord is a living picture

cast upon the screen of our mortal vision—flashed out from the eternal silences, revealing in vivid colors—incarnadine, indeed, with the crimson shedding of suffering love—what man is, and what he must become. Whatever else the mission of our Lord on earth may have meant, it certainly did place before us God's ideal of the perfect man. If we are interested to know what the higher life is, and how it is to be attained, we go to him, and we find the whole deep matter traced out legibly in the life he led, in his sacrifices and struggles, his temptations and his prayers.

We follow him in the regeneration—therefore, we attain to the new life in the manner in which he has dramatized it for us. He has traced it out for us in symbol—the most impressive way, confessedly, of carrying over the divine thought and feeling to the intellects and hearts of men.* The dripping waters of his baptism were symbol, for the Son of Man had no sins to wash away, and it was the eternal method of righteousness that he was solicitous to observe. The dove that hovered over him; the voice that fell from the empty spaces of the air; the very river Jordan, in which he witnessed his devotion to all righteousness—all was symbol. The wilderness, whither he was led or driven by the Spirit, was symbol. The “wild beasts” that were with him in his solitude, for ends of malign assault and discomfiture, were symbol, as, likewise, were the angels that came to rejoice with him in the victory he had achieved. The evil suggestion to prostitute his power of miracle to ends of mere animal gratification—turning stones into bread—is submitted to by him, by way of symbol, for the appetites have never had a usurping ascendancy in his experience. The world, as seen by him from the top of a high mountain, its kingdoms, its wealth,

*Mr. Carlyle, in his chapter on “*Symbols*” in *Sartor Resartus*, after defining a symbol to be the embodiment and revelation of the infinite in the finite, proceeds: “If thou ask to what height man has carried it in this matter, look on our divinest symbol; on Jesus of Nazareth, and his life, and his biography, and what followed therefrom. Higher has human thought not yet reached: this is Christianity and Christendom; a symbol of quite perennial, infinite character; whose significance will ever demand to be anew inquired into, and anew made manifest.”

its pageantry, its power, all lying at his feet in vain solicitation of any rising ambition in him to get the glittering bauble in his grasp—all is symbol, for already the planet is his, and all the stately march of the suns and stars. Lifted to a dizzy eminence on the pinnacle of a temple, where he might challenge the guardianship of the very heavens, in plunging himself down safely upon the buoyant air—lighting gently, as the falling leaf careens quietly to the waiting grass—all symbol again, for he, the divine One, personifying religion in his mission among men, cannot pervert religion by turning it into an empty show.*

And so on, and on, and on, in those frequent seasons of solitary soul-wrestling all night long in mountain retreats. So in the Garden; so on the cross; the bloody sweat; the deepening shadows of the three hours' eclipse—all of pedagogic import and aim, to teach us how serious our life is, with the eternities swarming in upon us, for good or for ill, and how in crises of heroic endeavor we are to get away from ourselves, and nearer to God. As he was tempted, so we must be tempted also. He would have us know, that it is an experience which we cannot escape, that it has an office for us analogous to that of a furnace for the refining of gold. Now what have we here, in the significant fact that our Lord admitted temptation to the one half of his life? A stimulus, undoubtedly, to inquire into what that experience is, what function it may have in spiritual life—what our Lord may have embodied in the vivid pictures of it, which he threw upon the troubled air of our sin-darkened world—especially as he seems to have exhorted his disciples to pray

*Neander in his profound chapter on the temptation of our Lord, concludes "that the account contains not only an ideal, but also a historical truth, conveyed, however, under a symbolical form;" and, further, that "Christ left to his disciples and the Church only a partial and symbolical account of the facts of his inner life in this preparatory epoch"—*Life of Jesus Christ*, pp. 70-75. It is strange that one of such depth and delicacy of spiritual insight, did not suspect a wider application of the principle of symbol to the life of our Lord, even the *exhibitory* character of all that he said and did—hinting it only, in his favorite expression of "the image of Christ, something capable of perennial renewal from age to age."

against it, when in the very act of enforcing that all advance in the divine life leads through furnaces of that kind.

First, let us understand, that the temptation of the gospels is something vastly different from what is popularly, and even learnedly, understood by that term. It is thought to be an experience purely incidental, happening when it may, and to be avoided when it can. Thus any mental struggle, with only a moral issue, has come to be described by that term. If a man would reform some bad habit, let him shun its incentives, if in the effort it blots out his life. A passion for strong drink, for example, or the baser infatuations of the gambler's den—if a man will get rid of all this, it must be by resisting the temptation to go where they are. Strong and overmastering, however, their evil attractions will be found to be, and his struggle will be, under the stress of recurring enticements, not to yield. A man is tempted, it is said, when he is drawn aside by his lusts, and enticed—if it is in his mind to escape, it will be by shutting his eyes, and plunging, as Sir Bedivere in the poem, the other way. Over yon glimmering precipice there are awful abysses, to the extremest edges of which the young man is carried, in the dizzy ecstasies of his carnal enjoyments—the next round will plunge him over. He has resolved that it shall not be. He will stand out stoutly against the very memory of these seductions, will fight them out of his mind, and rise above them, cost him what it may, to the very last jot of his endurance, rather than be enslaved. He nerves his resolution up to that point every day, saying, "I have set my face like flint against the object of my desire; I will close my eyes tight against it; I will not go to it, it shall not come to me; and so I will hold myself until the storm be overpast, and I am consciously a free man."

This is the ordinary way of conceiving of temptation, as simply the strong and tenacious clinging to the natural resources of the human will, stiffening itself against the rising of some discarded impulse, to which it has, for only too long a time, been basely enslaved. After this manner we are wont to exhort the young, appealing to their manhood, and saying to them, in the hour of their trial: "Throw yourself upon your will; lay a

strong grip upon the emergency; strike the decisive blow; show yourself a man." And I am not prepared to say that the advice is wholly amiss. There is, indeed, no way of deliverance that does not engage the utmost exertion of the human will. The will is, in a most fundamental sense, the man. Only, it is not spiritual temptation which is thus described—that large and stupendous matter, to which our Lord gave the monopoly of one half his life, and which he has seen proper to imbed in the heart of his prayer.

Following closely the type of our Lord's struggle, we may first make sure, that temptation is an experience done and endured in the privacy of the closet, with the soul in the heroic effort, against an impending danger, of relinquishing itself unto God. You are alone. You have a battle to fight, so nearly trenching on the invisible world, that you cannot call your friends in for reinforcement, and must not look for rescue in any most loving interposition from hearts that would give themselves for you, in all manner of sacrifice, to have you relieved. Temptation, as Christ illustrated it, calls a man away, for a time, from the bootless quarrel with his vices; from the very faces and voices of his helpless companions, speaking ever so wisely, and bringing solace from hands that are never weary in their offices of love. Did the Baptist cry after his divine pupil, rapt away as by violence from the waters of his consecration, and from the great congregations of the Jordan, among whom there was not a single hand that could interpose to help? Did Peter wake up in the night, when his Lord was stealing away softly from the chamber of slumber, and call him back, denouncing the necessity of his going out at the unseemly hour, or pleading that he might keep him company in the desolate waste? "Treading the wine-press alone," was the way in which the great Master was wont to describe these esoteric struggles of his, when human intervention, however powerful and kindly, would have been an intrusion rather than a help.

But, now, in the main, the Lord's struggle in the wilderness would teach us, that the solitude of temptation is not all solitude, that there is a deep significance in the contrasting powers of

“wild beasts” and “angels” that come in upon the sequestration of his lonely retreat. We cannot well think otherwise, than that these were extra-mundane forces at war on that strangest of all battlefields, the unconquerable spirit of the divine Son of Man. As with him, so with us. There are seasons when the eternities crowd in upon us, and are more intimately with us than in times of ordinary access, with their thronging issues of life and death, to succor or to destroy; when we are conscious of moments of awful equipoise between spiritual forces pulling contrary ways, for the ultimate prize of the preponderance of the will. As in the case of Peter, it is, on the one side, Satan wanting to have him, that he might sift him like wheat, and, on the other side, the counteracting potency of the prayers of our Lord. Satan and the Son of Man—thus it stands with us—the powers of darkness, and the powers of light, other-world influences divine and malign—these, in any honest rendering of the situation, throng our solitude, and fight our battles for us, when we seem to be alone. They are the “wild beasts” and “angels” of the wilderness experience of our Lord, entering as vitally and really into our own spiritual struggles—if the gospel story is to have any meaning at all.

Mere mental struggles, with powerful moral incentives, painful and agonizing in the extreme—life is plentifully strewn with trials of this kind. But we must not mistake. There may be no regenerate reference in them, and on close examination we do not find that the other-world powers are at all concerned. Simply the man is there, straining the sinews of his will against appetites and passions which he wishes to get under his control. There is no God there; no recognized inrushing of powers for mischief from a vantage ground higher than his own. Temptation is not the mere agony involved in standing by a resolution to reform, amid the plunging and gnawing of the passions, like hungry wild beasts clawing the cage in which they are confined. A struggle of that kind may, indeed, harrow up a man’s soul, and often make him sorrowful even unto death. But the incitements are superficial, and, for the most part, he comes out of

the contest with his self-sufficient banners trailing in the dust. Something deeper than this, something reaching to the profoundest sources of the spiritual life of the soul, always implicating its relation to the divine, is involved in temptation, as our Lord portrayed it, in every variety of impassioned symbol, in the wilderness, in the shadows of Gethsemane, in the last gloomy hours on the cross.

Looking intently in this direction, we may embody the whole vast secret in a very few words: Spiritual temptation is the struggle of the soul, when it seeks to plant itself impregnably on the word and will of God. Despite the low views of inspiration which are threatening to prevail, we cannot help recalling that our Lord, in the wilderness was constantly saying: "It is written," in the stress of his temptation, and with that weapon the adversary was repulsed. We can attach no meaning to that fact, unless it be that this was his way of attaining security—or, more properly in his case, symbolizing a sense of security—in the higher ranges of being into which he was ascending, by planting himself on the word of God. What was written? Why, the opposite of the evil suggestion just now thrust in upon his mind. With the utterance "It is written" went the act of the soul, which threw its preponderance decisively on that side. And so in Gethsemane. It was the will of God which the agonizing Son of Man wrestled into supremacy over his own will, planting himself there, against the gathering gloom of that hour, against the hosts of evil jubilant over what seemed to be the moral ruin of the world. Always, in the heat of the conflict, it was the "powers of darkness," the "Prince of the power of the air" with whom he was contending; and, always, when the struggle was over, we find victorious angels in heavenly ministration at his feet.

But are not these alleged mystical experiences, of the ancient religious consciousness now generally discredited by the learned world, as hallucination of an over-excited, and often diseased condition of the nervous system, the pathology of which can find ready elucidation in our laboratories of psychic research? We are, indeed, treading upon ground where large and liberal

concessions must be made, without, however, compromising, as I think, the essential fact on which the distinctive character of spiritual temptation rests. Visions, voices, great agonies that throw the body down in epileptic contortions; imaginings, morbid and gloomy, that drive the hapless victim hither and thither, as under the whip of demons, deeper and deeper into a night of despair—all this may often be traced to the grotesque working of a diseased brain. Too much brooding on religious subjects, too much monkish austerity in the matter of food and drink, moping days and sleepless nights—it would not be strange if, out of the smoke of a delirium thus induced, whole armies of Bunyan's "hob-goblins and foul fiends" should visibly emerge. When Luther, as a choir boy in the church at Erfurt, heard the gospel lesson read about the man torn and tossed by the devil, he fell down in his place, and raved like one possessed. Stanpitz, the Vicar-General, discerning wisely the trouble with the young monk, counseled him not to distress himself with "imaginary sins," since for an imaginary sinner, an imaginary Saviour would have to be provided. Luther at Wartburg, where his contest with the devil was hottest, thought himself assailed by demons in ways of manifest visible onslaught, as, for example, in thundering noises on the stairway of his chamber, and one time, while translating a passage of the New Testament, Satan appearing in gigantic figure before him, grinning and gnashing his teeth, and "moving round him like a lion ready to spring upon his prey." It was then that Luther wrought valiantly with his inkstand, flinging it at the head of his adversary, who instantly disappeared. With the rehearsal of these strange experiences, goes Luther's confession that he was suffering from disease. He was deeply depressed mentally, because of the fear that his enemies had triumphed, and that the cause he had so heroically championed had been suddenly shut up forever in a prisoner's cell. From low diet and confinement he had paroxysms of bodily pain, that robbed him of whole nights' sleep. It is to be wondered at, that, under such circumstances, the visualizing power of the great man's imagination should be abnormally

quicken, and the evil he was fighting assume visible figure before him on the empty air?*

The temptations of Bunyan, as they are chronologically and psychologically traced in *Grace Abounding*—an autobiographical work of great subtlety and power—must be received with like qualification and comment. His trials come from associations that are largely capricious, from impulses that are morbidly insistent. The visions and voices that arrest him in his amusements; the quarrel of Scripture passages going on within him, in which the infernal dialectic gets the upper hand; the blasphemies that are hurled in upon him, and coercively made his, in spite of his groans and sweat to battle them off; especially that crowning temptation of all, the challenge to sell his Lord, as Judas did, the imperious demand mixing itself up with every commonest thing he thought, or did, to *sell Christ, sell Christ for this, sell him for that, sell him! Sell him!*—for a long year thus tormented, until he had to rise up, like a man in a frenzy, and by desperate “pushing with hands and elbows,” thrust the dreadful incubus from him—plainly such impulses are morbid, and are due to a condition of the nervous system not wholly sound.

But both for Luther and Bunyan, and for all those towering characters in history who have made epochs, or signalized some great advance in the higher interests of the race—for all these, despite the anomalous workings of an over-sensitive brain, the *ensemble* of their lives, what they threw upon the world of large, rational, ultimately transforming product, forbids the imputation of disease in any way essentially interfering with the organic soundness of their experience and their work. We cannot

*As illustrating psychological features in the experience of Luther, his own testimony may be quoted: “I was lying sick at the infirmary. The most cruel temptations tortured and wore out my frame, so that I could scarcely breathe. No man comforted me; all to whom I represented my piteous condition, replied, *I know not*. Then I said to myself: Am I then the only one amongst you who is to be thus sad in spirit? O, what specters, what terrible figures did I see constantly before me! But, ten years ago, God sent me a consolation by his dear angels, enabling me to fight and write for him.”—Michelet’s Life, p. 12.

diagnose *neurasthenia* so long as the peculiar, insistent, eccentricities of the man have not been known to derange materially the continuity of his life-plan, or the coherence of any system of thought or action he may have commended to many generations of men. Extraordinary nervous sensitivity is, clearly, the physical and psychical condition of the extraordinary work he has on hand. If the work is a difficult one, and it makes its way through fire and sword, it is quite inevitable that the heroic faculty will, once and again, be over-strained, but in all such cases we are compelled to grant that the disturbance was, at last, only superficial, and that disease, if present at all, did not touch the core of the mighty brain that was carrying the load.*

And now we must drop our plummet to greater depths in the experience of these men. They evidently conceived of their temptations after the manner of the most literal rendering of the wilderness struggle of our Lord. They believed themselves to be fighting with emissaries from the pit. In this matter they

*Prof. Josiah Royce, in his *Studies of Good and Evil*, has ventured a scientific analysis of Bunyan's four years' morbid experience, following the line of the Dreamer's autobiographical confessions, on the basis of the New Psychology, discovering in this way, three stages of neurasthenic aberration, culminating in "a highly systematized mass of insistent motor speech-functions," of which this wild transaction of *selling his Lord* was the last. In the extreme self-abandonment of this awful moment, Bunyan is made to find his cure—agreeing to the sale of his Lord, and every other desperate consequence that might follow as to himself. The nervous tension is relaxed at a time when his general physical health was greatly improved, and so, in the end, Prof. Royce concludes that Bunyan's "gradual emergence from despair is obviously due, on the whole, to the *vis medicatrix naturae*," as, indeed, was inevitable in any attempt to apply the formulas of the New Psychology to so alien a matter as the spiritual temptation of a soul struggling upward to its God. The fundamental standpoint of that system is that "the bodily state is the cause of the psychological state, and not *vice versa*, and must be stated and investigated in physical terms." This shuts off all inquiry into the so-called spiritual aspects of Bunyan's trial. Prof. Royce is unchallenged master of a species of idealistic philosophy sufficiently ample to take in the higher phenomena of spiritual life, apparently wholly ignored in this ingenious analysis of his. In regard to Bunyan, he has not advanced beyond the blundering conclusions of Macaulay, and Taine, and Froude, except in so far as he has subjected his investigations to a pathological test.—Royce's *Studies in Good and Evil*, p. 74.

never dreamed of a figure of speech. The un-Christly moods that came over them, the blasphemous injections that went raging, storm-like, through their minds, were understood to be the personal assaults of the devil, with whom they believed themselves to be in actual colloquy, as our Lord was, evidently, when he answered the infernal banter with a quotation from the word of God. Why should they doubt that what happened to the Master might not befall them, and, therefore, in essentially the way in which his conflict was conducted, bating, of course, the points in which the divine trial is lifted above the possibility of imitation in a purely finite soul. The arch-fiend of the Inferno came to him, *in propria persona*, in visible figure it would seem, and not at all by way of dim, impersonal, suggestion, and, in actual personal maneuver, led him hither and thither to get him ensnared. So it was with them. The kind of torture to which the devil put them, varied greatly in form and circumstance from that which was unsuccessfully attempted on our Lord—but the same devil was the agent, and, in their case, came very near being the executioner as well. Now it would be wholly gratuitous, and an offence to the memory of these great men, to say that, in so vital a matter as this, they were self-deceived; that they were victims to a religious superstition; that they innocently mistook the phenomenon of insistent morbid suggestion for the veritable whisperings of a devil from hell. This would be to invalidate their religious experience altogether, and, what is of more serious consequence, it would imply the like imputation upon the wilderness struggle of our Lord. Whether it be for Luther, or Bunyan, or Fenelon, or Savonarola, or Jonathan Edwards, no less than for Paul, or John, or Jesus—this thing of being visited by tempting spirits from the invisible world, who, either by persuasive overture, or more violent onslaught, attempt to dislodge a soul from its trust in God, is a survival—so the implication runs—of the *demonism* of the past.

This brings us face to face, with the whole vast matter of the *malign* in gospel story. The temper of our age, we know, is strangely shy of this subject—learned critics torturing their ingenuity to find some way of mildly toning down all demoniacal

implication in the narrative, into some form of dual self-consciousness, or the social self-consciousness taken inward and becoming an *alter ego*, in times of great mental struggle, and regarded by the uninformed as an evil spirit come to make war upon the soul. But all such attempts are obviously disingenuous. This thing covers too large an area of the Messianic mission, rises in too formidable proportions as against the exigency that called for the incarnate manifestation of God in the world, to admit of being thus deftly dissipated into psychological mist. We are in danger of an optimism that would attenuate evil to the mere negative attitude of a refractory individual will—making nothing of its cumulative power through hereditary transmission, or those social corporate strongholds in which it intrenches itself, and becomes, so to speak, a stubbornly organized and thoroughly equipped kingdom of hate. To conceive it thus, is to tamper with historical Christianity at its very heart.

On the contrary, it is everywhere apparent in the gospel story, that evil, at the time our Lord gave it battle, had grown into enormous proportions, and was threatening the very life of the race. Everywhere, we observe, the Master deals with it, not simply as a mundane blight, as something rolling and surging like a flood, here, underneath the sun, propagating itself down the ages in increasing volume, under hereditary impulse—not simply as active, and apparently triumphant, in a planet to which he has come with Messianic help—but as having extended its baleful shadow over into the other world, and as moving upon this world from a point of vantage it may have gained there. Whatever claim we may set up for enlarged liberty in rendering the incarnate mystery, for the range of symbol, for example, or scenic representation, or allegory, or metaphor, we cannot escape the fact that our Lord conceived himself as actually committed to a prolonged struggle with devils as well as wicked men, and held himself as the object of a kind of cosmic frenzy raging hitherward from both worlds. And in all this, what was he doing but substituting our own environment, meeting, and identifying, and vanquishing, on a human plane, the whole wide circle of evil agencies, human and Satanic, that were

wont to crowd in upon man for the ruin of his soul? The Son of Man put himself in our place. He met our foes. He illustrated, once for all, the wide reach of the spiritual peril to which we are exposed. He gave us to understand that our emergency had its occasion in conflicting forces coming in from the eternal world—good minds on the one side, with God in the lead, bad minds on the other, with a subtle craft abetting that was far in excess of anything known among men.

What is there in this that should strain our powers of belief? If there be another world with spiritual multitudes of thinking and active beings in it like ourselves, it cannot be that they move on, there, in pursuit of their moral aims in blank segregation from their spiritual kinsmen here. We believe in the natural and spiritual worlds, both peopled with human beings, with the difference that those in that world have had their training in this, and for that very reason cannot have laid down their interest in this world, simply because of the article of physical death. The intercourse of the two worlds—some kind of intercourse—we must all cordially admit, is necessarily involved in the fact that they exist. Now it is a large element in gospel story, that these other-world powers were swarming in upon the Son of Man—malign agencies everflowing, as it were, their cosmic limits, and challenging his power of miracle in the incarnate realm upon which he had entered. He has two words of appalling import by which these agencies are described—*devil* and *Satan*—apparently collective terms, and occasionally having the more general designation of “the powers of darkness,” of which “legion” is their name.* Everywhere, likewise, we discover somewhat of a figurative meaning in our Lord’s utterances, when describing these powers—implying that, whether here or

*“The name (Satan or Devil) is one taken up by the imagination to designate or embody, in a conception the mind can most easily wield, the all or total of bad minds and powers. Even as Davenport, the ablest theologian of all the New England Fathers, represents in his Catechism; answering carefully the question—“What is the Devil?”—thus: “The multitude of apostate angels which, by pride, and blasphemy against God, and malice against man, became liars and murderers, by tempting him to that sin.”—Bushnell’s *Nature and the Supernatural*, p. 135.

there, the principle of evil is never an abstract term, but something in which a malignant personality is always involved. Search the universe all round, there is no such thing as abstract evil anywhere to be found. Fraud, concupiscence, adultery, murder—these can only be as the acts, or sentiments, of some responsible, or, now, in disabling excess, irresponsible human being—evil having no existence, except as the intent, or deed, of some one who is evil disposed. So, therefore, these awful terms, which we find so frequently on the lips of our Lord, are not terms of mere personification; they mean powers, real spiritual agencies streaming in from the other world, and clogging up the pathway of the Son of Man, and obstructing his heavenly mission to our race.

We are warned that in these high atmospheres of Christian thinking, our curiosity may be easily overstrained. There was a Messianic function in these temptations of our Lord. They were somehow related to the great redemptive act, the scope of which we can never fully understand. They were esoteric, therefore, peculiarly divine trials, and, accepting them literally, it is thought that they furnish no analogy whatever for the spiritual temptations through which the disciple must pass. He was Messiah; we are not. He was grasping all spiritual forces in a great redemptive movement which was world-wide in its compass, and he must encounter the whole invisible universe on the way. It would be presumption in us to share in a labor so vast, except to come forward and receive passively the benefits that result. In opposition to this, we are constantly hearing the words of the Apostle describing Jesus, as “one that hath been in all points tempted like as we are,” and urging: “For wherein he himself hath suffered being tempted, he is able to succor them that are tempted.” And then, it may fairly be questioned, whether there is any such thing as the passive reception of the benefits of the redemptive act. The transformation resulting in the “new man,” cannot be less than the dislodging of self, and achieving, in successive conquests, the rightful rule of God in the soul. Building up character round God as a centre—that

evidently expresses it all, except that, after the incarnation, the deific element is fully and apprehensively embodied in the glorified Master himself. Self gives way to God in Christ. It needs only the briefest elementary experience in an enterprise of this kind, to reveal its magnitude, and the peculiar negative difficulties that block up the way. All the voluntary energy in man is exhaustively taxed—in getting rid of itself? not exactly that, but in dislodging its usurpations in living a life in God. When self engages in dethroning self, by bare and blank abnegation of self, there is the illusory experience of the ascetic, under much needless and meaningless torture making very little headway in the divine life. On the contrary self is effectively renounced when the soul is in the effort of laying itself on God, against carnal impulses, and the stormy incursion of hereditary appetites and passions, which refuse to remain dispossessed. We are reminded, here, of our Lord's warning, that, in so great a matter, it behooves a man to sit down, and count well the cost—and then, also, the admonition that the evil spirit, turned bravely out of the soul, might wander through desert places, seeking rest, and finding none, and should come back to his old haunt with infernal reinforcement, and the last state of that man be worse than his first. In all this there is something more than a passive reception of a precious spiritual boon placed conveniently within our reach. There is struggle. There is the grip of the wrestler throwing himself upon the arm of God. There are seasons of trial, furnace-like and fierce, with wild beasts and angels, as coordinating forces on either side, the incidents of every-day life the arena, and the renewal of the contest inevitable,—the tempter departing for a season—until at last the victor's wreath shall rest peacefully upon the brow. In short there is temptation at every stage of the unfolding spiritual life,—a struggle to throw the self upon God—an impossible issue except as God himself is made the effective agent in the victory which is to ensue. But, surely, where God and his heavenly ministries are actively engaged on the one side, it is not inconceivable that malign agencies may intrude on the other. "For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood"—is not limited to the mere an-

tagonism of nature—"but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places"—wherefore, we must have a soldierly bearing, we must "put on the whole armor of God, that we may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil."

Spiritual temptation, therefore, must be primarily apprehended as the soul working out its destiny amid the realities of the eternal world. The Christian is one whose hands and feet are busy with all the physical and moral forces that are at play in the natural world around him, but, in and through these, he is pushing on a war of conquest in which his higher spiritual nature will be set, finally, in unwavering stability in the life of God. His contention transcends moral aims. While walking on the earth, and having his battle waged on the arena of the secularities, thronging in deepening responsibility around him, distinctively the new and strange event that has befallen him is, that he is made party to the spiritual powers that are at war in his soul. These are not impersonal powers. It is not a shadowy campaign, as between abstract forces or influences—the tilting of logical ideas—to which the destiny of his soul is committed. Abstract good, and abstract evil, are nothing at all—unless it be as evanescent formula, for one who is setting up, in logical coherence, some system of thought. An evil suggestion, a good suggestion, the former whispered by the devil, the latter retorted by our Lord—in both cases, manifestly, there was a *suggester*, and the good and the bad, respectively, inhere in the contrasting personalities of those who speak. And unless the psychological refinement of a "divided self-consciousness" shall reduce the issue to a "bitter colloquy with one's self" we have, in temptation, the eternal powers in some sort of collision over the underlying fortunes of a human soul.

But we must not omit to say, that, in ordinary cases, neither on the one side nor the other, may we hold that the spiritual contact is conscious—such as would give rise to articulate utterances heard in the mind, or warring re-criminations, as if the soul and its adversary were face to face. The universal normal

experience is not this. The witness of the Spirit; the wiles of the tempter—these ordinarily do not make themselves known by actual interlocation, as if two friends or enemies should set to, to work out their interchange of feeling in the mother tongue. Extraordinary cases no doubt there are, and may be, where the message, or challenge, from the other world, comes to the soul of man in winged words, and John and the angel may talk with one another, as did Jesus with the spirits of Moses and Elias in the transfiguration cloud. We can set no limits to the authenticated wonders which have been, and are, therefore, possible, in the deeper religious experiences of those who are chosen of God for the leadership of the race. But we should have to insist that, ordinarily, the intercourse is not an open one, and, for the general safety of the religious interests of mankind, it ought not to be. Let us rather think of that subtler kind of inter-communion of spirit with spirit, which is only, so to speak, sub-conscious, going on through the obscure avenues of the emotions, and not coming into anything like articulate distinctness in the immediate movements of the human mind. I feel it—that is all. I find myself under a very powerful impression, and I only know that it haunts me, and that it does not seem to have a terrestrial origin, and that the burden of it cannot easily be dismissed. We familiarly speak of something weighing heavily on the mind, vague, voiceless, insistent, perhaps in the nature of a foreboding, perhaps of an anticipative joy, in any case holding the whole inner-man to the sway of an over-mastering mood. In this world, as a matter of everyday experience, men unconsciously influence one another, both for good and for ill, by those silent, unformulated radiations of temperament and character which work their result by the simple impinging, so to speak, of soul on soul. We all seem to be moving in a world of mind, a spiritual world, with some sort of immediate interchange of feeling which circumvents and overflows the channels of the sense, and in this way, because of its being a direct current of influence, the more easily taking captive the unfortified will.

Doubtless we have no adequate philosophy of this, as yet,

but of two things concerning it we may confidently speak. First, the influence thus exerted is always of impulse, settled into habit, rather than an appeal to the understanding—an efflux of what the man is, rather than the persuasive power of what he says. Angels, devils, or men—this kind of influence is that of impulse upon impulse, and may be coarsely described as the swirl of the spirit, catching and towing into its vortex everything touching upon its outermost rim. Second, whenever this influence is challenged, and the long regnant impulse, or habit, is in danger of being dislodged, it gets a voice, and comes to its own rescue with all the subtleties of a fallacious logic, or, that failing, with irreverent railing and banter. The evil habit entrenched in the will, has always some justifying formula stowed away in the mind—a lie, no doubt, but that is its trusted weapon of defense. Hence this strange dialogue going on in the soul, as of the devil in parley with his revolted subject, which is but the wrangle of conflicting emotions hurling their antagonizing formula at each other, in the decisive grapple of a great debate. All emotion, at last, finds an intellectual covert in which it stands at bay—a mode of thinking that falls in with it as a means of defense. Suppose, now, a new impulse brought into the soul, we need not inquire how—a good impulse, meeting upon the threshold one that is bad. A battle ensues. Both cannot live together there, since there cannot be a peaceful commingling of heaven and hell. But the bad impulse has had a long occupancy there, and has been undisturbed. The invader comes asserting its better right. A controversy, of course, is inevitable, and this may be defined, psychologically, to be the conflicting impulses setting up their respective claims in terms of ratiocination and proof. This is the old Pauline discovery of the war of the two laws in the one complex experience—the law of the members warring against the law of the mind—a desperate contest on the side of mere human resistance in maintaining the law of the mind, because the law in the members has heredity back of it, and the fixedness of habit, and that malign spiritual environment, which pours in its flood of impulse from a community of bad minds, in this world and in that. As against

man himself, the issue of the unequal contest is like the plunging of the swimmer against the mad current of the whirlpool that is carrying him down. Here is the stress of his trial, and hence, in the last extremity, the wild cry of despair: "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" At that moment the end of temptation has been realized. The impossible with man has become the possible with God. The dark cloud is rolled away, the bloody sweat is wiped from the brow, whenever a man has demonstrated his security by throwing himself upon the arm of God, and soliciting his victory from thence. "I thank God in ($\delta\iota\alpha$) Jesus Christ our Lord."*

Let us imagine a case. A man wakes to the fact that some hereditary evil impulse is fast settling itself upon his whole being, some form of the grosser appetites and passions that absorb the animal man, sooner or later, by habitual indulgence, destined to rule and ruin his life. It gives him reconizance among his fellows; he is known by it as a bad man. He speaks of it as something in his blood. He has often tried to cast it off, and it immediately returns. The least solicitation from the outside, in times when he is having his passion in duress, will throw his whole being into riot, and in the frenzy of the moment he is the helpless victim again. By and by he comes to know that mere reformatory effort is not enough; that the thing he would rid himself of, is more than a harm to himself, and an offence to the community in which he moves. It is a sin against God. Immediately as that conviction settles upon him, he rises to a higher environment, and begins to approach his evil from a spiritual plane. There is some virulent form of self-love at the heart of his sin. He discovers that he is a slave to his bad habit because he is a slave to self. Self-gratification is his law, and God

*Romans 7 : 25—The primary meaning of $\delta\iota\alpha$ with a genitive ($\delta\iota\alpha$ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) is *through*, and it may seem an unwarranted liberty to translate it *in*, in this connection. But its construction is three-fold, according as it stands in a time, place, or causal relation. Clearly it is the last of these—the idea of instrumentation or mediation---that is in the Apostle's mind, deliverance effected, or to be effected, by God *in* Jesus Christ, the causal relation being best expressed in English by the preposition *in*.

and the neighbor, in that particular over-mastering indulgence of his, are thrown out of view. For him practically there is no God, and in the same ratio there is no neighbor, for his absorbing self has smothered out all fellow-feeling from his soul. Now if he gets this view of the dominant evil habit he is fighting, there must come with it an over-whelming sense of the vastly more formidable task it will be to throw it off. Heredity, now, a strong physical proclivity to the evil course of life which he deplores, has gathered to itself a reinforcement of bad powers from the four winds, and if there was difficulty before, it has been enhanced a thousand-fold now. Occasionally hopeful on the lower plane, under the stimulus and help of social influences and sympathy, trying to lift him up to a position of manly decency and respect, he finds that, when he comes to wrestle with the root of his evil, in the religious crusade he must carry on against it, an Inferno is disgorged against him, and that all his courage and the sympathy of his friends, and human resource generally, must utterly and ingloriously fail.

At this juncture he learns—alas! how slowly the lesson makes headway in these times of spiritual dullness and decline—that reformation and religion cover exactly the same ethical ground, aim to accomplish exactly the same thing, but that religion cuts up by the root, and therefore has a method of its own. On this high plane he has discovered, that all assertion of manly prerogative is of no avail, for it is exactly his manly prerogative that has gone into collapse. He is powerless. He is a slave. But religion indicates a timely ingress of power from what it calls the word or truth of God—not abstract, now, fined up and eviscerated in the contending systems of dogma that swarm about him—but the truth of God as it lives, and radiates, and is operative, in the glorified person of the Incarnate Word. Come, now, slave, specifically here is your deliverance in the Christian religion which you propose to accept—its kind of emancipation—“he is free, indeed, whom the truth makes free,” or, otherwise, “whom the Son makes free,” a supplementary comment, that you might always know that the truth of God is a deliverer, only when it is seen to be embodied in the

divine Son of Man. Living it must be, for there is an enormous business to which it must be applied—elsewhere, and otherwise, it is dead, moribund, adding only to the clogging weight of the spiritual cadaver to which you are chained. At this point in our inquirer's experience, he is reminded of the Lord's method of resistance in the wilderness, by shielding himself in the invincible panoply of the written Word, even while he himself was consciously the Incarnate Word. In his utter disability, while the evil is pending, power is to come to him from this source, not once for all, in the way of an epoch that need not be repeated, but as often, and under whatever variety of occasion, the renounced impulse may come in upon him like a flood,—in the lowly vale of his appetites, on the mountain peaks of his ambitions, and on the very pinnacle of his religious aspirations and hopes. To-day, to-morrow, and the next day, and during all the days of his mortal years, this contest is to be expected, with the assurance that each successive victory will diminish the severity of the trial next to come, and with longer intervals of the "peace which passeth understanding" in between. But the victory in each case consists in the renunciation of self—that is to say, the pushing aside of self to give place unto God—God in Christ, whose image, however dimly seen in the cloud, will soon begin to speak. And what it speaks will be the truth of God—*spirit and life*—otherwise the Son of God,^s that will come to this man in his extremity, and make him free.

And now our struggling one discovers that the furnace of his trial burns fiercest about this point. The surrender of his will unto God's, when some long cherished impulse is flaming at its highest—an easy thing to advise, but, O, how shall he bring it into effect? He is in his Gethsemane, and it is night. The occasion is one, let us say, in which his renounced avarice is to be bought back again into triumphant exercise by a large money bribe. He is to be implicated and shielded in a scheme of stupendous fraud, managed by keen corporate skill evading the law. The money is before him, and the cold sweat is oozing from his brow. Shall he marshall his will-power, and promptly say, no, and make his refusal peremptory by pushing the money from

him, and rushing into the street? That he may do, but there is no real conquest for him unless he, then and there, lay the interests of his soul on God. There are, indeed, two temptations for him, the one in the conclave, and the other on the street. In the street he is made aware that his apparent victory has only touched the surface of his sin. He has made no appeal to the truth of God. There was a possibility of the public eye peering behind the veil, of the law in its scrutiny finding him out—then he must go down under the disgrace of criminal infamy and the social ban. It was in dread of this that he fled—shall we say in cowardice?—from the snare the conclave was weaving about his soul. He has not yielded, indeed, to the overt act, but this kind of conquest, he learns there on the street, puts no effectual inhibition on the covetous craving clamoring in his breast. At this moment the storm of spiritual temptation breaks on his soul, in the shape of alternating emotions of self-sufficiency and doubt. Did he not, just now, win a famous victory in his own name, flying the strongest solicitations of evil in the exercise of his own unaided will? Where, then, was the need of the interposition of the truth of God, or the Son of God,—the doctrine of rescue constantly urged upon the sinner in the Christian schism? After all, that necessity may be but an idle dream. There may be no God, no Christ, and what men call conscience but the qualms of an enervated will. Dropping into darkness, infinite leagues in that direction are awaiting his fall. What was there wrong about that in the conclave, from which he so precipitately fled? Is there wrong, anywhere, in a world where all things seem to follow in the current of predetermined inclinations rushing irresistibly whithersoever they will? O, poor, storm-driven soul, where art thou drifting, and what has befallen thy resolution to yield thyself unto God? One thing this man has omitted, the one thing required to make his victory complete—a simple thing, and yet, paradoxically, at once the easiest and most difficult matter to be compassed in all the long war with sin—the act of putting his case, the issues of that decisive moment in his trial, into the hands of the divine

Son of Man. And yet it is not too late. There on the street, in the privacy of his spirit wrapped in the awful confusion of a conscious defeat, where a moment ago he plumed himself on the triumphant assertion of his manhood and his might, he has but to turn to that image—*look and live*—and the commotion of his soul is whispered into quiet, in like manner as the mad billows of the storm-lashed Galilee slunk away into the stillness of a summer calm, when Christ's voice was heard, and the very winds were witnesses to the majesty of his uplifted hand.

ARTICLE II.

PROBATION AFTER DEATH.

BY REV. JOHN BRUBAKER, A. M.

In recent years there has been considerable discussion on the subject of a probation after death. The opinion is held by some that an opportunity will be given persons to accept or reject Christ in the world to come, especially to those who have not heard of him in this life. This hypothesis is not based on any clear and definite teaching of the Bible. It is simply an inference made under the prompting of benevolent feelings as to what God ought to do and will do. Is the inference warranted by any sufficient reason? We think not.

The fact and hope of a future probation would, no doubt, be very acceptable to many who here continue in sin and neglect to improve their opportunity for salvation; and, however desirable it may seem to some to be with reference to such as have not the Gospel preached to them in this world, we must, nevertheless, be guided to our conclusions in the matter by what God has revealed and declared in his Word, and not by our opinions as to what he should do and intends to do beyond that which Scripture asserts. We may be fully assured that he will do right, and that justice and mercy will characterize all his ways. He manifests himself in some manner to all men in this life, and he will judge all by the light and opportunity which they had, and not by what they did not have. Our probation ends

with death. The Bible gives us no encouragement to hope for a probation after death in which we may be reconciled to God and accept his gracious offers of salvation. Our permanent future condition will be determined by our conduct in this world. That condition will be unchangeably fixed when this life ends. As we are at death in regard to our type of moral character, so we shall continue to be.

God's word does not tell us of a second probation, and this is the first point we make against the theory of a probation after death. The advocates of the hypothesis quote in support of it a few obscure passages of Scripture about whose meaning there is a great difference of opinion; but, if the theory were true, it would certainly have distinct Scriptural warrant. It is reasonable to suppose that God would not have left such a matter without specific announcement and evidence in his Word. If there is to be an opportunity for salvation in the world to come, then surely the Bible would contain a positive declaration of the fact. Christ and his Apostles would have told us of it in a clear and unmistakable way, for it would be of sufficient significance not to be overlooked by them. They speak much of the purpose and issues of this present life. They tell of the provision that has been made for human salvation. They announce a coming judgment in which all men must appear. They often refer to the two entirely different destinies that await man in the future world according as the life here has been. They urge us by all the motives and incentives they can employ to improve our day of grace now, to lay hold on eternal life while it may be obtained, to obey and serve God in this world that we may dwell with him hereafter in heavenly glory and blessedness; but they say nothing explicit and positive in regard to an opportunity for repentance and salvation beyond the grave, nothing that is sufficient to justify any hope or expectation in that direction. Their silence on this subject, or the fact that they do not teach a probation after death, must be regarded as proof against the theory.

On the other hand, they do teach as plainly as language can convey the truth, that death ends our probation and fixes our

character and destiny; that our condition in the future world will be final and permanent, and that the punishment of the wicked and the blessedness of the righteous will be eternal. In all of Christ's ministry he aimed to have men repent and believe in him without delay. He emphasized the fact that our choice for the next world must be made here, and that our situation there will depend on our conduct in this life; that we shall not have another probation beyond the grave.

Notice some of his sayings that bear directly and positively on this subject. In the parable of the ten virgins, when the five foolish ones sought to enter into the marriage, they found that they were too late. Their opportunity had passed. They appealed in vain to the Lord to open to them. The door was shut. Those who were ready had gone in, but the ones that were not ready had to remain without. The door did not again open for them. Christ's added warning to the parable is, "Watch therefore; for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of Man cometh." The meaning of the parable and of the shut door, in the light of this exhortation, is obvious. When Christ shall come in death and judgment to receive into eternal joy and glory such as have the proper and needed preparation, those who are not ready, who do not possess the requisite character to go in with him, will be shut out forever. The door is now open for us, but it will be closed when life ends, and then we shall remain either within or without the heavenly kingdom. In the parable of the rich man and Lazarus the fixed and unchangeable conditions of the righteous and the wicked in the future world, and the wide difference between the characters of the two conditions, are described in the significant words: "And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed; so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us that would come from thence." This picture that Christ gives us of the scenes beyond death is certainly opposed to the theory of a second probation. In his representation of the final judgment he says, "These shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal." Here, as elsewhere, he makes the permanent future

state of each class depend on their action in this life and the character that is here formed. There is no hint at any possible opportunity for the ungodly to repent and be saved after sentence of doom has been pronounced upon them; but their condition is declared to be everlasting.

St. Paul says: "For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad." That means that our future state will be determined by what we do in this world, and not by what we do after we go hence. In keeping with this the apostle also declares: "Behold, now is the accepted time; behold now is the day of salvation." He earnestly endeavors to impress men's minds with that important truth. They are not to neglect their salvation in the vain hope that another and a future opportunity will be granted them for this purpose; but are to know that the day of grace will have an end with the present time and are to avail themselves of it while it lasts. The whole trend of Gospel teaching is to this effect.

St. John in recording the revelation which he received from Christ at Patmos, writes: "He that is unjust let him be unjust still; and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still; and he that is holy, let him be holy still." The connection in which this passage stands shows that it refers to scenes beyond death and the judgment, and, therefore, asserts a fixed and unchangeable future state for all men. There are many statements and representations in God's Word that point unmistakably to the fact that death seals our eternal destiny. "As many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law; and as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law." "It is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment;" not after this another probation, another and better opportunity for repentance and salvation, but judgment which carries with it the assignment of rewards and punishment in accordance with conduct and character before death.

Besides the positive and direct teaching of the Bible on this

subject, there are also some other considerations that discredit the theory of a future probation. If such an opportunity were to be given, then it is reasonable to believe that it would be our duty to pray for sinful souls that have passed unrepentant and unsaved out of this world; but the Scriptures do not hint at any such duty. They direct us to pray for all men in this present life, to use this power for bringing sinners to repentance and leading them to saving faith in Christ and obedience to his will; but they say nothing about our praying for souls after they have gone into the future world, and the reasonable inference is that their condition is there fixed, and that nothing that we could do can avail to change it. God could hear our prayers in their behalf, and, if it were true that the privilege of accepting Christ is there accorded to any of our race, we think the Scriptures would direct us to pray for the salvation of such as they do with reference to the impenitent and unsaved in this world; but the fact that they give us no such direction or suggestion must be explained on the ground that probation ends with death, and that the situation of the ungodly in the world to come, like that of the righteous, will be final and unchangeable, and that, therefore, there is no use for prayers in their behalf. "The gracious ministries of the Spirit, and all other helpful divine influences, are nowhere promised to men after death, but are invariably represented as having their sphere of activity within the present dispensation of grace. The Church, the sacraments, Christian fellowship and influence, and the other administrative forces incorporated with the Gospel, are never represented as being utilized or available beyond the grave, but always as belonging to an earthly and temporary economy of salvation."

Again, this theory is in conflict with the purpose and action of Christ in establishing his kingdom on the earth. He sent his disciples forth to earnest and continued missionary work. They were to witness to him and his truth in all places. They were to proclaim the salvation that had come through him, and call on men to repent of their sins and believe in him without delay. St. Paul tells us that Christ sent him to the Gentiles "to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and

from the power of Satan unto God, that they might receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith." The great commission which Christ gave to his entire Church is, "go ye into the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." In the light of such commands and declarations we learn that all men need to be delivered from darkness and the power of Satan and from sin, and that otherwise they are in the way of perishing here in their sins. Why should Christ be so anxious to have his Gospel spread among the nations, and why did he direct his disciples to labor earnestly, faithfully and unceasingly for the salvation of immortal souls, if there is to be another probation after death?

This hypothesis of a probation to come is in direct opposition to the spirit and purpose of Christ's missionary commands to his Church, and, if accepted as true, would operate powerfully against the progress of his kingdom in the world. Very many persons would make it an excuse for postponing their decision in regard to Christ until the second probation. They would think the opportunity would be better, the circumstances more favorable than now, for being saved. They would be disposed to live for this present world, expecting that many of the temptations and difficulties that here stand in the way of their becoming Christians, would not be found in a future probationary state, and that there they may possibly have fuller light and stronger motives to urge them to action. Thus we see that if men once believed in a probation after death, this would have a powerful influence in causing many to resist the appeals of the Gospel and the strivings of the Holy Spirit, and tend to defeat the great purpose Christ had in view in establishing his Church in the earth. Such a belief, too, would have a most disastrous effect upon Christian missions. It would tend to destroy interest and enthusiasm in the cause, and would discourage and prevent effort in that important work of the Church. "It is the probation element in life that invests it with such transcendent interest and value. Admit that we have another 'chance' in the next world, and you take from the present, its supreme value and significance as a factor in our eternal destiny."

Another consideration in the matter is that, if in the future world it were possible for the unrighteous to become righteous, then it would also follow that the righteous might again fall into sin and lose their heavenly blessedness. The Scriptures assert the unchanging condition of the wicked just as strongly as that of the godly, and, if there is any doubt about the permanence of the condition of the former, it would exist equally with regard to the permanence of the condition of the latter; but, as those who enter heaven "shall go no more out," as they shall be forever free from sin and abide forever with the Lord, so we must conclude that those who are not prepared for admission into the heavenly kingdom when death comes, must forever remain without. As the holy cannot become unholy, so the unholy cannot become holy.

The tendency of moral character toward a final permanence under the power of habit, is also opposed to the hypothesis of a second probation. Our accustomed and prevailing course of action here gives shape and fixedness to our character; and when our dispositions and habits are once developed and confirmed, it is a very hard matter to effect any radical change in them, and the difficulty in this respect becomes greater in proportion to the increasing power of our habits.

The person who disregards the will of God and indulges in sin, cannot escape the consequence of having his inclinations strengthened and confirmed in that direction, and his character will, accordingly tend toward final permanence in the line of conduct he has chosen. Every resistance of the truth and refusal to do the right, and every vicious indulgence on his part, will carry him farther on in the way of sin, will more firmly establish his evil habits, and render it more difficult for him to yield to the saving truth and grace that are necessary to change his heart and life and destiny; so that we may say his character gradually becomes fixed, and such as it is at death, it will most probably continue to be from the very nature of things. We cannot see that a future probation would be of any use under these circumstances. So far as we can know, God has employed all possible motives and influences to lead men to accept

salvation in this life. What more could he do in this respect in the eternal than he had done in this present world?

Besides, if a future probation were granted those who go unrepentant and unsaved out of this life, they would enter upon such a probation with the disadvantage of the confirmed evil character that they here formed, and, therefore, with less opportunity for success than they had on earth. In this view God has done wisely in not providing that which could be no benefit. "When one studies the principle of development in sin, the thousand signs of its tendency to become permanent and dominant in the soul, the evidences of decline in the power of reason and conscience to control men spiritually even in this world, the influences and results of retribution, even in the milder form of chastisement, and other like elements proper to be considered in such a problem, is there not serious reason for saying that the nature of man furnishes in fact but little foundation for hope as to his spiritual restoration in a future state,—that the overwhelming preponderances of evidence in the case, viewed from this point solely, must rather be that, dying in sin, man will remain a sinner, even forever?"

From all these considerations we learn the great importance of using our present probation aright and not neglecting this in any hope of a second. We know that salvation is offered to us now, and that it is possible for us here to accept it and have the assurance of heavenly blessedness. The Bible gives us no warrant for supposing that any such opportunity will be afforded us hereafter. It is the part of wisdom, therefore, to act on that which is certain, and not put our trust in something that God's Word does not sanction. Should we disregard the plain teaching of the Scriptures in regard to present duty in this important matter, and risk our eternal welfare on a mere speculation of human reason? One of the great Christian thinkers of our day has said in reference to this question: "Give me no guess for a dying pillow. * * I want a fact, not a hypothesis, as my support in the dark waters that separate this world from the next." And surely every one should prefer a certainty to an

uncertainty when so much is involved that directly concerns each one's highest and everlasting good. Men should not delude themselves with a false hope as to the future state, but should turn to God "while it is called to-day." We are earnestly entreated to improve our present opportunity for salvation, because death ends our probation.

ARTICLE III.

REPENTANCE.*

BY REV. CHARLES E. HAY, D. D.

De poenitentia docent, quod lapsis post baptismum contingere possit remissio peccatorum quocunque tempore quum convertantur, et quod ecclesia talibus redeuntibus ad poenitentiam absolutionem impertiri debeant. Constat autem poenitentia proprie his duabus partibus. Altera est contritio seu terrores incussi conscientiae agnito peccato; altera est fides; quae concipitur ex evangelio seu absolutione, et credit propter Christum remitti peccata, et consolatur conscientiam et ex terroribus liberat. Deinde sequi debent bona opera, quae sunt fructus poenitentiae.

Damnant Anabaptistas, qui negant semel justificatis posse amittere Spiritum Sanctum; item contendunt quibusdam tantam perfectionem in hac vita contingere, ut peccare non possunt.

Damnantur et Novitiani, qui nolebant absolvere lapsos post baptismum redeuntibus ad poenitentiam.

Rejiciuntur et isti, qui non docent remissionem peccatorum per fidem contingere, sed jubent nos mereri gratiam per satisfactiones nostras. *Article XII. of the Augsburg Confession.*

"Concerning repentance, they teach that such as have fallen after baptism may find remission of sins at what time soever they are converted [when they come to repentance], and that

*Holman Lecture on the Augsburg Confession, delivered in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., May 17, 1899.

the Church should grant absolution unto such as return to repentance.

Now repentance consisteth properly of these two parts. One is contrition or terrors stricken into the conscience through the recognition of sin; the other is faith, which is conceived by the Gospel, or absolution, and doth believe that for Christ's sake sins be forgiven, and comforteth the conscience and freeth it from terrors. Then should follow good works, which are the fruits of repentance.

They condemn the Anabaptists, who deny that men once justified can lose the spirit of God, and do contend that some men may attain to such a perfection in this life that they cannot sin. [Here are rejected those who teach that those who have once been holy cannot fall again.] The Novatians are also condemned, who would not absolve such as had fallen after baptism, though they returned to repentance. They also are rejected who do not teach that remission of sins is obtained by faith, and who command us to merit grace by satisfactions."

Repentance is a universal experience of rational humanity. It is in the broadest sense, the natural rebound of the human spirit from wrong-doing. The intelligent human being does not exist who has never been sorry for anything that he has done. To know right from wrong is synchronous with the dawning of intelligence.

There is a selfish, mercantile repentance, which regrets mistakes simply as entailing loss; a repentance of moral type, based upon an ideal of personal character and recognizing mutual human obligations; and a "repentance toward God," religious in character. It is, of course, only the last of these with which we have to do in the interpretation of the article before us, except in so far as this may be casually viewed as involving the second form and finding a providential antecedent in the circumstances which produce the first.

This form of repentance is co-extensive with the prevalence of the religious impulse. To know that there is a God is to know one's self out of harmony with him—to feel the need of finding one's way back or up to fellowship with him through

some acknowledgement of personal unworthiness and of past wrong-doing. The quality of religious character in the individual or in a community is infallibly reflected in the ideas prevalent, and the consequent praxis, in the matter of repentance.

The first demand of God in his approach to sinful man is that he repent. Both the goodness and the severity of God have this as their objective. The threatenings of the Law terrify the guilty conscience and the pleadings of the Gospel fill it with remorse. Neither has begun to accomplish its end until it has awakened penitent regret. The voice of the Lord in the garden called forth confession of sin. The burden of all the prophets was: "Repent and return unto the Lord." The forerunner of the new covenant cried: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," and Christ's own ministry of mercy in gentler strain caught up the same unvarying appeal, bidding men now repent because the kingdom of heaven had come. This demand became ever more clearly articulate in the unfolding of revelation. In early times of ignorance God winked at stupidity and callousness, but Paul sweeps away the last refuge of excuse when he declares: "God * * now commandeth all men everywhere to repent."

The doctrine of repentance was a very clear one as announced by the *apostles* on the day of Pentecost, and the multitudes who heard them had no difficulty in understanding it. There had been, as yet, no opportunity to becloud it with human speculations, nor to obscure it with an encumbering mass of human requirements. The necessity of repentance is so potent that the enemies of the truth have seldom attempted to dispute it. The scheme of the arch-enemy has been to corrupt the doctrine itself—to sow broadcast false conceptions of what repentance really is and then to employ all the sanctions of Holy Writ for the enforcement of the debasing counterfeits. There is no other doctrine of the Scriptures, save that of the person and work of Christ, around which so many mystifying errors have clustered. A false theory here lay at the foundation of the entire corrupt system of ecclesiasticism against which the Reformers took up arms. Luther's first Thesis went straight to the mark. Grant

that "the whole life of the believer must be a repentance," defining properly the predicate term, and you have swept away the foundation from beneath—not only the papal throne, but from beneath every false theory of the path by which man returns to God.

I. SCOPE OF THE ARTICLE.

It is not the general topic of repentance which constitutes the theme of Article XII. The original turning of the natural man to God and the mode of his adoption into divine fellowship are not proposed as subjects of discussion. These have been already treated in the previous articles: III. Of the Son of God and of the Holy Spirit. IV. Of Justification. V. Of the Ministry of the Church. VI. Of New Obedience. IX. Of Baptism.

Article X treats of the Lord's Supper, an ordinance appointed for those who *have* repented of their sins and are numbered among God's people. Article XI discusses Private Confession. The propriety of this traditional ordinance of the Church is maintained as a means of securing comfort for timid consciences. It is removed from the position assigned it in the Roman Catholic system as a requirement essential for the securing of pardon, and thus stripped of its power as a disciplinary agency. Article XII then hastens to elucidate, as of far higher importance, the true inward preparation of the yet imperfect believer for the enjoyment of the most exalted spiritual privileges and for the attainment of a confident assurance of continued divine favor. The question is: *How may the regenerated man, having fallen into sin, be restored.*

The broad scope of this inquiry in the days of the Reformers can be realized only when we remember that practically all the individuals with whom the Church then had to deal claimed to have been once regenerated. Infant Baptism was all but universal in nominally Christian lands. It was held to work regeneration *ex opere operato* and all repentance if complete was but a return to the position occupied when instantaneously regenerated in the act of baptism. It was not a missionary age, when the offer of pardon to the repenting was being carried to

heathen tribes, but an age of readjustments within the Church itself. The Church had absorbed worldly elements and was struggling to maintain her hold upon untutored multitudes. Unfortunately, in the struggle the Church gradually lowered the standard of spiritual requirement, and the doctrine of repentance became little more than a snare in which to entangle the consciences of men and a strong cord with which to bind them through their fears to the papal throne. Yet back of the vast system of oppression lay, in the heart of the common man, the deep sense of the necessity of repentance; and the crying need of the human soul sought satisfaction in an unquestioning submission to the oppressive requirements of the only system known to the common man which even promised to afford a path to effectual repentance and its goal, a peaceful conscience with a hope of happiness hereafter. It was the conviction of the Reformers that the multitudes were being shamefully misled—that truly penitent souls were being tortured by oppressive enactments of men and that the impenitent were being flattered by false and fatally delusive hopes. They would lead the Church back to the simple teachings of the word of God.

II. POSITIVE TEACHING OF THE ARTICLE.

In formulating its theory upon this intensely practical subject, the Augsburg Confession first lays a broad foundation in a clear-cut statement of the

A. POSSIBILITY OF REPENTANCE.

“Touching repentance they teach that such as have fallen after baptism may find remission of sins at what time soever they are converted [Ger. when they come to repentance] and that the Church should grant absolution unto such as come to repentance.”

The question of the possibility of restoration after having proved unfaithful to Christian vows first assumed large proportions of the time of the Decian persecutions. During the preceding thirty years of peace many had been received into the Church whose piety, to say the least, was not of the sturdy type which could endure the prospect of martyrdom. As multitudes

hastened to renounce their Christian vows, the greatest indignation prevailed among the faithful, and such treachery was denounced as a crime, far more deadly than idolatry, adultery, fornication or murder—the four mortal sins of the Early Church. The stricter party, headed by Novatian, would close the door of the Church finally against the cowardly deserter.

But Novatian strictness was soon and repeatedly pronounced heresy and the Reformers were in full accord with the Roman Catholic Church when they asserted that the lapsed after baptism may find remission of sins. Even the captious critics who prepared the Confutation of the Confession can find no fault here. Nor is there any verbal departure from the accepted doctrine when such remission of sins is assured as attainable, “at what time soever they come to repentance,” nor when it is made the duty of the Church to “grant absolution unto such as come to repentance.”

There is no significance in the variation in the language of this portion of the article. “At whatsoever time they are converted” is in the same paragraph in the Latin version itself interpreted by the parallel expression: “when they come to repentance.” The irreconcilable conflict of the Evangelical and the Roman Catholic theories becomes apparent only when we come to scrutinize their respective

B. DEFINITIONS OF REPENTANCE.

The Scriptural term, *μετάνοια*—(as also the nearly synonymous *μεταμέλεια*) plainly points to an inward experience, a change of purpose and disposition. It is that radical change which accompanies and attests the transfer from the kingdom of darkness and condemnation to the kingdom of spiritual life and peace. Viewed in connection with the outward change in deportment, it is called conversion, and hence the interchangeable use of the two terms in the article before us as frequently in the Scriptures.

This term, *μετάνοια*, represented inadequately in the Latin, *poenitentia*, and the German, *Busse*, is employed sometimes in a wider, sometimes in a more restricted sense. In the latter sense,

it is equivalent to the English *contrition*, or *penitence*. In the former, we have the full Scriptural conception of the sole condition of acceptance with God, *i. e.* penitence and faith. It is not too much to say that the Reformation of the XVI. century hinged upon a proper interpretation of the Greek term, *μετάνοια*.

I. MEDIEVAL ERRORS.

The error of the Middle Ages had consisted in the laying of an exaggerated stress upon the first part of repentance, to the almost entire ignoring of the second, and then the transformation of the part retained from an inner experience to a round of external observances. They left out the principal part and put in a mass of unauthorized requirements.

In the early conflicts of Christianity with heathenism, it had been necessary to employ great vigilance in excluding the moral obliquities which prevailed even in the most enlightened communities, as well as to guard against inadequate conceptions of the truth. Even a Constantine or an Augustine could be admitted to the full communion of the Church only after years of training as catechumens; and when those admitted brought dishonor upon her fair name, they were required not only to profess penitence, but to testify to its reality by submitting to a course of humiliating discipline—by doing *penance*. Prominent in the Christian literature from the third to the ninth century are the *Libri Poenitentiales*, prescribing the various mortifications of the flesh by which true sorrow for sins committed after baptism could be testified and in view of which the authorities of the church might feel justified in the administration of her comforting ordinances.

Even in the very early centuries we can distinctly trace the growth of the idea of *merit*, as attaching to these exercises, while less and less prominence is given to the inward sorrow for sin, of which they were originally designed to be an appropriate expression. As the church prescribed the appropriate penances, it was more and more to the church that the offending members came to look for an estimate of their iniquities and for her good offices in obtaining pardon.

Thus was gradually developed the theory of repentance as a sacrament, required for the cancellation of sins committed after baptism. It was called a *reparatio lapsorum*—a second plank mercifully thrown out to those who had made shipwreck of their baptismal vows. It was designated a *laboriosus baptismus*, a restoration to a state of grace through a toilsome struggle, which it was the duty of the church to make as difficult as possible. This sacrament was held to consist of three parts: *contrition* of the heart, *confession* by the mouth, and *satisfaction* in good works.

It cannot be denied that there is a measure of plausibility in this view. It seems to lead up by orderly, logical steps to that stupendous system of ecclesiastical tyranny which in this enlightened age still binds the minds of millions in thralldom to the will of a hierarchy which is believed to hold the keys of heaven and hell in its relentless grasp. But there are great gaps in the logic, tremendous assumptions included in the premises. Yet we dare not dismiss the theory without scrutiny. Let us first examine its component parts.

1. *Contrition*—This is held to be a free act of the will, a preparatory step which man is himself able and under obligation to take. There is in it a degree of merit, not indeed *de condigno*, but *de congruo*. It is conceded that sorrow for sin may be so sincere and profound that, in view of it alone, pardon may be granted by God. Practically, however, it is held that there is always such imperfection in the contrition of the most sincere, that something more is required. They must seek the ministrations of the Church in their behalf and follow implicitly her instructions if they would attain assurance of their acceptance with God.

To those who are willing thus to put themselves under the tutelage of the Church, there is at once offered a mitigation of the Scriptural requirements touching penitence, or contrition. A discrimination is made between *attritio* and *contritio*, the former being merely a regret for committed wrongs, awakened in view of threatening punishments. This may be experienced without

any pangs of conscience, without any true sorrow of soul. Still, if it be but sufficient to induce the offender to come to the confessional, the words of absolution there spoken will atone for any and all deficiencies and give to the weak *attritio* all the virtue of the most complete contrition.

It will be observed what a tremendous concession is here involved. The inner experience of penitence is subordinated to the external ceremony of priestly absolution. What reason now for the sinner to be seriously concerned as to the degree or quality of his contrition, since great or small deficiencies here are with equal ease covered by the all-sufficient words of the official dispenser of grace. The case has been thus transferred from the tribunal of God's infinite justice and mercy, dealing directly with each individual soul, to the forum of the human mediator. Although conscience and the plain demands of the Scriptures are recognized in the acknowledgment of contrition as an essential part of the divine order of salvation, yet the Church is presented as intervening with a far easier plan. The very slightest *attritio*, which may be felt in some moment of alarm, or which may even be feigned for the purpose, may secure infallibly, *ex opere operato*, the full official assurance of the pardon of all sin and the remission of its eternal penalties. What a premium upon callousness of heart and external piety! At the same time, what a perilous power placed in the hands of the priesthood—a key infallibly to unlock the doors of the kingdom of heaven for all who accept her ministrations which are offered as substitutes for a universal divine requirement! If any one, under such a system, really repents of his sins, it must be because his independent knowledge of the Scriptures or the earnestness of his own spiritual aspirations leads him to ignore the proffered aid of Mother Church.

2. *Confession*.—The early writers of the Church frequently urge the duty of mutual confession of sins among believers and the obligation to make both public and private confession of offenses before God. But these exhortations have nothing in common with the specific doctrine of private confession as developed in the Roman Catholic Church. This requires every

member of the church, within stated periods or at appointed times, to make a full enumeration of all his known mortal sins in the hearing of a priest. The list of mortal sins, limited at first, was gradually enlarged until it included all offenses at all serious in character, and in the hands of unscrupulous confessors it could be made to embrace all manner of trivial faults. Thus the Church secures a second important jurisdiction over her membership. She not only completes the contrition of the penitent, but she stands between him and the divine proffer of pardon, demanding that all grave sins must first be committed to her custody before their guilt can be washed away by the atoning blood of Christ.

Thus confession, as a definite, tangible thing, together with its counterpart, the infallible priestly absolution, naturally attracts attention from the so-called first part of the sacrament, which almost fades from view as merely a preparatory stage, whose existence may be presumed wherever the second act of confession is consummated.

It is needless to dwell upon the inquisitorial power thus placed in the hands of the priesthood, or upon the nameless but notorious immoralities fostered by the custom of auricular confession. It is sufficient for our present purpose to note that such confession is an essential part of the Roman Catholic sacrament of repentance—a part more essential than that which is supposed to have preceded it.

(c) *Satisfaction*.—But, after all, the pardon secured in the confessional was incomplete. It was taught that, although absolution secured deliverance from the eternal penalty of sin, this was not accompanied with a full and free remission. The eternal penalties for sins after baptism could not be entirely averted, but were graciously transmuted into temporal penalties. Final felicity was thus secured, but a rigorous course of personal atonement might be demanded through the remainder of the earthly life. Then came the discovery of a purgatory, where the “satisfactions” not fully rendered in this world shall be exacted to the uttermost; then the alleviation of these penalties by the church in consideration of services rendered to her. Presently

this power of remitting temporal penalties was extended to cover the souls imprisoned in purgatory, who might thus be greatly relieved in view of the devotion or services rendered by surviving friends. Finally, with the granting of papal indulgences in return for contributions to the coffers of the Church, the system of sacramental repentance culminated in the open barter of grace for cash, when the mighty protest of the Reformers shattered the entire structure and recalled the Church to the simple doctrine of evangelical repentance.

The sale of indulgences was but the salient point which drew the first fire of the gathering legions of earnest souls who had long been helplessly led through the morasses of a heartless ecclesiasticism. It was the *medieval doctrine of repentance* that was on trial and was now found wanting. Take it at its best, and how false and superficial does it not appear—a long process, beginning with no requirement of real penitence, making no demand of honest spiritual renewal, leading up to an ecclesiastical righteousness dependent upon the will of pope and priest and upon the measure of one's own zeal in meeting an array of artificial human requirements.

No wonder that the Bible had become a useless book, and that Luther, reviewing the whole scheme, exclaimed: "Who can tell us where faith comes in?" and that Melancthon in the *Apology* throws out the challenge: "Let any one of the adversaries come forth and tell us when remission of sins takes place."

In fact, it was coolly admitted that *faith* is no essential ingredient in repentance. It was said to come before repentance, as being implied in the coming of the penitent to receive the good offices of the Church. That is, the only faith anywhere demanded was a mere historic faith—an intellectual, however unintelligent, acceptance of the Christian religion as of divine origin and of the Church as its authorized interpreter and the dispenser of its benefits. For whole-hearted joyous confidence in Christ's atonement there was no longer room. The church's assurances and man's own meritorious efforts covered the whole ground. One needed but to meet the requirements of the church and to walk through the door which she could at

will open wide straight into the kingdom of heaven. Should there remain any doubt of the final completeness of the process of sacramental salvation, it could be removed in the last moment of mundane life by the infallible assurance of the church's further sacrament of extreme unction.

We cannot dismiss the theory without noting the utterly inadequate conception of the enormity of sin which underlies it. Original sin is held to have been finally blotted out in baptism, and need be no more thought of. What remains of its effects is simply a disease or infirmity for which the believer bears no responsibility. It is only actual acts of sin which need concern him. As the penalties of these have been transmuted into temporal penalties—the whole religious life is directed upon the discharging of these outward appointments—and *sin* is regarded as atoned for by fasting, prayers, alms, etc. Canonical satisfaction of canonical offences leads up by very easy stages to the conception of sin as a canonical offence. The stern demands of moral law are forgotten and the sinner no longer trembles before the righteous wrath of the Almighty.

2. POSITION OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

Over against all the above, our article places its definition :

“Now repentance consisteth properly of these two parts. One is Contrition, or terrors stricken into the conscience through the recognition of sin; the other is Faith, which is conceived by the Gospel or absolution, and doth believe that for Christ's sake sins be forgiven, and comforteth the conscience, and freeth it from terrors.”

Thus but one of the four parts of the traditional sacrament of repentance is retained, and that the part that had been almost totally neglected. Let us observe what the Reformers understand by (1) *Contrition*

In our article, as uniformly in the writings of the Reformers, we find *contritio* treated as (a) *A Matter of the Conscience*.

It is an inner experience, and therefore a directly personal matter. It must be real, or it is nothing. Outward parade and pomp here count for nought. It is a question between a man's

inmost soul and him who looketh upon the heart. There can be no substitute for it. There dare be no trifling with it. It is absolutely essential.

This inner experience is furthermore (b) *Awakened by the Recognition of sin*. No casuistry here as to the comparative enormity of one or another sin—no cataloguing of offences—no measuring of the impending punishments—not even the ancient discrimination between venial and mortal sins. There is simply the *recognition of sin* as a horrible deformity, in whatever guise it may appear—as a shameful moral obliquity, a corruption of the entire nature—as that abominable thing which God hates.

The recognition, or acknowledgement to one's self, of the existence of this defilement within, however such recognition may have been brought about, is presented as the source of contrition. It is not a question of suffering or escaping penalty, but what is of far more account, a question of character. The one consuming, overwhelming thought in the soul of the true penitent is: "I am a sinner."

The essence of contrition is then defined to be (c) *Terrors Stricken into the Conscience*.—"Terrors" is a strong word, but none too strong to define the normal effect of a recognition of sin within. The term is wisely left without further elucidation. The nature of these terrors and their degree must vary with the varying degrees of general intelligence, with the natural susceptibility of the individual, and with the circumstances under which the recognition of sin occurs. The thunders of Sinai may have much to do with them. Remorse for past ingratitude toward a Saviour so tender and loving may be their chief ingredient. Thoughts of eternity may add inestimable force to the recoil from the vision of the monster of so hideous mien. In either, or in any case, the truly contrite will recognize the depicting of his own experience in the definition of the Confession: "Terrors stricken into the conscience by the recognition of sin."

Contrition is thus not an act of man's own free will—is not an act at all. It is an effect, an experience wrought from without by the Holy Spirit, who shows the sinner his guilt. Upon man's part there is nothing but a reception, or recognition, of the

mortifying truth, and the feelings thus involuntarily awakened within him. There is in it therefore no meritorious element. The contrite soul is not gradually working itself up into the divine favor by penitential works. On the contrary, it seems to be sinking ever deeper into the mire of its own depravity. It struggles in the slough of despond. All boasting and confidence in self are gone. The idea of claiming credit or reward for the recognition of one's own utter unworthiness is absurd. When it is entertained, contrition ceases to be contrition and becomes a work of the proud, unregenerate heart. Such is the spurious contrition which the Roman Catholic Church makes the starting-point of its laborious process of ecclesiastical repentance. The Augsburg Confession leaves no room for it in the "terrors stricken into the conscience."

But our article strikes its key-note and that of the entire Confession where it introduces in place of the discordant strains of the medieval theory the transcendent conception of (2.) *Faith*.

This it pronounces the chief part of repentance. Without it, contrition is vain and can lead only to despair. So preëminent is faith here, that in the vast majority of Scriptural passages referring to the transformation of the condemned sinner into a child of God, it alone is mentioned. True, it presupposes contrition and is impossible without the latter. Yet faith is not a fruit of contrition, and by no means necessarily follows it. Faith is an entirely new and distinct experience. It is a positive, active exercise of the human spirit, so essential that without it it is impossible to please God. The divine promise is not: "Be sorry for sin and thou shalt be saved; but: "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved."

In treating of this chief part of repentance, attention is first given in our article to the (a.) *Origination of Faith*.

It is said to be "conceived by the Gospel, or absolution." The only ground of hope for the penitent must lie in a proffer of help from above. The only proffer of such help ever made, or that ever can be made, is that presented in the Gospel. The Gospel is "the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation." It extends the sceptre of forgiving love. It appeals

to the hardened sinner, and is the most potent agency in leading him to a true view of the enormity of sin and thus bringing him to repentance. It bids the penitent sinner draw nigh with holy boldness unto the throne of grace.

Thus faith, although an active exercise of the human spirit, is not of ourselves. It is the gift of God—a product of the ever-blessed Gospel which comes directly and solely from the loving hand of God.

That “absolution” should be here introduced as an alternate term for so exalted a conception as that of the Gospel itself sounds somewhat strange to modern ears. It is not, however, designed as a true alternate, but in such connections a practical synonym. The term is used in the broadest sense, as indicating the application of the Gospel, or the announcement of the message of divine pardon to the believing penitent. Undoubtedly the formal ecclesiastical act was had in mind by the framers of the article, as it was a prominent aim of the Reformers to fix attention upon the fulness and completeness of the pardon announced in this simple act—as over against the papal requirements of subsequent works of satisfaction. No penance or pangs of purgatory were yet in store for him who simply believed the word of absolution, *i. e.*, the Gospel message.

This message could be announced—absolution could be granted, by any believer to his Christian brother. Ordinarily, however, the announcement of the Gospel comes from the lips of the appointed minister of the word, whose special commission is to call all men unto repentance. The Reformers would honor the sacred office. They held that the word of God thus proclaimed has a special efficacy and that it should be received with a peculiar confidence, as coming thus directly from the divinely-called and regularly-ordained ministry. This was the evangelical conception of the “power of the keys,” which was so prominent a subject of discussion in that day. Says Carpzov: “The Papists interpret the keys (as indicating) a potestative jurisdiction, by which the priest, as a minister and commissary of God, not only judges concerning the quantity of an offence, but also imposes satisfactions in quantity and quality equivalent

to the penalties and tortures due the sins of those confessing. The Calvinists simply deny all influence of the minister in absolution and explain the absolution of the minister as a bare significative annunciation. The Augsburg Confession here pursues a median path, just as is displayed in the Scriptures."

Very simply and briefly does our Article then present an (b) *Analysis of Faith*. It "doth believe that for Christ's sake sins be forgiven, and comforteth the conscience and freeth it from terrors." We find here noted the nature, the content, the ground and the immediate subjective effect of faith. (aa) *Nature of Faith*. It believes. That is its very essence. There is here, it will be observed, no doubt or wavering—not a mere timid hoping against hope, which is all that Calvinism allows to many. There is no dreamy reverie, losing itself in the vacuity of the mystic. There is no effort to *do* anything as encouraged by the Pelagian leaven of the Romish system. There is simply a heartfelt acceptance of a great fact—a sturdy, vigorous grasping of a glorious reality. Let it be written in large letters, that all the world may read: FAITH BELIEVES.

(bb.) *The Content of Faith*.—This is nothing more or less than the great desideratum of fallen humanity, *i. e.*, the forgiveness of sins. It is sin alone that withholds man from fellowship with God—sin alone which causes all his misery. The question is not one chiefly of the amount or character of punishment impending. It is not a matter of the extension or limitation of a period of torture. Faith has to do with the vital questions of the removal of the divine disapprobation—the purging of the conscience—the cancellation of guilt. Nothing is here said even of the blessed final results of true believing, as these are all held as involved in the one glorious attainment—the forgiveness of sins: "For where there is remission of sins, there is also life and salvation,"

(cc.) *The Ground of Faith*.—"For Christ's sake." The only and all-sufficient ground of the believer's confidence is the atonement for sin rendered once for all by Christ. There is no merit anywhere but that of His spotless life and His sacrificial

death. This atonement is not a stored-up treasure, committed to the keeping of the Church, to be meted out in instalments according to her judgment for the purposes of discipline or in return for services rendered to her—as it had come to be almost universally regarded in the Roman Catholic Church. It is an infinite and complete satisfaction for the sins of the whole world—a satisfaction never to be repeated in reality or in ceremony, or made more readily accessible by priestly intervention. It has opened the way into the Holiest of Holies for every sinner who approaches, penitent and believing, to the throne of grace.

Yet the benefits of this atonement are secured not in a mere formal way, by a cold external decree of the divine will. They are appropriated in a personal contact with the living Saviour. Faith lays hold of Christ, commits itself to Him, and in living union with Him realizes that, as He has borne its sin, so it now becomes a partaker of His holiness. Enjoying personal fellowship with Him, it realizes that “for Christ’s sake sins be forgiven.” “There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus.”

(dd.) *Immediate Effect of Faith.*—It “comforteth the conscience and freeth it from terrors.”

Present personal experience is still chiefly held in view. The distressed conscience alarmed by the recognition of sin, finds peace. There is not merely a sheathing of the threatening sword of divine wrath—not first and foremost a mitigation of future punishments in quantity or quality or duration—not the annulling of the penalties attached to one or another class of sins—not a transmutation of some dire sentence into a more endurable form of suffering. There is a full and immediate remission of all guilt, and, as a consequence, a blotting out completely of the handwriting that was against the criminal. Inherited depravity and actual transgression are alike included in the gracious decree of emancipation. There is a plenary pardon—an unconditional acquittal. The forgiven sinner becomes at once a dear child of God. The spirit of adoption breathes within him. His heart swells with that confiding love which casts out fear. The new power of faith has comforted his con-

science and freed it from terrors. The agony of contrition has found its antidote. The Good Physician has healed the malady of the consciously sin-sick soul. Faith, "conceived by the Gospel," has brought salvation. Through faith, God, whose "strange work" was seen in contrition, has wrought "His own work" and glorified His name.

There is no room, it will be observed, in this process for the presumptuous mediation of a haughty hierarchy, lording it over God's heritage—no subjection of the penitent sinner to the caprice of ecclesiastical officials—no laborious payment of canonical penalties. The sinner has met his Saviour, who through His word and ordinances came to seek him. He has only taken what was freely offered to him, and the free grace of God is glorified in his salvation. No wonder that a doctrine so free should have awakened the deadly hostility of those whose carnal emoluments depended upon their ability to hold the glorious Gospel in thrall and dispense it parsimoniously in corrupted form to ignorant multitudes.

The inclusion of the faith thus defined in the conception of Repentance was naturally most offensive to the Roman Catholic party; but it found also decided opposition in some Protestant quarters. Calvin discriminated between *legal* and *evangelical* repentance, making faith a medium between the two and part of neither. The Lutheran Reformers justified their terminology by the broader significance frequently attaching to the term in the Scriptures and in Christian parlance. They maintained the propriety of the division of Repentance into the two parts named by such arguments as the following:

I. THE TESTIMONY OF THE SCRIPTURES.

It was pointed out, for example, that in Matt. 11 : 28 "labor" and "heavy laden" depict the state of the contrite, while "come unto me" prescribes faith. In Mk. 1 : 15, "repent" calls to penitence and "believe the Gospel" to faith. In Col. 2 : 11, 12, the "blotting out of the sins of the flesh" is followed by rising with Christ "through faith of the operation of God." In Col. 2 : 14, the handwriting is the condemnation deplored by con-

science; the blotting out of the handwriting occurs when faith reads the new sentence of peace and life. The Psalms abound in duplex passages such as Ps. 119 : 28 : "My soul melteth for heaviness; strengthen Thou me according unto Thy Word."

2. THE TWO OPERATIONS OF GOD IN THE TRULY PENITENT.

Says the Apology : "For the two chief works of God in men are these : to terrify, and to justify and quicken those who have been terrified. Into these two works all Scripture has been distributed." These two operations of God are frequently referred to as *mortification* and *quickenings*, "killing and making alive"—1 Sam. 2 : 6.

3. THE TWO ORGANS, OR AGENCIES, THROUGH WHICH GOD DEALS WITH MEN.

These are the Law and the Gospel. "The Law, which shows, reproves and condemns sins." The Gospel, *i. e.*, the promise of grace bestowed in Christ and this promise is constantly repeated in the whole of Scriptures, first having been delivered to Adam; afterwards to the patriarchs; then, still more clearly proclaimed by the prophets; lastly preached and set forth among the Jews by Christ, and disseminated over the entire world by the apostles."—*Apology*. Thus each of the great agencies employed by God from the beginning finds its counterpart in the inner experience of every one whom they effectually reach. Contrition is the sinner's response to the Law, and faith welcomes the Gospel.

4. THE PRAXIS OF REPENTANCES IN CONSPICUOUS EXAMPLES.

Adam is at first terrified by the reproof of the Almighty, but afterward hears the promise of grace and of a future blessed seed, and thus faith is awakened to sustain him amid the toilsome life to which he goes forth. David, reproved by Nathan, cries out in contrition : "I have sinned against the Lord." He hears the voice of divine absolution awakening faith, when the prophet says : The Lord also hath put away thy sin : thou shalt not die." The tears of the woman who was a sinner attest her contrition. Her repentance becomes complete when she hears with joy the assurance; "Thy sins are forgiven; thy

faith hath saved thee." The punishment which follows in the cases of Adam and David is not a substitute for any measure of eternal penalty, nor has it anything to do with the remission of their sins. It is a disciplinary experience subsequent to repentance, and appointed for other purposes.

5. THE CONSENSUS OF THE CHURCH FATHERS.

It was of course easy to multiply to any extent quotations from the very early teachers of the Church who treated of the subject before it had fallen into the stereotyped form of the triplex sacramental theory. Melanchthon in the *Variata* quotes Bernard as furnishing an illustration of the better teaching of the Middle Ages. Commenting upon Ps. 143 : 8, the latter says : "Therefore let us ask, brethren, and desire that the answer be given us, as to how great are the iniquities and sins which we have, and that our crimes and offences be shown us. * * * Let everyone say in his fear: 'I will go to the gates of hell,' so that now we may take courage in no other way than in the mercy alone of God. This is the true confidence of man, forsaking self and relying on his Lord."—

While thus insisting upon the duplex nature of Repentance, the Reformers always maintained that the nexus between the two parts was a very intimate one. Practically, the line of demarcation between them is not easily traced. Contrition is not genuine without some glimmerings of faith, nor does it cease when faith has laid hold upon the promises and rejoices in deliverance. The two experiences, although directly opposite in their nature and effects, are not at all incongruous. Where both exist, each stimulates the other. The more sincerely one mourns over his sinfulness, the more eagerly will he cling to him who alone saves from sin. The more heartily one confides in the sinless Saviour, the more profoundly will he grieve to find himself yet prone to sin. Thus the Christian lives continually under the influence of two great emotions or impulses, painful recoil from evil and yearning yet confident appeal to the Giver of good. Contrition and faith constitute in him a godly re-

pentance not to be repented of and make him at once both humble and bold—distrustful of self and triumphant in the unfailing strength of his almighty Saviour.

Having thus asserted the possibility and nature of repentance, our article announces in a brief sentence the position of good works as the

C. FRUITS OF REPENTANCE.

“Then should follow good works, which are fruits of repentance.” The Christian believer is like a tree planted by the rivers of water. His leaf does not wither and he bringeth forth his fruit in his season. In the completer simile of the New Testament, he is a fruit bearing branch of the Living Vine. Repentance has fixed his status, has made him a new creature, given him a new life. The normal result is seen in his daily walk and conversation.

Among these good works are enumerated: prayer; practice of the Christian graces,—humanity, forbearance, charity, etc.; open profession of Christ; the spreading of the Gospel message; faithful discharge of the duties of one’s avocation; conformity to the demands of the divine Law, etc.

Such works are in no case to be regarded as meriting the divine favor. When we shall have observed them all, we shall still be unprofitable servants. Our service must ever be imperfect, giving us as we reflect upon it far more cause for penitence than for self-gratulation.

Yet that service, such as it is, will be cheerfully and freely rendered by the truly repentant. It is rendered, not as a compulsory obedience to law, but as the grateful tribute of a loving heart, as the natural expression of the new life graciously implanted within.

Viewed in this light, the Apology declares that good works may be called a third part of repentance. This remarkable admission is a very striking evidence of the candor of the Reformers in their great controversy. They had staked all upon their definition as two-fold. Their chief contention was against the vaunted “good works” of the Papists. Yet they were not

contending for mere words, nor for systematic arrangement of doctrines. They were anxiously solicitous to encourage the performance of genuine good works, and hence, under proper restrictions, they would even be willing to include these, as a third part, in their definition of repentance. The guarded concession was designed in part to counteract the lawlessness of the Antinomians and the fanaticism of the Anabaptists by making more clearly manifest the moral tendency of true repentance.

This extension of the term, repentance, to make it include the entire process of evangelical renewal, with its antecedents and consequents, did not find general acceptance. It was a mere passing suggestion, and the accepted usage of the Church remained that so succinctly stated in the Confession: Repentance consists of two parts, while good works are the normal and necessary consequent. Repentance, as the means of restoration to the divine favor, is complete without any good works. The conscious sinner is saved when he by faith accepts the proffer of free pardon. He is now a child of God and heir of heaven. He casts his own life, with all the good that he has sought to do, behind him, and trusts only in the work of Christ in his behalf. He is saved by grace alone. The life that he now lives, he lives by the faith of the Son of God. To him he refers for the entire ground of his confidence and the hope of his calling. If he now performs good works, it is not he that does them, but Christ who dwelleth in him, and to Christ must be given all the glory. When the redeemed sinner shall at length stand before the throne, he will stand empty-handed—and will be admitted to the eternal glory as a sinner saved by grace alone. His good works may follow after him, and may receive their own gracious rewards, but they dare not be thought of as a factor in securing admission to the company of the justified and glorified.

CONDEMNATION OF ERRORS.

Several widely-spread errors, ancient and modern, are boldly confronted by the simple affirmations above noted. We stop not to scrutinize the exact scope of the terms used in the Con-

fession to designate the various classes of errorists—terms always somewhat indefinite and covering various shades of real or supposed defection from the truth. Our concern is with the treatment of the errors of themselves.

1. Those “who deny that men once justified can lose the Spirit of God, and do contend that some men may attain to such a perfection in this life that they cannot sin.”

The Latin designates such “Anabaptists,” the German with greater latitude and with probable design to include the Zwinglians, simply “Adversaries.”

To “lose the Spirit of God” is to forfeit the divine support and guidance once enjoyed, to fall back into a carnal state, to become again an alien from the kingdom of grace, to rest again under the course of the Law. The possibility of this is assumed in the opening sentence of our article, which professes to deal only with the *lapsi post baptismum*. Having abolished the essential distinction between mortal and venial sins, the Confessors regarded all sin after baptism as a lapse from the former position of gracious acceptance, and as bringing the loss of Spirit of God.—The number of the lapsed is therefore legion. It is matter of the commonest observation that those at least who have been accounted as among the justified may fall into sin and lose the Holy Spirit.

To hold that men “once justified cannot lose the spirit of God” placed the once accepted believer beyond the possibility of falling. Whether in crude Anabaptist or refined Calvinist, the theory thus advocated is that of indelible grace. It implies either that the believer may attain in this life such perfection that he can no longer sin (Perfectionism), or that, although sinning, he is so irrevocably numbered among the elect by an eternal divine decree, that his sins, however great, cannot forfeit the divine favor (absolute predestination).

Both of these positions are denied *in toto*. The passage chiefly relied upon in support of the first: John 3 : 9: “Who-soever is born of God cannot sin,” Luther interpreted as meaning only “cannot sin in so far as he is born of God,” that is while still abiding under the control of the Holy Spirit. The

two are; he maintained; irreconcilable opposites. The Holy Spirit does not guide the wilful sinner. Even sins of infirmity must be repented of, or they will entail the permanent loss of the Holy Spirit. Every believer therefore has need of daily repentance.

To account for the evident sinfulness of those whom all felt constrained to acknowledge as true believers, the theory of a seminal faith, indestructible despite the temporary loss of actual faith, had been devised. Of this Walch affirms with sufficient bluntness: "This detestable error they could not help embracing after having fallen upon the horrible dogma of an absolute decree of predestination.

Against these allied forms of error, our article maintains that all who have been justified are liable to fall into sin, that they do so fall, and that, so falling, they lose their Christian character and the comforting and directing presence of the Holy Spirit. Hence, the justified still have need of repentance.

2. "The Novatians are also condemned, who would not absolve such as had fallen after baptism, though they returned to repentance."

Novatian did not himself deny to the lapsed the possibility of repentance. His position was merely that such should be committed solely to the mercy of God, the church declining to express any judgment upon their condition. He urged all such earnestly to implore the forgiveness of God, and to cast themselves upon his mercy, in the hope that he might finally accept them. But he maintained that it would be perilous to administer absolution to them or to restore them to the fellowship of the church, because:

(a) They had wilfully forsaken that fellowship, and it was not the province of the church, having no express instructions to that end, to restore them.

(b) To re-admit those who had proved faithless to their solemn vows would be to detract from the honor due the martyrs and to encourage cowardly treachery.

(c) Because others would become contaminated by contact with such as had proved unfaithful.

The Novatian agitation was very wide-spread and persistent. It gained the sympathy of many earnest minds from age to age. Other sins besides apostasy gradually came to be regarded as demanding permanent exclusion. The conception of the church as composed of the immaculate found many advocates and resulted in the formation of various sects of Separatists, as the Donatists, Cathari, etc. The tendency was propagated until the days of the Reformers, too often stimulated by the confessed corruptions of the established church, and was frequently combined in its advocates with the wildest fanaticism. Upon this point, our article takes sides unhesitatingly with the Roman Catholic disputants, maintaining that the doors of the church, as of the Eternal Kingdom, must be held ever open to the returning prodigal.

3. They are also condemned who do not teach that remission of sins is obtained by faith, and who command us to merit grace by satisfactions."

This final shell is hurled straight into the camp of the real adversaries of the Evangelical movement. It condemns all who do not ascribe salvation to grace alone, and assign to faith the office of accepting gratefully the freely-offered gift. It proclaims the rebellion of the enlightened conscience, resting upon the Word of God, against the "command" of the official church—a command re-iterated in every possible form, proclaimed in doctrine, pictured in costly ceremony, engraven upon tortured minds in the confessional, and voiced in the never ending demands of penance and the threatened pangs of purgatory—the command to merit grace by our own works, rendering satisfactions instead of humbly accepting mercy and lovingly serving Him who saves.

Thus the condemnatory paragraph of our article warns against the four great forms of error which have darkened—and for many minds still darken—the simple teachings of the Bible upon the subject of Repentance :

1. Perfectionism, which needs no repentance ;

2. Puritanism, which will recognize none ;
3. Predestination, which has room for none ; and
4. Romanism, which substitutes a base counterfeit for the pure coin of Scripture.

It is interesting to observe that condemnation of all these aberrations from the truth lies distinctly involved, as was the entire positive teaching of the article, in the pregnant language of the immortal Thesis I: "The whole life of the believer must be a repentance."

The publication of the comprehensive statement, in our article was not an end of discussion upon the subject. Carpzov enumerates twenty-two controversies which had up to his day arisen touching points here coming into view. It would not now be difficult to extend the list indefinitely. The theme is one of perennial interest and the article practically covers the whole ground, so that no important phase of the general subject of repentance can fall under review without finding either support or antagonism here. Later Evangelical confessions are cast in the same mold, and are what they are, *i. e.*, Evangelical, because embracing the great pivotal ideas of this central *locus* in the Augustana.

The limitation of the scope of the article by its application to the case of the lapsed after baptism is more apparent than real. The definition of repentance is couched in general terms, applicable as well to the heathen who for the first time hears the Gospel message as to the backslidden believer. Artificial distinctions are all swept away. Past experiences or past character are not the essentials in the case. Even sacramental grace, so freely acknowledged throughout the Confession, is not to be relied upon as an antidote for sin of any degree or kind where there is no response to it in genuine repentance. For all men—faithful confessor and weak deserter, those who have fallen and those who yet stand—there is need of repentance—a repentance which is essentially the same for all and which is to be recognized by its two unvarying constituents, contrition and faith.

It would be interesting, did time allow, to apply the test of the terse propositions of Art. XII, to the church life of the pres-

ent age. Amid the variant forms of ecclesiastical polity and the multitudinous methods of modern evangelism, it would not be hard to discover, often where least expected, traces of the unevangelical notions which dominated the churches of the pre-reformation age. Hierarchical pretensions are still put forth with an assurance that would be amusing were it not sacrilegious. Penitence is in some quarters a term seldom used, an experience thought to savor of fanaticism and almost superseded by the ready recognition granted to a mere historic faith. By many, repentance is thought of as a necessary stage in the progress of the soul to a higher plane, a definite experience, confined to a limited period of time and to be afterward merely recalled to memory with gratitude that it has been safely passed. Work-righteousness is alarmingly prevalent, faith being conceived by multitudes as an achievement wrought out or secured by a voluntary course of self-humiliation—a fruit, in other words, of penitence and hence a ground of self-gratulation.

Against all these retrogressive tendencies, let us rejoice that we have so complete a protection in the simple language of the Augastana. The Lutheran Church can fulfill her destiny only by faithfully maintaining and zealously proclaiming the basal truth embodied in this article of her Confession.

But let us candidly confess the perils of the undertaking.

Such a free acknowledgement as hers of the possibility of repentance after lapse may be interpreted as making light of the awful sins of habitual unfaithfulness and cowardly apostasy.—Having no system of penance to make transgression odious, she must the more faithfully labor to make plain to all the exceeding hatefulness of sin. Having no confessional, with its enforced enumeration of offences—not even an anxious bench—she must the more diligently apply the truth in her public ministrations and personal admonitions, that it may bear conviction to the individual heart. Having, in the desuetude of the ancient system of private confession, no fixed system of personal conference between pastor and people, she must display the more wisdom in reaching the spiritually distressed and afflicted and consoling them with the renewed application of the means which

first comforted their hearts and forced them from terrors, *i. e.*,—the Gospel and absolution. Having no hierarchy, endowed with the official distribution of the spiritual treasures of the Church, she must by all means in her power encourage a due exercise of the privileges of the universal priesthood. The lips of all her members must be taught to keep knowledge, to offer freely the sacrifice of praise, and to present daily the grateful incense of believing prayer. Having covered with contempt the cumbrous system of meritorious good works, she must encourage the good works of grateful love, by which the faith that prompts them grows in sturdy energy. In a word, having condemned the aberrations of others from the faith, she must now, in penitence for her own shortcomings, show her faith more abundantly by her works, and thus commend to all the world that form of sound doctrine which has been committed to her trust.

ARTICLE IV.

INSPIRATION OF THE PREACHED WORD.

BY REV. J. T. GLADHILL, A. M.

“Holy men spake from God being moved by the Holy Ghost.” So, it is declared, the prophets and apostles of old spake. God is no respecter of persons nor of times, but gives each liberally of his Spirit for the effectiveness of his word. We should return to the Scripture idea of ministerial power. The secular notions, which would substitute the press for the preached word, are not our standard. We lose power by lack of faith in God’s word, and by harkening to the claims of secularism. We have the promise of power given to the prophets and preachers of the Bible. We have the God of the Bible, who promised his Spirit to the heralds of his truth. We have the word of God which was the foundation of their faith. We have the Holy Spirit to guide us into the truth, and to make us witnesses for Christ. We have the right to claim divine power for our preaching, and that the words we speak are inspired by the Holy Spirit.

1. God sends a messenger with a message. He is an ambassador with instructions, he must deliver his message. It is not his word, it is his Master's. John Hall, D. D., says: "We are not heathen philosophers finding out things; we are expositors of a revelation that settles things. Our authority in speaking, like our right to speak, is founded on the word of the Lord."* The message is positive: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature."† St. Paul declares: "We are ambassadors on behalf of Christ as though God were entreating by us."‡ "It was for the preaching of this word that Christ came, and apostles and priests have been ordained. But this word is the Gospel in which God himself speaks."§ The preaching of our day must not differ from that of the apostles. The preacher is God's ambassador endued with divine authority to speak divine truth to sinful men. God has never withdrawn one iota of his truth, nor of his Spirit, from the Church and her ministry.

That message is also to be delivered in person by God's representative. "The appointed means of spreading the good tidings, is preaching, whether to the individual or to the assembly. But printing can never take the place of the living word. A man whose soul is on fire with the truth speaks to his fellow-man, face to face, eye to eye, and electric sympathies flash to and fro between him and his hearers, till they are lifted up higher and higher, into the intensest thought and the most impassioned emotion; there is a power to move men, to influence character, life, destiny, such as no printed page can ever possess."|| There may be libraries established in all nations and tongues, and be filled with Bibles and sacred books, yet no one will be converted to Christ. They are excellent adjuncts, yes, necessities, to follow the preacher of the word. History has not recorded a convert without the living preacher. The angel did not tell devout Cornelius what he should do; nor did the Ethiopian comprehend truth till it was imparted by the preacher.

*Yale Lectures, p. 22.

†Mark, 16 : 15.

‡II. Cor. 5 : 20, R. V.

§Theology of Luther, I., 412.

||Broadus, Preparation and Delivery of Sermons, p. 18.

God uses no dead agents, but living men to represent him to other men.

2. The preacher's message is God's. "Preach the preaching that I bid thee." It is God's word, not human notions. It is put into human language so that men may comprehend it. It is man speaking to man, face to face with man, but with a message not his own. He comes with the authority which Jesus Christ commanded. He goes to men with God's purpose, viz., to make disciples for Christ.

Note also, Jesus' prayer for the preachers of his Gospel, "Sanctify them in the truth; thy word is truth. As thou didst send me into the world, even so sent I them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they themselves also may be sanctified in truth. Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on me through their word."* The preaching of the word is very near the Saviour's heart. He designed that it should be a sacred word, therefore his prayer was specific and special. He was not more solicitous about the preachers of the first century than of any subsequent century. What he asked in the shadow of the cross has not lost its significance in the triumphs of our day.

The preacher's message is endued with divine power. The apostles were commanded to wait till the Holy Spirit should be given them. Then their preaching will be from the fulness of their own lives. (That fulness is a divine communication.) It is human speech, yet it comes amid the atmosphere of the divine presence. Do we wonder that the apostles could preach! Their successors had the same promise, the same Spirit, the same purpose, and the same enduement of power which makes their message also the word of God.

He gives his Spirit to the word which his messenger speaks. "It is the design of God to make men among their fellows co-workers with him in his saving work. Thus it pleased God to give the Spirit, not without the word, but through the word, so that he might have us as fellow-workers, whilst we sound abroad what he himself alone breathes within, wheresoever he may wish

*John 17 : 17-20.

to do so."* The Holy Spirit is in the Church and in the Bible, and in the preacher, surely he must be in the word preached.

God assumes responsibility for the effect of that word. In no place does he lay blame upon the failure of the preacher, but gives ample assurance that it shall bear proper fruit. The good seed of the kingdom is sown. God will give the rain and the sunshine to make it grow. The harvest may not be immediate, but the preacher can rest easy. He has done his Master's bidding, and the Master is satisfied with the servant. The divine presence accompanies the message as it goes forth, no longer under the supervision of the preacher; it is now in the mind and thoughts of the hearer; there it is taking root, and causing new thoughts, desires, and conflicts, which were unknown before. The Spirit hovers over the word in its new abode, causing a revolution of thoughts, purposes and relations to God.

3. The word of God proclaimed by the preacher is inspired. I must here draw the distinction between inspiration and revelation; also between inspiration of the Church, and inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures. Revelation is the manifestation of God to men. The biblical writers were inspired or endued with the Holy Spirit when they recorded those divine manifestations for God's people. The inspiration of the Church is older by many years than the N. T. The Holy Spirit was given on the day of Pentecost, who guided and confirmed all believers in Christ. This was the birth of the Church, when the called of God were united in one body, the body of Christ. They became branches of the True Vine, and received the Spirit, that Spirit which was in him. In after years the Spirit led some who knew the facts and doctrines of Christ to write these central truths of Christianity. These writings were given into the custody of the Church. They were to be the fountains which should supply living waters to the Church in all time, and be the means of holding it together in unity and fellowship. The Spirit has bound the Church in union with Christ; also holds the Bible as the truth which is to guide the Church in all ages. The Spirit and the Church and the Bible are one and inseparable.

*Theol. of Luther, I., 490.

The advent of the Bible has not supplanted the preaching of the word. It is still the means of saving a lost world. Bibles do not save. It is the Church, the living organism of Christ upon earth which saves men. "It was God's good pleasure, through the foolishness of preaching to save them who believe." "We preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness, but unto the called themselves (the Church) both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God."* The preacher takes the Scripture (given to the Church or Saints) and impresses its truths upon the world to convict it of sin, and to lead it to salvation in Christ.

The preached word, therefore, becomes the means of grace, and growth in Christian life. The commission is two-fold, (1) to make disciples and (2) "to teach them all things whatsoever I have commanded you." The teaching needs the divine presence as well as the begetting of the Christian life. The promise, "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world," is specially significant. It declares the divine presence in the Church for all time. Men are to be taught their need of divine grace, that they are hopeless and helpless sinners, that divine grace is given to save them, and to sustain and lead them in the divine path. "The Holy Spirit has called me through the gospel, enlightened me by his gifts, and sanctified and preserved me in the true faith; in like manner as he calls, gathers, enlightens and sanctifies the whole Christian Church on earth, and preserves it in union with Jesus Christ in the true faith."† God designed that the Church should come before him spotless, pure and clean. She shall come also sanctified by the Holy Spirit prepared for the divine presence. For such purposes God has ordained the gospel ministry. To accomplish this the Spirit must be upon the ministry of the word. If the ministry fail to be guided by the Spirit what shall be the condition of the redeemed people? The cold formalities of the press, though it print bibles and sermons, can never take the place of the living

*1 Cor., I : 21-24.

†Luther's Small Catechism.

preacher, standing by the side of God, speaking the word by which God designs to lift mankind into communion with himself. Who can tell what and where Christianity would be to-day if the ministry had realized and fully comprehended what hangs upon their preaching? God speaks through consecrated men. Without him man is powerless as a preacher. But when the word and Spirit of God have filled the preacher's soul, he communicates his own larger and deeper life to the people of his care. "As the Father sent me so send I you," is the central truth of the Church's power. The preacher is communicating this truth and making it live in those who were dead. "Thus saith the Lord, come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain that they may live." When they are alive they are nourished by the milk and meat of the word. They are fed with holy truth prepared for their life in the sacred experiences of his own soul. He handles the word of life which raises the people into a higher and holier plane of living. Christians have not attained the highest station of holiness. There are new phases of piety and grace to be seen. It is the word which leads them onward and upward.

The preaching of the word is the means of enlightenment. It is educational. It not only draws out or develops the innate powers of man, it adds God's Spirit to man. It brings a new environment about him. It puts him under the instruction and guidance of the Spirit of God. Therefore, there can be no limitation to the acquirements of man. He is led as far into divine truth and life as the Spirit can penetrate. This cannot be done by man alone, but by the leading of the Spirit. The authorized agency for this enlarged spiritual development is the preaching of the Word. That preaching must be inspired. The divine standard has been set up, it must not be lowered nor taken down.

The Spirit is in the Church. The Church is the depositary of the Spirit, authorizing the preaching of the word. "The gospel is the principal sign of the Church, since through this are effected its conception, birth, education, nourishment, clothing, strengthening. In short the whole life and being of the Church

is in the word of God. * * * This is true indeed, not of the written word, but of the oral, preached word. We may know only by the oral and public voice of the gospel where the Church and the mystery of the kingdom of heaven are to be found. The Church is not seen, but only believed in by virtue of this sign of the word, which cannot be sounded forth except in the Church through the Holy Ghost."* The Church separates the preachers for the work whereunto the Spirit has called them.† The Spirit works through the Church and accompanies the workers in the God sent mission.

In order that this word may be inspired, the preacher must observe the conditions. He is the channel through which divine power shall flow. He stands by the Father's side; hears him sending his Son into the world; listens to the divine heart, as it beats in sympathy with the mission on which he sends his Son, no more to be his own, but to be a gift unto men. Being able to comprehend all that passes through the Father's heart, he remembers that Christ says, "Even so send I you." He must be near his Master's heart, and catch his spirit and devotion to mankind. The first condition for inspired preaching is to have the Spirit of Christ. Then he must also be in communion with the Holy Bible. It is the reservoir of grace and life. In it God has stored up the water of life. That word was written under divine inspiration. The Spirit has never been divorced from that word. The preacher comes to it for its possessions. He drinks of its sacred truth till his own soul becomes inspired with the Spirit that is in it. The Bible gives forth its possessions as he is able to receive them. Being so filled with that word he cries, "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel."

The preacher comes alive before the people. He is the bearer of divine truth. Observe the water system of a great city. It is all hidden from view, except the hydrant upon the street or in the homes of the people. It is not a thing of show, but of power. There is the river of life, flowing from the midst of the throne of God and the Lamb. It is going down in all the

*Theol. of Luther, I., 427, 428.

†Acts 13 : 1-5.

earth to refresh the thirsty, to wash the unclean, to cheer the faint, to give life to the famishing, to cool the aching heart, to alleviate the bitterness of anguish and sorrow. How is all this done? By the hidden water-pipes of God, reaching from the fountains of heaven to the sinner on earth. Only a water-pipe hidden from view, but ministering grace and life from God to this famishing, heart-broken world.

The preacher gives what he has received. He cannot give what he does not possess. He gives the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth.* He gives the Holy Ghost.† He is the bearer of salvation. Christianity means that Christians must save the world. He must impart what he has received from God. A crime of the deepest dye is that a man should know the great salvation and shut up his bowels of compassion from his fellow-men.

The gospel minister is the bearer of God's love to men. He knows that love. It has been revealed to his own soul. God laid hands on him, saying, I have a heart that burns and bleeds for dying men. Go, tell them. Consider not thy self, thy convenience, thy feelings, nor thy weakness. Go, tell it, and seal thy faith in me by thine own blood. This position does not militate against Art. VIII., of the Augustana, which says: "The sacraments are effectual even if preachers by whom they are administered are not pious." The validity of a sacrament is in itself, and not in the administrator. The comforts and assurances of the word are effectual because of the Spirit of God in the Church and in their administration. There is a larger sphere of gospel truth which is also fundamental to the Church's unity and power. That efficiency will depend upon the Church's apprehension of the ever present Spirit of God, upon which Luther laid special emphasis. That spirit will only be communicated when the word goes forth in the power of the Spirit. An ungodly ministry will never be aggressive. It cannot convey what it does not possess. The Church will be impoverished by Christless preaching.

*Acts 3 : 6.

†Acts 9 : 17, 10 : 44, 11 : 17.

4. The effect of preaching argues inspiration. We argue from effect to cause. When we see evidence of the Spirit's presence in the hearer, we conclude that the Spirit must be with the preacher. Words are but signs of thought. They may be accompanied by such intonation and marks of feeling as will make the hearer to feel, in part at least, as does the speaker. When the speaker goes the impressions go also. But the preachers words have entered to form life, which grows, and increases in power and kinship with God. Something divine has been communicated to the hearer, which is not evanescent, but abides, not in the memory alone, but in the whole life. There must be a divine element in that word or address.

By the preaching of the word men are regenerated, born from above (*ἄνωθεν*). "That which is born of the Spirit is spirit."* "Begotten again through the word of God, which liveth and abideth."† "Of his own will begat he us by the word of truth."‡ "In Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel."§ These statements are clear. "The word is nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart ; that is the word of faith which we preach." "How shall they believe in him whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?"|| St. Paul's interrogation is emphatic. The preacher is necessary to the existence of faith, as well as to the proclamation of the divine will. In Ezekiel's parable of the dry bones the prophet's agency is clear. There can be no life till the prophet prophesies as commanded. In no case is man directed to find the new life, even in sacred literature, but it is given by the word, the living word, or the word spoken by a person sent of God. Regeneration and faith are produced by the word preached.¶ See Art. V., Augsburg Confession. The spiritual life, as well as physical life, is transmitted from man to his fellow-man. But this

*John 3 : 6.

†1 Peter, 1 : 18.

‡James 1 : 18.

§1 Cor., 4 : 15.

||Rom. 10 : 8-14.

¶"For the attainment of this faith, God has instituted the office of the ministry, has given the Gospel and the Sacraments, through which, as through means, he gives the Holy Spirit, who produces faith, where and when he will, in those who hear the Gospel." Art. V., Augsburg Confession.

new spiritual life had its beginning from the highest authority. Our Lord Jesus Christ says, "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you, and when he had said this he breathed on them, and saith, Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whosoever sins ye forgive they are forgiven unto them."* This is not only to pronounce an absolution, but to give as Christ gave to them and what Christ gave to them, and as the Father gave to him, viz: the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is not given indiscriminately, but to the Son of God, and he gives his possession to his followers—the Church—to carry out his great mission of ridding the world of the dominion of sin, and putting in its place the dominion of man endued with the Spirit of God. How can we conceive of such spiritual power and life, except that the agent carries and gives the Spirit of God with the word he speaks?

Again, we argue inspiration from the life and power of the Church. The preaching of the word is the means of propagating the faith. The people being led to the truth become true worshippers of God. As they are taught divine truth their convictions are established. They have a longing for fellowship with each other just so far as their mind harmonizes with God. They desire that their fellowmen may be led to the truth, and that the Lord shall have praise from them also. The Church is organized for the maintenance and perpetuation of the faith, and to carry out the divine purpose, that all the world shall know Jesus Christ the Saviour and be taught of him. The Church is held together and grows in spiritual power as she reverences the ordinances of God, and submits to the divine guidance. She is conscious of that double power within her, viz: the Spirit of God and the ministry of the word. As the ministry is obedient to the Spirit so far will the Church prove her efficiency. The mission of the Church is not only to save men, but to keep them for God, and lead them to a nearness to God. Spiritual life depends upon the Church. It is the word of good tidings that makes the membership long for spiritual food, that they may grow and be strong in the Lord. The Theology of Luther, that

*John, 20 : 21-23.

book so rich in spiritual experience and truth, declares that the "Word retains the first place as the most necessary and the highest part in Christianity. For the latter could not exist without the word, which alone gives it its power, and which must make known to men its importance and significance, whereas the word can exist without the Church, and it is possible in case of emergency to be saved without any sacrament, but not without the word."* The observance of the sacraments and the reading of the Bible and sacred literature are necessary means of grace. They are especially helpful for Christian growth in the Church, but they do not produce life. They perpetuate what the preaching has produced. "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel; not in wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ be made void. For the word of the cross is to them that are perishing foolishness; but unto us who are being saved it is the power of God."† The testimony of the Church's history is that as the word is faithfully expounded the tone of piety is deepened and the Church is active; the people live nearer to God, and the world observes the higher plane of religious thought. This truly argues a spiritual power in the Church, and especially in the word preached. This word is the means of grace to the whole congregation.

Again, we argue the inspiration of preaching by the nature of piety which it produces. That piety is a union between Christ and the believer, an heir of God and joint-heir with Christ. It is a divine association with man. He realizes that he is walking in the light of God, comforted by divine truth, desiring a nearness to God, despising his own selfish and sinful desires. His chief delight is to honor God and to lead others to the same appreciation. This is not a spasmodic feeling, but a conviction deep laid in the purposes of his life. Such we call heavenly. All conceptions of the heavenly life are of this character. Christ lived it. He sent forth his disciples to teach not only his truth, but his life. The preacher stands in that sacred place to communicate divine life to the people. Can he hold any place short

*Theol. of Luther, II : 506.

†1 Cor., I : 17-18.

of divine inspiration? Can the people have a higher life and a deeper piety than the shepherd of the fold? If faith is the gift of God, the channel through which regeneration and faith comes must be under special divine care. The means of communication are sanctified as well as the source and the result.

By the preaching of the word man is brought into association with God. God showed himself to men at divers times, and these manifestations were recorded by divine inspiration. The preacher comes from this inspired volume filled with its truth and Spirit, and shows God to the people. They realize that God has left, not only a name, but is really present with them. He manifests himself to men through the word preached. They know that they have not been left without divine testimony. He is their companion, and associates with them in their trials and triumphs, in their sorrows and joys. The preaching of the word is their means of knowing that God is an associate of their life. It is God's means of telling them how dear they are to him, and of correcting their life into an appreciation of his presence. God is everywhere present, always with man, but the preacher reveals that fact. Otherwise he is ignorant of the divine presence. It is the mission of the Gospel to reveal God to human consciousness. An agent conveying divine knowledge must be under divine supervision, and his word is divine. See Acts 26 : 16-18.

5. The preacher is God's man or agent to restore divine supremacy in the world. The divine ideal was that of Eden, It is still the divine ideal. Christianity is the same divine ideal. The ministry of the word is the Christian plan for the accomplishment of their ideal. The aim of Christianity is to give back to God his supremacy over the thought, purpose and conduct of the whole world. At the creation God commanded man to have dominion over the whole earth, and to be a worshiper of the Most High. Man still has dominion, but does not give God his true place. He excludes God, and exalts self. Christianity seeks to lead man to recognize God, and consider his character and name, and to choose him Sovereign Ruler of the universe. The minister of the word is the appointed agent

for the consummation of this divine purpose. He is one among men, a trusted ambassador of God. He beseeches all men to be reconciled to God through Jesus Christ, the God-man. His field of operation is with individuals and with society. He is to lead the thought, the purposes, the aspirations of men into obedience to God. His commission is to all men. He uses not only persuasive powers, but imparts to man his own faith in God. He is not a diplomatist, but a communicator of the divine life. He imparts his divine possession so that the hearer becomes a worshiper of God like himself. In all this he is but a channel through which God is entering into the life of mankind. When all men shall hear and worship God, God will be all and in all.

The commission of the preacher is to evangelize the world. It is a divine commission. It carries with it divine powers. It leaves divine impressions upon the world. It fashions the world after the divine pattern. This commission is not human, it is superhuman; not that man is above or beyond his manhood, but that divine inspiration accompanies his preaching and produces divine results. No power or agency can set aside this divinely commissioned means of the world's salvation.

These things being true the ministry should magnify their office, and recognize the fact of inspiration, and keep it in mind in all their ministrations. They should know that upon their faithfulness depends the salvation of mankind, and the fulfilment of the will of God. All the forces of Heaven are in reserve for the faithful preacher of the word.

ARTICLE V.

THE RELATION OF THE MINISTER TO MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS OUTSIDE OF THE CHURCH.

BY REV. EDWIN HEYL DELK, A. M.

In a theological journal, such as this, the presentation of a practical, common-place subject, like one suggested by the above title, may seem out of place. As the purpose of the present managers of the *QUARTERLY* is to introduce occasional short papers on practical ministerial and social problems, I venture to offer some thoughts out of my own experience upon the subject mentioned above.

That the modern pastor is besieged with proposals to give his voice, his name and influence in behalf of a legion of societies and movements intended for the reform and amelioration of modern social ills, is a fact only too well known by every clergyman of standing. That many of these requests are legitimate and urgent can not be denied. That others are questionable and result in the dissipation of Christian influence is just as true and deplorable. In the settlement of this question one finds a variety of opinions. Some pastors refuse to be associated with any movement not strictly under the direction of the Church. Others seem anxious to have their names and faces familiar objects in every beneficial order and organized propaganda for the public good. The reasons for this diversity of view lie much deeper than one at first thought fancies.

I.

The primary source of disagreement roots itself in two different conceptions of the Church and its place in society. For the sake of a better phrase, permit me to call the first conception the "High Church Idea." From this point of view the Church is looked upon primarily as an end in itself. It guards so carefully the Church Idea, the clerical order or orders, the specific sacraments, two or seven; the perpetuity of the ecclesiastical

organization, the distinctive church societies, and eleemosynary institutions, the peculiar denominational ritual of worship and burial, and above all, the regenerative channels of Apostolic grace, that any service in, or advocacy of, extra-churchly associations seems to belittle, if not to surrender the importance of the Church as the essential factor in the redemption of the world.

The "High Church Idea" influences the stress laid upon the authority of the priesthood in all so-called secular movements. Religion, we are told, should be the supreme directive power in all our relations and actions. One must grant the truth of this proposition, but our "High Church" friends so often confound religion with priesthood and orders, that we are often tempted to throw the whole Church idea overboard. But, from the High Churchman's point of view, I can very well understand how he must look with suspicion on many creditable movements when they are declared independent of all church control.

And again, the sworn secrecy of many societies and orders, both from an ethical and ecclesiastical point of view, seems to the High Churchman to set the institution and its individual members in opposition to the divinely appointed institute for the guidance and protection of men,—the Holy Catholic Church, be it Roman or Protestant. It is true the Roman branch of the Christian Church has relented in our generation, and now permits her membership to unite with certain secret orders, once denounced as dangerous and in opposition to the Church. But not for one moment has Rome budged from her position, that she claims first place in the opinions and actions of all her baptized children.

And now for the antipodal point of view. For the sake of a better phrase, let me call the second conception of the Church the "Broad Church Idea." I am almost tempted to call it the *no* Church Idea. The advocate of this idea lays the entire stress of his Christian belief on the individual life, and the subjective element in the religious life. The Church idea, and the organic relation of individual Christians, play but little part in his propagation of Christian thought, and in his activity. His idea of the Church is so nebulous that he is tempted to repudiate all organ-

ization, be it "high" or "low" Church. From this second standpoint the Church is merely a means to an end. It has no promise of permanency. It is to be finally lost, like the leaven in the meal; in "The Kingdom of Heaven." Or as Rothe conceived its purpose in society: "The primary necessity for a Christian community is that it shall frankly acknowledge that the gospel occupies an objective position, as a norm which is perfectly independent of its own estimation and resolutions. * * *

The less Christian piety accentuates the Church, the greater need does it feel to belong to a great comprehensive ecclesiastical community, the more intolerable does it find a sectarian position. * * *

The final word of the advocates of the Church is that some institution is indispensable as a means for transmitting the gospel to humanity. But in the present position of Christianity is there really need of such a special institution? What *can* the Church do in this direction which the State does not also do entirely of its own accord? What does the Church of the present know of Christ and Christianity (as a historical fact) more than the Christian world? * * *

A national Church exists wherever a nation carries on its moral task, supported by the consciousness of common piety as the basis of united activity." In a word, the Christian Church has been, or is being, lost in the Christian nation. It was in this hope that Stanley pleaded for the perpetuity of the Established Church in England. Such an attenuated idea of the Christian Church must necessarily tolerate a very liberal theology, or no theology at all. The advocates of this second idea lay all their rhetorical stress and energies on "The Kingdom of God." "The Church is wherever the Christian spirit is at work. Any movement or organization is Christian which stands for the amelioration of human strife and strain. You can do as effective Christian work outside the Church as within it." These are commonplace propositions on the lips of our advocate of the loose Church idea. I am not concerned now to express my personal opinion concerning the truth of these contradictory ideas of the Church. They each contain a half truth, and like so many extreme positions, they both miss that *via media* in which is found

the sane and sure position for the Christian worker. I am desirous simply to point out how these two conceptions of the Church must necessarily affect a pastor's relation to movements and organizations outside of the Church.

II.

The second factor determining a minister's relation towards movements for social betterment and institutions for moral reform is his individual disposition, capacity for work and opportunity. Let us call this the personal equation. Men are variously social and sympathetic in temperament. The intellectual recluse, or the man of unsocial instinct, is less likely to ally himself with movements which force him into the centre of the human tide of struggle and suffering. On the other hand, a man of sympathetic type, one who is eager to carry the culture and affection of his life into the common life of humanity, will instinctively ally himself to movements and organizations which stand for the intellectual and moral uplift of men. Add to strong moral convictions a drop of fighting blood, and you have the reformer. He is born, not made. Many men are good, but he adds fire and sword to goodness, and by innate impulse, must fight God's battle for social righteousness. Naturally such a man becomes an earnest worker in every organization which seeks to make vice difficult and virtue honored. A man of more subjective, passive type, can not go into such contests without a sort of spiritual ague, perhaps a real demoralization of his individuality; but our brother, the reformer, is just in his element when he is on a reform platform whacking over the head some modern foe of the home and nation.

Opportunity, and local need, determine the participation of many excellent pastors in such movements. Every genuinely Christian man is in sympathy and coöperative mood with institutions and movements which look toward the physical, mental and moral betterment of men. But a pastor is a man with only one brain, one heart, one pair of hands and feet, and one supreme mission. The modern pastor's problem is to secure that happy balance between concentration and expansion

of life which will secure the best and greatest spiritual results in his ministry. Some men can cover a wide and diversified field of activity; others can not. Communities also differ in their social and moral conditions. Many a clergyman has lost his power as a preacher and pastor in dissipating his time and energy in too many extra-churchly movements. On the other hand, to refuse all expressions of sympathy, or modest coöperation, is to place one's self and Church on stilts, and leave untouched the great political and moral needs of society. The Church is looked upon by the great mass of the artisan class as a thing apart, and indifferent to the commonplace needs and struggles of the "working man" to secure a livelihood and better economic opportunity. But a minister must not be swept from his pulpit by popular misunderstanding, or by his own eagerness to reach men in semi-religious and beneficial orders. There is more Christian work accomplished by concentration than by too wide a diffusion of energy. I recently saw an overshot water-wheel, which was forty feet in diameter. It was turning the machinery of the whole establishment. "Ah!" I said, "there must be quite a volume of water to turn such a large wheel." "No," said the miller, "it is just a little stream that you can jump across, which supplies the power to turn my machinery. The secret is that its full force is concentrated on one bucket-shaped section of the overshot's circumference at a time." How many pastors are dissipating their power by an unwise expansion of effort. Each man must decide the range of his activities outside of the Church by his temperament, capacity for work, and opportunity.

III.

The third condition affecting a minister's relation to associations and propaganda outside of his regular church work is the character of the institution or movement. To-day, we find the Church surrounded by a varied host of movements and associations in more or less close relation to the Church. There are others in complete independency of all church relation. There are some which, unwittingly, assume to be substitutes for the

Church, both in belief and practice. Our different young peoples' societies, both denominational and inter-denominational, are thoroughly permeated with the Christian spirit and life. These leagues and societies are worthy of a pastor's hearty encouragement. There are other movements, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, The Salvation Army, Women's Christian Temperance Union, and Anti-Saloon Leagues, which are fired by Christian purpose, but are not taking their direction or management from the Church as an organized body. Toward this group we must offer hearty sympathy, though we may not care to participate in their peculiar work. And yet we begin to feel that we are treading on debatable ground. It is quite possible that men and women may permit their religious energies to be consumed in these extra-ecclesiastical movements and miss the very heart of Christianity. There is a third class of societies claiming high moral and even religious standing—orders which accept the ethical precepts of Christianity and glorify a benevolence beautiful in its ideal, but which ignore the personal Christ and the greatest need of human life,—personal regeneration. Now we do not ask that a joint stock company or an insurance company publish a profession of faith. Nor do we deny the right of a minister of Jesus Christ to belong to an association in which no mention of religious belief is made. But when certain orders declare themselves religious, and even Christian, and yet omit the name of Jesus from all their prayers, and tempt men to substitute their order for the full Bible and sacraments of the Church, it becomes a grave question to many thoughtful ministers whether they ought to become members of such imperfect religious associations. If we knew more of their constitutive principles we might be in a better position to pass final judgment upon a clergyman's proper attitude toward such organizations. Their charitable and beneficial aspects are often without any basis beyond the human and financial. A charity, fidelity and brotherhood, which are not based on love, a love inspired by the sacrificial spirit of Christ, may be admirable qualities, if actualized, but they are not Christian virtues, unless the Christ is enthroned in the heart which attempts their practice.

I applaud all kindness, all benevolence, all movements toward brotherhood, but I will not deny Christ by attempting to place these virtues on a nebulous, theistic basis only.

That there is need of certain movements and associations without the Church, is quite evident, in the face of their variety, strength, and effectiveness. Perchance too much has been expected of the Church in its organized methods of charity and care-taking of the sick and bereaved. Or, perhaps the Church has failed to enter the channels opened for the enrichment of the physical and mental life of the great body of men. Certainly there are social movements, educational endeavors, economic principles, moral crusades, and political policies, in which and upon which the clergyman should be informed and interested. The Church is not an end in itself, but exists for the regeneration of society. "Thy kingdom come" must be practiced as well as prayed, if the clergyman and his Church is to wield the fullest and richest spiritual influence in a community. The minister's citizenship here is but a part of his citizenship in heaven—the former is a certain indication of the latter. Paul is writing to bishops and deacons as well as laymen when he urges the Church at Philippi, "Behave as citizens worthy of the gospel of Christ, in nothing affrighted by the adversaries." I do not attempt to specify which societies and movements should command the approval and coöperation of the Christian minister. Each man must decide these questions for himself. I have sought simply to state the conditions and principle which determine for many men their relation to such modern movements and societies as operate without the sphere of the Church.

ARTICLE VI.

THE NEW BOOK OF WORSHIP.

BY REV. OSCAR H. GRUVER, A. M.

Six years ago at the meeting of the General Synod in Canton, Ohio, two committees were appointed "to revise" the Book of Worship,—one to revise the hymns, and the other, the tunes,—these "committees to act in coöperation." No further instructions were given, and no limitations were placed upon them. They were left free to furnish the Church with the very best Book of Worship possible for them to compile. Great expectations therefore have been awakened. Six years of conscientious work, it has been thought, ought to bring forth no ordinary Book of Worship. Besides, during this time not less than five standard hymnals have been published by different denominations, and were mostly edited by men of high literary and musical ability. With these as guides the work of the committees was chiefly that of selecting from hymns, new and old, and from tunes ancient and modern, the very best of each, and adapting them to our denominational needs. The results of their labor they have given to the Church in the new Book of Worship recently issued by the Lutheran Publication Society.

To many this book has come as an agreeable surprise. Long time awaiting the fulfillment of promises made through the church papers, at synods, and in private, has whetted many expectations. In general these have been satisfied at the first sight of the new book. Its open and inviting page, its good white paper, its clear large type, its strong and beautiful binding, its clean print, and withal, its churchly verses and its stately melodies in sufficient variety and abundance,—all these attract us to it and invite us to more than a cursory perusal of its contents. Nor are we disappointed after a thorough examination. Its use in the congregation will doubtless prove the wisdom and justify the labor of the committees entrusted with its preparation.

The new book differs from the old in many particulars. It has more and better hymns and tunes. Many old ones have been omitted and new ones placed in their stead. The following table will represent this change to the eye :

<i>Old Book.</i>		<i>New Book.</i>
602	Number of Hymns,	607.
199	Hymns dropped from Old,	
403	Hymns retained in New,	403.
	New Hymns,	204.
610	Separate musical settings,	630.
98	Tunes repeated twice,	90.
54	Tunes repeated three times,	14.
13	Tunes repeated four times,	1.
2	Tunes repeated five times,	—
357	Number of different Tunes,	509.
124	Tunes dropped from Old,	
233	Tunes retained in New,	233.
	New Tunes,	276.

There are other changes in the book as pronounced as these. Appended to each hymn is the author's name and the date, and to foreign hymns the names of the translators. In a number of hymns, alterations have been made which are designated by an (a) after the author's name. Many of these are not the work of the committee, but are recorded by them. In fifty-six of the hymns retained from the Old Book we have noticed eighty alterations. There are also a number of alterations in new hymns inserted,—how many we have not tried to ascertain. In about twenty-five of these eighty the changes are merely verbal, or such as do not materially affect the sense. In twenty-six hymns whole stanzas,—sometimes more than one,—are omitted. In seven hymns stanzas are added. And in about sixteen hymns there are changes that materially modify the character of the hymn. Some of these are presented here without comment, the parts that are new being put in italics.

No. 92 (Old, 18) v. 2.—“*Shall perish from His sight.*”

“ “ v. 4.—“*The pure in heart are Thy delight*
And they Thy face shall see.”

No. 232 (Old, 135) v. 4.—“And *knows* her guilt was there.”

No. 90 (Old, 14) v. 3.—“To ransom *us from sin*,
 ’Tis *thus* He makes His goodness
 known,
 Where shall our praise begin.”

No. 94 (Old, 33) v. 2.—“*The heavens and all the powers on
 high,*
 Thee, holy, holy, holy King,
 Lord God of hosts, they ever sing.”

No. 184 (Old, 187) v. 3.—“*In Thy mercy pity me,*
 From sin’s bondage set me free.”

No. 235 (Old, 237)—last line of each verse—
 “Hear *our solemn litany.*”

No. 284 (Old, 434) v. 4.—“When we *at death must part.*”

No. 344 (Old, 213) v. 2.—“*And infant voices shall proclaim
 Their early blessings on His name.*”

No. 402 (Old, 310) v. 4.—“When I *soar through tracts un-
 known.*”

No. 418 (Old, 321) v. 4.—“Age *cannot* change its *constant
 hue,*
 Thy blood preserves it ever new.”

No. 539 (Old, 456) v. 5.—“*By faith they bring it nigh.*”

No. 174 (Old, 181) verse 3, (Old 4) is entirely new.

No. 272 (Old, 243) verse 3, (Old 5) the first two lines are transposed and inverted.

Nos. 378 (Old, 298), 451, (Old 332), and 433, (Old 401), are so thoroughly altered that the two books cannot be used together.

In the music also the alterations are quite as noticeable. Some very familiar tunes have received wholly new arrangements of harmony. Such are “Sicily,” “Portuguese Hymn,” “Mercy,” and “Old Hundred.” Others, as “Lenox” and “Coronation,” have the objectionable tenor and bass solos put in harmony with the other parts. And still others, for example, “Zion,” “Germany,” and “Nettleton,” have a line or two of one of the parts added or omitted. While throughout the book many of the rough and false progressions have been smoothed

down and corrected. All these are improvements. Also the change of the time and of the key in many tunes makes them more singable by the congregation. There are one or two exceptions to this. The "Amen" is also added to every tune.

Two tunes to one hymn is a more frequent occurrence in this book than in the old. The second, of these, added to such very familiar and much used hymns as "Come Thou Fount," "Nearer my God to Thee," "Rock of Ages," "My faith looks up to Thee," "All hail the power," "Just as I am," and some others, is a most excellent interpretation of the sentiment of the words. They leave nothing further to be desired.

Only four minor tunes are given place here. Quite enough! They would be little missed were there none. Minors seldom are popular, because it has been said that children cry in the minor key, and the major key is the natural tone of praise and joy. However, one of these four, viz., "Newmark," has an enviable record among congregational tunes and church chorals.

One verse of the hymn is always placed between the staves of the music. The type is minion, while the rest of the hymn is set in brevier. It could all have been brevier. But what is more objectionable is that the arrangement of the book should have caused the separation of the remaining verses of some hymns so exceptionally far from the music and on the opposite page.

The standard of the music is high. It has drawn its materials from sources both ancient and modern. These are the products of the best German, English and American minds. A competent musical critic has said that the majority of the best tunes the Church has to-day are of German origin, and most of the worst are American. Measured by this rule this book can hold neither highest nor lowest place. It must be classed among the best grades of modern English productions stripped of some of their pedantic harmonies that are black with accidentals which bewilder, but have nothing dazzling about them. These are supplemented with choice selections from the German chorals, to give weight and depth, and a few wisely culled numbers from

the characteristically American "Gospel Songs," to bring the book up to date, and to Americanize it.

Among the American composers are found also the names of Lowell Mason, Thomas Hastings, William B. Bradbury and others who wrought a half century ago and less for the elevation of church music in this country, and whose tunes, though devoid of the peculiar beauties of the best modern English harmonies, are nevertheless pleasing and singable. These rightly have a place in the book. But the chief place is given to the modern English type represented by such composers as Dykes, Barnby, Smart, Monk, Sullivan, Stainer, and Hopkins in England, and in America by Le Jeune, Burnap, Hodges, Main, Roper and others. The compositions of this school are characterized by a natural, self-developing melody sustained by a rich and varied harmony. While this product is a beautiful and pleasing tune, it is not so buoyant and enduring as the German choral; yet it is better suited to the American tastes.

These, and some other points to be touched upon later, are what commend this book so strongly. But, in fidelity to a just review, it becomes necessary to point out a few obvious oversights of the committee on tunes. This is done solely in the interests of an ideal Book of Worship, and that the same errors may not be transferred to the proposed Common Hymnal, as some of these have been carried over from the old book to this.

One of the rules under which the committee worked was, "The tune must have adaptation." Barring out all personal preferences this rule seems to have been applied excellently in all particulars except one. The book furnishes indications that what may be called the rhyme of the music in conformity with the rhyme of the words, was scarcely considered at all. Each has its own rhyme or what stands for it, and when these do not meet harmoniously there is an effect produced akin to a discord. For example, when a tune whose phrases or sections rhyme in couplets is set to a hymn whose lines rhyme alternately, or *vice versa*, the only place of coincidence of rhyme is at the end of the fourth line; and there is then at the end of the second line, if not at the others, a feeling of repose, or of suspense, that is

not warranted by the words, or by the music separately. Such maladjustments are found in the new Book of Worship.

But the danger of this occurring frequently is not as great as may seem at first thought. Only L. M's., or 8s, and 7s, are susceptible of this clash of rhyme. (Of course 6s, 10s, and 11s are so constituted also, but the probability is least in them, because generally the tunes are specially composed for the hymns with which they are joined). In these two meters three kinds of rhyme occur,—the couplet, the alternate and the mixed. Seldom is a tune so constituted that it can be exactly fitted to two of these rhymes interchangeably. If there are some exceptions to this principle they are generally tunes of a weak, nondescript character, and scarcely suited to a place in a high-grade hymnal. As a rule a musician composes his tunes to hymns that are before him and have definite rhyme.

The committee failed to lay sufficient stress upon this simple fact of conformity of rhyme. Indeed at several places they disregard it entirely, and brought forth strange anomalies. The rhyme of the music in these cases is totally different from the rhyme of the words. One of these can be seen at Hymn No. 176. Here there is nothing in the music that corresponds to the feeling of repose so plainly in evidence at the close of the third and sixth lines of the words. The tune "Clifton" set to this hymn and composed by William H. Monk, that prince of perfect adaptation and exact fitness of tunes to words, was written expressly for a hymn whose first four lines rhymed alternately and whose last two lines were a couplet. But in this hymn this first and second and fourth and fifth lines are couplets, while the third and sixth also rhyme, making it a peculiar 7s. In the present adaptation the rhymes do not coincide, (except only seemingly so at the end of the second line,) until the last note is sung. Evidently the tune that will express the full meaning of this hymn must be cast in a different mold. It must be one in which the rhyme or cadence of the third and sixth lines is strongly pronounced, like "Ariel," "Bremen," or "Lauda Zion." But "Clifton" is not such a composition.

Another tune, (see Hymn No. 91), by that versatile composer,

John B. Dykes, the leading exponent and best representative of the modern English school of ecclesiastical music, has met a fate similar to the one just named. Possibly the disagreement is more noticeable in this case than in the former, because of the pauses in the music, which unmistakably reveal the composer's true meaning.

The tune "Pilot," also, is deserving of notice. It is found twice in the book. At hymn No. 395, which is its original setting, it is mated to verses that rhyme in couplets. This is its proper adaptation. But at hymn No. 240 it is different. Here it is wrenched from its legitimate rhyme in which it was composed, and made to do service when the first two-line section, each time a stanza is sung, is converted into alternate rhyme and back again to end in a couplet. This is a most extraordinary course of development for a tune to pass through in the process of singing one verse. Of course it is indefensible. The same thing precisely is true of the tune "Guide" at hymn No. 462, which was transferred to this book from the old without correction or alteration. At hymn No. 500 the rhyme of this tune is properly maintained.

Good old "Hendon" at hymn No. 336, which was taken bodily from the Old Book, must be placed among the misfits in rhyme. Only once in both books is it classed among the alternate-rhyming tunes; and every principle of musicians rules it out of this class. Nor is it proper conformity to the law of adaptation to allow its association with words for which it was never composed, to bias one's judgment of its fitness for this place. That would establish mere sentiment above mature judgment. "Seymour," also, at hymn No. 64, is of more than doubtful adaptation of rhyme. Twice elsewhere in this book it is differently adjusted, and always correctly so in the Old Book.

Other tunes of like character might be added to these already named, but as they can be used to edification as they stand, even though they are not perfectly adapted, they are omitted here. In the case of some of these no consensus of usage is found in the best hymnals. Nor is it possible now always to ascertain how the composer himself mated these tunes. These

facts, together with the intimation of a possible misconception or the natural bias of accustomed usage, at once forecast a doubt on any conclusions that might be reached.

But there are tunes whose original mating can be verified. In this book the tunes "Hollingside," "Bethabara," "Ellerton," "St. George's", "Windsor" (No. 348) and others are known to have been composed to hymns rhyming differently from those joined with them here. No one of these is perfectly adapted to its new surroundings. In each case the discord of rhyme is of the same character as that pointed out in "Hendon" and "Seymour." The composers themselves meant it otherwise. The certainty of how a musician of recognized ability mates his own music ought to have great weight in determining the fitness and adaptation of a different mating made by some one else. Indeed, a conservative editor would scarcely intentionally disregard the external characteristics of a hymn united by a musician of reputation with his tune, (even when the internal characteristics exactly accord), except for weighty and incontestable reasons. He must remember that the right interpretation and expression of the internal sentiment of a hymn and its tune are dependent in no small degree upon the proper recognition and observance of their phrasing, rhyme and rhythm. It is the want of sufficient attention given to one of these external qualities that is responsible for all the defects thus far pointed out in this otherwise most excellent Book of Worship. Indeed, if these defects were righted, this book would go far towards setting the standard of hymnals adapted to general congregational use. As it is the committees' "confidence of having greatly improved the book that was revised, and of setting forth an admirable Book of Worship," is warranted by the facts.

Two queer mistakes of a different nature are noticed in the Book. The tunes "Pax Dei" and "Ellerton" are identically the same. Also the tunes "Cherith" and "Spohr" were originally alike, but some hand has changed the latter and arranged it for six lines, thus marring its beauty and usefulness. Three four-line tunes by repetition are accommodated to six-line hymns. We do not think well of such a double use of tunes in one book.

New names to familiar tunes and to others not so familiar are noticed. One of these having two names in this book, has a different one in those books from which it seems to have been taken. Another having one name in our book has three others in the two books referred to. It is indeed a happy faculty not possessed by all to be able to designate a tune so as to characterize both the words and the music. This may explain some of the new names. A few tunes are missed which were promised; and the harmony of "Come ye disconsolate" is disappointing. A good stately, vigorous and enduring tune to "Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah" is needed. In the whole range of sacred song there is no tune that expresses the sentiment of these words, which at the same time is fitted for general congregational use. The book is well supplied with indexes, but another of authors and composers could have been added with profit.

This Book of Worship is now before the Church for its approval. It is a revision and improvement of the Old Book. In our country the tendency is unmistakably toward higher standards and achievements in church music. This impulse is due more to the Church of England and the modern musicians working in it than possibly to any other source. In Germany without doubt the best modern music is to be found. In England, however, this modern musical spirit has been specialized for the Church more than in any other country. In America the "Gospel Song" style of music has yet a prominent place; but the trend is now toward higher ideals. This new Book of Worship is the expression of this tendency in our Church. In it the characteristically American music is almost entirely wanting, and the principal place given to the modern English style. Its use in the congregation will help wonderfully toward the attainment of the best ideal of song in the sanctuary. And though parts of it may be rather difficult for some congregations and even for some choirs, yet the major portion of the book is immediately accessible to all. Some persons, too, will not be pleased with the music at first trial, but, like good literature, its

use will develop the capacity for its full enjoyment. We are fully satisfied that the collection will prove a worthy aid to religious devotions in the sanctuary and elsewhere. A fair trial is all it will need to win its way to the hearts of worshipers and lovers of sacred song.

ARTICLE VII.

SENSE-KNOWLEDGE AND SPIRIT-KNOWLEDGE.

BY REV. W. E. FISCHER, D. D.

It is not an infrequent objection to Christianity, urged often in ignorance, and sometimes in a spirit of earnest inquiry after the truth, sometimes too, as an excuse to rid one's self of attention to any or all of its great claims, that we can really know nothing as to the existence, the character, or the government of God. It is said that Christians only dogmatize about all things spiritual. If we could make spiritual things matters of knowledge as we can material things, then all objection to being believers in Christianity would forever be removed.

Now, where there is a sincere desire for the truth in such matters, I take it to be the duty of the Christian pulpit to help such a desire to the light it seeks.

I dare say, too, that this view of God and spiritual things, a view that holds them as matters not coming within the range of certain knowledge, is to no small extent the view of some otherwise very good people. The Christian is sometimes in a maze on this question. God has come to us by the power of his word, and we have yielded ourselves to his redeeming grace. We look for his coming in the clouds of heaven to give us our appointed place in the Kingdom of the Father above. The fruits of our life are such as to lead us, and others, to conclude that we are all that we profess to be. And yet, the temptation is upon us, now and again, to wonder, if not to doubt, as to the *reality* of spiritual knowledge. It will be helpful to us, therefore, and especially to those who are not Christians in the best sense, and to unbelievers in particular, to face a few thoughts on this

subject, not new, perhaps, and to face them seriously. We want knowledge. What we *know*, we hold to.

What is knowledge? Knowledge is a thing that rests on certainty. Something must be certain, or it can not be known. Knowledge is a possession of the mind. It is the mind that recognizes facts and realities. These facts and realities may be in the mind or outside of it. But they must *exist first*; when the mind finds them, then it gains knowledge. And these facts and realities are knowledge to the mind by proofs and evidences. These proofs vary as the subjects of knowledge, or the certainties vary. We know mathematics by proofs peculiar to that science. We know history by its peculiar proofs. Each of these sciences has proofs ample and sufficient in their place. The proofs of mathematics cannot be carried over into the realm of morals. We do not prove the truth concerning the soul by the evidences of eyes that can not see it. The authority of civil courts, as such, is not appealed to, to prove the existence of God. But whatever proofs or evidences reasonably convince the mind, furnish the understanding with knowledge, because they enable it to ascertain a reality, a certainty, so that the conviction of the mind accords with the fact, that is knowledge.

Applied to the existence of God, what does this view of the case teach? What are the evidences of God's real being? Man is himself an evidence of the existence of God. Man is an effect. There must be a cause to correspond to such an effect, to produce it. We are not self-created. A cause must be assigned somewhere, an original cause, and that cause is God. There is no dogmatism in such a position. We are just as certain that there is such a God, as we are that we are ourselves an effect. We know it just as well, not in the same way indeed, but just as certainly. And we know too that the cause that produced such an effect as man, is an intelligent cause. The common sense of mankind protests against the conclusion that chance or accident operate in a creative way. Every-day observation and facts force us to own that this and that *are*, because of the working of something else as a *producing cause*. The machine presupposes a machinist. There is a design clearly

manifest in the machine, so there must be a designer. The evidences of purpose and skill in the human body are overwhelming. This body is not self-created; that we know as well as we know anything. The proof is before us. "I am fearfully and wonderfully made," cries the Psalmist. So these bodies and thinking minds are incontrovertible proofs of the existence, power, and wisdom of God. We can not fairly be charged with assuming or dogmatizing when we take such a position as this. It is *certain reasoning* that leads to an inevitable conclusion, and the conclusion is knowledge.

On the same principle, "the whole universe and its myriad forms of life, rational and irrational, its suns and comets, its whales and butterflies, its motes and mountains, are proofs of the existence and power of God." Nothing is uncaused. Of this our reason assures us. The great cause is God.

But it is asserted with much vehemence and an attempted show of logic, that we know *but little* of spirit, and that our knowledge of material things is more extensive than is our knowledge of spiritual things. Is this true? We think not. Impressions must not be mistaken for proofs. We have so much to do with the material that we are in danger of being victimized by the material. Our primary ideas largely come to us through the senses. The idea of spirit, a thing that we can not see, touch or bring within the cognizance of our bodily senses, is mysterious to us in its obscurity. To see spirit, as we see a stone, would be to remove all doubts about it. So we sometimes reason. We must come to the idea of spirit through another channel. We must reason, compare, or trace effect to some cause when we enter into the spirit realm, and therefore this whole doctrine of spirit assumes a sort of misty significance, and is often pronounced a mere fancy or an idle dream.

Now this seeming uncertainty as to spirit is only an impression. There is a necessity of our nature from which there is no escape in our present state, that obliges us to have a pronounced familiarity with sensible things; and this fact will in large part account for our being impressed so readily by the sensible and so little by the spiritual. Our knowledge comes, for the most

part, through the eyes and ears, and the sense of touch. The spiritual is largely unreal and strange to us. But affirming all this, we yet maintain that the idea that spiritual knowledge must on this account of necessity be less perfect than is that of material things, is altogether impression and prejudice. It is admitted that knowledge of natural things comes in a way that gives vividness and quickness to it, and that this is not true of spiritual things. The eye quickly conveys the color of a flower to the brain. Sensitive nerves give instant certainty. No course of reasoning is necessary here. We see the flash of lightning at once. We hear the peal of thunder at once. We need not verify such knowledge. But is the certainty of these matters any greater than we have of things that we demonstrate? It has been said that "we may trust the mechanism of our nerves, but no more so than we may trust the multiplication table, or the mathematical processes of astronomy and the counting house. But it is also more probable that by some derangement of the senses we may see wrong and hear wrong and taste wrong, than that the sure processes of mathematical calculation should deceive us." Sense-knowledge is our own; it is derived from our own senses. Knowledge derived through mathematics is our own only in a comparative sense. Here, the conclusions of others, by comparison, strengthen our own conclusions. Previous processes are made our processes. But in matters of pure sense each man must use his own eyes and ears. You can not use other men's eyes and ears. But we can take the testimony of the men who do use them; then our knowledge rests only on testimony, not on the senses. And this fact of our dependence on our own sense perceptions deprives us of one of the advantages of certainty which attend knowledge in matters of pure reason. If our conclusions are paralleled by other men's conclusions, then is our assurance strengthened; but every man's eyes are his own, and we can not use them. Increased testimony means increased confidence and assurance. But we can not increase our certainty in knowledge we get from the senses, "for we can not borrow another man's nerves." This being true, it must be conceded that,

instead of there being more ground of certainty in knowledge derived directly through the senses, there is *less* certainty than in knowledge that comes in some other modes.

Now, if it be said that we must not cast discredit upon the testimony of the senses, or that we must not doubt about what we see and hear, our reply is that we do not mean to discredit our senses ; but we must compare different grounds of knowledge. The knowledge that comes from the senses is impressive in its suddenness. It is our possession, whether we are concerned about it or not. The reasoning faculty is not at all involved in the result. Is it then, on that account, more reliable than, or superior to, the knowledge that comes by the exercise of our mental machinery ? Wherein lies the certainty of sensible knowledge as over against the knowledge of the reason ? With reason, I may believe the testimony of my eyes rather than the testimony of an unknown witness. Have not men testified falsely oftener than good eyes testify falsely ? Therefore you may have the more certainty about good eyes. And this certainty would not be stronger if you could not tell why. The point here involved has been cleverly put in this way : "If a man can not tell why his knowledge coming through the senses has more certainty about it than knowledge coming in some other way, though he believes it has, then he is to be considered a very imperfect man, and though you might trust his eyes, you should not trust his powers of reasoning." The fact is, the man who lays such great stress upon the certainty of sensible knowledge, disparaging the certainty of knowledge that comes in other ways, is one-sided—is prejudiced. Is it to be taken for granted that "snap-knowledge," as sensible knowledge has been not inaptly called, carries with it a *special*, and *extra* degree of certainty ? Is it not within the facts in the case to say, that the senses are not the surest means of certainty of knowledge ? Let it be conceded that knowledge of material things is clear and vivid. On the other hand, let it also be conceded that knowledge of spiritual things is not unreal, because other knowledge is clear. Vividness of impression must not be made to mean strength of proof. We can know more than just what we

have seen. Natural things are seen naturally. But the mind has an eye—has a knowledge of spirit which is as direct and reliable as any knowledge that comes to us through the eye. We know that the mind roams over fields of knowledge which are unknown and unknowable by the eye. We must not throw suspicion on the evidence that comes from other sources than those of sense. That were to assume too much. Doubt about spirit may go too far. If we had no more knowledge than that which comes through the bodily senses we would be little better than the brute. Things unseen are not less real than things seen; to suppose so is to reverse the reality of the universe. “I believe only in the seen,” says the materialist. “Let me touch the spiritual and I am your convert,” recently said an unbeliever. Such an attitude toward the spiritual must reduce to almost nothing man’s fund of knowledge. Does a man know that he has a soul through *sense* perception? Who ever saw the soul, handled or tasted it? Does a man know that he has reason or the power of reasoning, or that he has such a thing as mind? If only sensible knowledge is real, how then does a man know he has reason? He must surely doubt whether he has the power of doubting, for he never saw it or touched it. This principle of doubting about spirit, to be consistent, must go to the absurd length of cutting a man off from all that he calls certain knowledge, except merely that sphere of certain knowledge that comes within the reach of his earth-senses.

Nothing is more real than thought, than truth, than right, than affection, the soul with its awful capacities and powers and obligations. And these are things that we know and see without the use of our eyes. What reality so stern as the reality of duty? No man can shake off this sense of obligation that says—“*You ought.*” To the eye the grass is green, the stone is square, the ball is round. These impressions of color and shape are conveyed to the mind. So under certain circumstances and conditions the mind intuitively recognizes God, and in that sense sees him. Evidences of intelligence and design in the world, are proofs, to the thoughtful, of God’s presence in nature.

In the approval or disapproval of conscience, in the stern call

of duty and of those great relations which the sense of duty presupposes, the sound mind recognizes God as the Supreme Power, the Supreme Wisdom, the Supreme Justice and Holiness of the universe, and thus, as an object of reverence and worship.

But our senses also give us positive evidence of spirit. Speech is proof of mind. The man who sways the multitude with his eloquence is an argument, a sensible evidence to us of an unseen spirit that prompts the motion of the tongue and weaves the stirring words. "It is with the eye that we reach the effects of the spirit, that is, the motion of the tongue and the words we hear, that come from the unseen spirit." And thus our very senses furnish us with an evidence of the existence of the mind, as clear and as certain as if the eyes could behold it. The effects are seen as clearly as anything is seen. They must come from mind. Can a reasonable argument come from anything else than reason?

And coming from human lips, we certainly have the evidence of two of our senses that a mind exists somewhere, a spirit that has moved the lips and framed the argument. It is therefore an unwarranted assumption, nay, a falsehood, to say that we have no sensible proof as to spirit, and hence can not know much about it.

We are free to admit that there are mysteries in this subject. But the principle of common sense can not be ignored; that principle rightfully demands that effects, changes, motions, are not self-caused. The connection between cause and effect is fixed. We can not act without this principle.

Now the efficient power of the cause lies in the will. The will is king. Every change is attributed to something. Whatever that something be, it is called the cause. Whatever we do or say, is caused. That is common sense. So far as man is concerned, the cause of his actions is his spirit. Of all the changes in the universe, God is the cause. He is the first cause of all things. *I am, because He is.* I live and move with delegated power. And I have power to act only so long as I live. My body obeys my will, a power dependent on God. And yet, "subordinate as is the power of my spirit, I am the cause

of my own actions, and accountable for them, now to my fellow-men, and always to God." This view makes it clear enough, we think, that what we do is evidence of our spirit, that has power over our acts. And it should be equally clear, in this view, that the movements of the universe are all evidences of an unseen Spirit which controls them. Who is this Spirit if it be not God? Material organization sees only material organization. The eye does not directly reach God, but it reaches these changes that are his effects, the expressions of his existence and power. That position can not be successfully assailed. Who then can say we have not as good evidences about God as if our eyes could behold him? This evidence is indeed more circuitous, less sudden, than is the evidence of actual sight, but is it not as good? We may be as certain as if we saw him. We know that a cause of visible changes is operating, just as well as we know the effects. Wherein lies the uncertainty of such knowledge of God? Before us are changes of greater or less magnitude. The evidence of our senses can not be gainsaid. If God is not the cause of these changes, then dumb matter has will-power, reason, power of motion all its own.

And in what lies the power back of all these changes? Surely in the spirit. The bulging muscle of the prize-fighter is not independent of his will, it acts under the impulse of the will. It is the will that controls the body; only in case of disease that weakens or cripples it, will the body refuse to listen to the command of the spirit. The will may employ instruments to do its bidding, but the power resides only in the will. And what is God's power, if not his will? He may use instruments or not, as he pleases, to accomplish his purposes. He has only to command, and it is done. Man's power is limited. Man's will is "hedged about." Man acts or not, just as his will wills. But if he would change anything about him, he must put himself in a certain relation or attitude toward the thing he desires to change. Not so God. He can act *directly*. He is Spirit. His mere willing is all his power. The universe hangs on his will. What a God is not this? But—

“This awful God is ours,
Our Father and our love,
He will send down his heavenly powers
To carry us above.”

The claim then, that knowledge of spirit is as reliable as knowledge that comes through natural channels, is not the extravagant and groundless assertion of a mere enthusiast. For it is with the mind that we know, and knowledge is, in the last analysis, an ascertainment of something that exists before. It exists therefore, in the mind, not in matter. All sensible knowledge comes to the mind *mediately*, but the perception is in the mind. If a man knows anything, he must know he has a knowing mind. We know only with the spirit. Our knowledge of material things presupposes spirit. How do we come to the knowledge of the qualities of matter? Mediate, through sense perception, but immediately through the mind. Matter is not endowed with reason. Matter does not analyze, compare and systematize. This is the function of spirit alone. The certainty of the quality of matter is the ascertainment of the mind. We are certain of anything only because we are certain of mind. Our senses constantly declare the existence of spirit. “And the fact of the knowledge of material things coming to us through the senses, makes that knowledge no surer than that which comes to the mind through the spirit. It can not be surer, for knowledge is a possession of the mind, no matter how it gets there. Light is light, whether it comes to us through the door or through the window. So knowledge is knowledge, no matter how it comes. Certainty is certainty. If only sensible knowledge is to be treated as real and trustworthy, then more than half the jurisprudence of all mankind must be overthrown.”—*Spencer*. The fact is, no man acts on such a principle. Only the fool, the mind blinded by the love of sin, cries out, “There is no God, no spirit.”

Then too, a man is most deeply affected by knowledge of the spirit. How the sense of duty sometimes stirs us! “While I mused, the fire burned,” says the Psalmist. The body is sometimes reduced to a veritable shadow under the strain and stress

of thought. The mere anticipation of trouble has made men mad. "Conscience makes cowards of us all." A sense of guilt, known only to himself, has made many a man tremble like a leaf. Is it not true, that knowledge, existing in the mind by reflection and consciousness, entirely apart from the senses, affects the material body itself as powerfully as any sensible knowledge can do? Is it not true that mere thought has power over the material body that is irresistible? If then, we are not to believe in the reality and sureness of knowledge that does not come by matter, we must surely believe in the reality of knowledge that makes the strong man tremble, and that turns the brave man into a coward. How real are the capabilities of thought! How dreadfully certain is the apprehension of danger! Compared with such knowledge, the certainties about matter are but dreams.

And we venture to go a step further. We are within the limits of truth when we say that knowledge of spirit is more extensive than is knowledge of matter. Quoting Spencer once more: "We know that matter, as for example, rock, has hardness, weight, shape, color, and sometimes odor. But none of these qualities is the essence of the rock. No man can tell what the essence, in which all these qualities exists, is. Now look at spirit. What is the essence of the soul? There is no matter about it. What do we know of it? Well, it reasons, thinks, imagines, remembers, fears, hopes, resents, rejoices and sorrows. But neither of these is the essence of the soul. What is its essence? No man can tell. So we know as much of the essence of matter as we do of spirit. Matter has color, figure, inactivity, hardness, smell, and it is movable. That is all we know about matter. And what do we know about Spirit? It perceives, it compares, judges, reasons, remembers, wills, it fancies, it has consciousness, or perception of its own acts, it is capable of pain and pleasure. Without going any further, we see that we have more knowledge of spirit than we have of matter. But may there not be other properties of the spirit of which we know nothing? Yes. So there may be of matter. But it is knowledge we are talking about, not ignorance. It is

knowledge we must act on and die on. A perhaps does not weigh a feather against a known truth. There may be a thousand qualities belonging to matter of which we know nothing at all. But it were foolish to refuse to breathe the air because it may have some unknown properties. So he is a fool who will not repent and believe in Christ because his immortal soul may have some unknown properties."

God asks us to act on certainty, on knowledge. The believer is therefore reasonable when he rests upon God and spiritual things. He stands upon immovable foundations. The unbeliever must always be on the defensive. His explanations must always be apologetic in character. "Unbelief must act on ignorance, if it acts at all." And if the unbeliever is not apologetic in his defense of his position, he is assuming, credulous and dogmatic. With great show of logic he labors to prove what might be, while he closes his eyes to what is.

Infidelity can not withstand the force of reason and argument. But it is a practical question as to how far the Christian Church is responsible for the existence of infidelity. Life affects life. Christians should *be* what they *profess* to be. Christianity's most irresistible argument is a good man.

Knowledge of spirit will be as real to the materialist as is knowledge of matter, in proportion as the Christian believer *makes it real*.

ARTICLE VIII.

HADES.

BY REV. HIRAM KING.

PART I : HADES AS A STATE OF MAN'S EXISTENCE.

God is not the author of Hades. Such a sphere for man was not contemplated in his creation and is therefore foreign to his being. Indeed, Hades as a state involves man's partial destruction, and can exist only in the loss of his bodily life. The assassination of Abel resulted accordingly, not only in the first death but also in the inauguration of Hades.

THE EXISTENCE OF HADES.

The proof of Hades as a state of man's existence is, in the first place, logical. St. Paul depicts the destroyer of man's life under the portraiture of a scorpion, with sin for a sting (1 Cor. 15 : 55, 56). The natural life of man is not a finality, and, under normal conditions, he would doubtless develop into a glorified state, of which the translation of the prophet Elijah is a suggestion. There sprang, however, this deadly beast from the fall, whose venom produces the mortality of all the race at the fountain of their life, and man breaks down in nature instead of surmounting his first environments. In place of rising along the scale of life, he disappears "under the earth." There is thus imposed on man an abnormal state of existence, which, succeeding death and preceding the resurrection, is the intermediate state.

Then again, Hades is a prominent fact of revelation. Under its Hebrew name of Sheol it occurs frequently in the Old Testament Scriptures and is variously translated in the Authorized Version as "hell," "grave" and "pit."

The dogma concerning man's existence in the middle state received its first recorded utterance in the declaration by Jacob of his purpose to go down to Sheol to his son uncomforted (Gen. 37 : 35). It is plain that the grief-stricken patriarch did

not refer to simple death and literal burial, since he believed the concocted story, that Joseph had been devoured by an evil beast (Gen. 37 : 20). It therefore follows that he could not have thought of him as in the grave at all. If, however, so early an expression of faith in the doctrine of the middle state be regarded as having but little, or no significance, it must still be conceded that this tenet in the Hebrew creed receives the unmistakable sanction of revelation in the Hebrew prophets (Isaiah 14 : 9 ; Ezekiel 32 : 17-32).

The revelation of the middle state is continued throughout the New Testament under its Greek name of Hades and its equivalents. It was in Hades that the Rich Man appealed to Abraham for relief (Luke 16 : 23-31). It was in Hades that the soul of the Lord was not to be left (Acts 2 : 27). They are the keys of death and of Hades conjointly, which the Lord carried away at his resurrection (Rev. 1 : 18). It is Hades personified that follows death on a mission of destruction (Rev. 6 : 8). They are death and Hades associated that give up the dead to be themselves cast into the lake of fire (Rev. 20 : 13, 14).

HADES BELONGING TO THE NATURAL ORDER.

Hades is connected with man's first, or unglorified stage of existence. The middle state involves not only the suspension of the bodily functions, but the prostration of the bodily constitution as well. Man is by position the Lord of nature because he is the highest expression of the order of nature. Instead, however, of exercising a thorough-going domination over nature, he falls a victim to its inroads in the end. Not only does he fail to surmount his natural environments and to emerge from them, as the butterfly from the chrysalis, but he is not able to maintain himself in them. He unavoidably totters "to the lower parts of the earth" through sheer senility, unless he is swept away by prior disease or violence.

In his constitution, man is tripartite (1 Thes. 5 : 23, Heb. 4 : 12) and his trichotomy is essential to his complete existence in any sphere. The middle state is the result of the disruption

of the unity of body, soul and spirit. The body is now bereft of the constituent principle of life and its elements are seeking their affinities in earth and air. The soul has perished with the disintegration of the unity. The spirit alone survives the mighty wreck and tenants Hades. Verily, the "image of God" is not now marred but broken. Man is but a fragment of himself—a single part of his trichotomy.

Hades obtains, therefore, in the mutilation of man, whose existence, for the time being, is but partial. He sleeps in Christ, or else the nightmare of anticipated judgment to come haunts him in the darkness. The night-time of his existence corresponds not, however, to the night of nature. Nor is the sleep of the dead identical with the nocturnal repose of the living. Their difference may be measured by distinguishing between the states of existence which they respectively characterize. The sleep of the living follows the exhaustion of the vital forces; that of the dead results from the disintegration of the vital constitution. The sleep of the living is periodical; that of the dead, being the intermediate state, will not be broken before the world's Easter Day. The sleep of the living, when normal, imposes dreamless unconsciousness; the sleep of the dead debars not their mental action. (Luke 16 : 23-31.)

HADES A SPHERE OF SPIRITUAL GROWTH.

From the purely spiritual point of view, Hades is, however, an advance on the natural life of man, because it affords enlarged freedom for his spiritual development and progress. The seat of the sensual appetites is now eliminated from the existence and the servants of God are no longer exposed to the seductions of the "world, the flesh and the devil." They are, by position, in higher spiritual and fraternal relationship than it is possible to attain to during life. The vast aggregation of the departed righteous of all ages enjoy the blessed "communion of saints" in its fullest present realization.

While, then, man's existence in the middle state is abnormal and broken, and falls inconceivably short of the heavenly state proper, to which it temporarily bars the way, it is still a glorifi-

cation of the present existence. Former tribulations are but a memory, and happiness is unalloyed by suffering. Sectarian interests do not now hinder Christian fellowship, and growth in grace is no longer retarded by noxious influences.

HADES A STATE OF HAPPINESS OR MISERY.

Hades is the preliminary theatre of man's future recompense or penalty, the personal condition being consequent on the character of the preceding life. In Luke 16 : 23-31, the Lord discloses to the living the realm of existence in the immediate hereafter, making thus the condition of the dead a fact of direct revelation. His specific purpose seems to be to warn the self-indulgent unbeliever and to encourage the despondent believer. All the characters in the drama of the Rich Man and Lazarus are conscious and rational, and the fate or fortune of each corresponds to the teachings of revealed religion. Abraham, with full command of the situation, presides over the scene ; the late epicurean is now in torment, and is, moreover, made aware that the source of the relief he craves lies across an unbridgable chasm ; while the former beggar is seen in the blissful enjoyment of Paradise, resting "in the bosom" of the Patriarch ancestor of his people.

HADES EMBRACED IN THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.

The intermediate state is a realm of the Kingdom of God under the reign of Christ. As touching the purpose of the Lord's exaltation, St. Paul declares, "that in the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and on earth and things under the earth," (Phil. 2 : 10.) The proverbial expression, "under the earth," is the equivalent of Hades and can not possibly refer to the corporeal tenants of the cemeteries, since these are inanimate and therefore incapable of making any demonstration whatever. Clearly, the mediatorial King extends his sceptre to the realm of disembodied spirits, and the righteous dead "bow the knee" before him in true allegiance. The reign of Christ over Hades implies, moreover, not alone the consciousness, the happiness and the safety of his "sleeping" subjects, but the inference is justified that their active interest is enlisted in

the progress of His Kingdom. Citizenship implies civil duties ; duties imply active service.

HADES NOT A FINAL STATE.

The intermediate state is temporary and will be brought to an end at the conclusion of the personal reign of Christ. The Lord acquired the keys of death and of Hades at his personal resurrection (Rev. 1 : 18). He therefore controls the egress of the great prison, and will, at his second advent, release its inmates. The great enlargement will, however, not be effected by the literal unbarring of a gate, but in the general resurrection, which will result in the destruction of death and of Hades, both of which enemies of the race, it is said, will be engulfed in the burning lake (Rev. 20 : 14).

THE ENDING OF HADES.

The world's final tragedy is clothed in figure, but the end of Hades will be historical and not arbitrary. The "trump of God" (1 Cor. 25 : 52) is metaphorical, not a literal instrument. St. Matthew's judgment scene (25 : 31-46) is the allegory of judicial proceedings. The prophet Daniel represents the resurrection as an awaking from sleep in the dust (12 : 2). St. Paul would have the cemeteries to be fields of grain, and sepulture the sowing of the natural seed of the body for the spiritual harvest of the general resurrection (1 Cor. 15 : 42, 44).

The destruction of Hades will be consequent on the development of human nature itself. This affirmation is in full accord with St. Paul's agricultural simile, that the seed-grain must perish, as such, in its growth into the harvest (1 Cor. 15 : 36-38). So with the "quickenings" of the "seed" of the body, man will resume his normal development, ascend from Hades and the intermediate state will end.

Man will, however, not overcome the abnormal condition of Hades and enter the glorified state in *Adam*, since it is in him that "all die" (1 Cor. 15 : 22), and that, consequently, the upward progress of the race is arrested. Man will develop to his delayed destiny only through spiritual birth of the "last Adam,"

in whose person human nature is sublimated, by faith and grace, into a higher immortality than that which was lost in the fall. The "sleepers" in Christ will awake in the morning of their Easter, fully equipped for the nightless day of the "new earth." The seed sown "under the earth" will grow to the surface on the sunlit field of the general resurrection, which will yield its harvest of man restored to trichotomic unity, who thenceforth will be immortal, and whose development toward his ideal, the personal Christ, will be perpetual.

PART II: THE DESCENT OF CHRIST INTO HADES.

THE DESCENT OF CHRIST IN THE CREED.

The Apostles' Creed is the summary of revelation, touching man, from the beginning of his existence in the world to his glorification in heaven. The great creed is, moreover, the formulation in the order of their development. It is thus a truly historical statement of the doctrines of the Gospel, and necessarily includes the article of the descent of Christ into Hades, as marking a stage in the progress of revelation itself. The instinct was therefore correct, which prompted the Church to attach significance for faith to the period in the Lord's first advent between Good-Friday and Easter Sunday.

THE DESCENT OF CHRIST IN LOGIC.

The logic of the incarnation made the descent of Christ into Hades inevitable. His advent was not the sham of a Docetic phantasm, nor yet the arrival of a messenger on a temporary mission, but it was his assumption, as the "Word," of human nature in essence, attribute and function (John I : 14). The incarnation is indeed quite as human as it is divine. The Son of God is now also the Son of Man, and Christ is within human environments and subject to the conditions of human existence. As now, the fall of man made his natural death unavoidable, it is perfectly plain that the Lord's identification with the race in his human birth involved him in the general descent of man into Hades.

THE DESCENT OF CHRIST IN REVELATION.

The descent of Christ into Hades is, moreover, affirmed as distinctly in revelation as it is demonstrated in logic. King David, prophesying of the resurrection of Christ, said, "that neither was he left in Hades" (Acts 2 : 30, 31). Christ himself assured his penitent fellow-sufferer on Good-Friday that he should be with him in Paradise before the close of the day (Luke 23 : 43). Although the terms, Hades and Paradise, are not equivalents, they both refer to man's existence in death. David spoke of the middle state, *per se*, or in itself considered, and therefore used its general designation, Hades. The Lord, however, assumed the moral distinction of the dead, and accordingly employed the specific term, Paradise, to indicate the felicitous condition of the righteous in Hades. He here affirmed the doctrine of the Jews concerning existence in the immediate future (as also in the construction of the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus), according to which Sheol was divided into two compartments. One of these was situated at a relative elevation and was the habitation of the righteous. The other was on a lower level and was the dwelling-place of the wicked. The former was called Paradise; the latter, Gehenna.

THE DESCENT OF CHRIST HIS SELF REVELATION TO THE DEAD.

The descent of Christ into Hades extended his first advent to the dead. The death of Christ wrought not the dissolution of his theanthropic person. The incarnation was neither annulled on the cross nor held in suspense from Good-Friday to Easter. On the contrary, the Lord was incarnate in the article of death as truly as in life, because the union of God and man in his person is *spiritual* in its fundamental aspect, and could not, therefore, be broken in the wreck of his physical constitution. The proposition is here self-evident, that the Lord's advent in any sphere, like the rising of the sun in nature, in his self-revelation. He therefore challenged the faith of the dead in his descent into Hades as really as he challenged the faith of the living prior to his death.

THE RECOGNITION OF THE LORD BY THE DEAD.

Personal faith survives the termination of the natural life and the pre-Christian people of God slept with their fathers, trusting in the covenant assurance of the Messianic advent. Did they, then, recognize the Messianic character of Christ at his appearance among them?

The question of the attitude of the dead toward Christ will be simplified by ascertaining the cause of his rejection by the living. It is clear that the Jews did not crucify Christ from any lack of faith in the Messianic promise, since their Messianic hope was their national inspiration. The Jewish race was indeed the incarnation of the Messianic idea, which expressed itself in their religious system, modeled their character and made them a peculiar people. It became the genius of their nation and rendered their race-identity apparently indestructible. It placed their "golden age" in *prospect* and gave them the attitude of *expectancy*.

It was the *faith* of the Jews, therefore, that furnished the motive for their unique crime. They rejected Christ *because* they expected the Promised One. Their persistent homicidal attitude toward him resulted from the *intensity* of their belief in the coming of the Messiah.

The paradox of the rejection of the Messiah by the Jews, when their faith in the promise of his advent should have insured their cordial reception of him, is to be explained on philosophical grounds. Messianic revelation had become obscured by worldly interests in later Judaism, and, under the resulting distortion of faith in the Messianic advent, the popular expectation was for a political Messiah, who should end the domination of the Romans in Palestine and restore the Jewish commonwealth to its traditional splendor under King David. It was in consequence of this fatal misconception of the Messiah's *character* that "they that were his own received him not" as the *Nazarene*; and it was but an instance of cause and effect, that, under the power of a faith thus perverted, and which had become the master-passion of their lives, the Jews crucified Christ instead of crowning him as their spiritual king. Their faith, like a

misdirected physical force, had become an engine of destruction, and the contact of such believers with such a Messiah must needs have signalized the first advent with the crowning tragedy of history.

The attitude of the dead toward Christ at his descent into Hades, like the attitude of the living toward him during his ministry, depended on the *character of their faith* in the Messianic advent. Was also the faith of the dead corrupted and diverted from its object? And did they, like their living co-religionists, look for a phantom Messiah? Certainly not. The faith of the dead saints must have been truly Messianic, and could not have been misdirected. The faith of the living was *originally* spiritual and only in later times became secularized. Abraham was the representative believer, and his faith was so purely Messianic that he "saw" the "day" of Christ some eighteen centuries in the future. Many generations, also, of true believers died before the faith of the visible Church became essentially corrupt, and the assumption is warranted that their faith did not afterward lose its purity, since death eliminates from the existence the corrupting influences of the world.

Then again, revelation is not only unhindered among the dead by the worldly obstacles peculiar to the visible Church, but it comes to clearer expression among the dead than among the living. The form of revelation among the dead is not the contents of *Holy Writings* but the utterances of *holy men*. The divine communications are not made to the dead by means of ancient documents, whose purport is not uniformly clear, and which are, moreover, exposed to both mutilation and interpolation. But God speaks to the departed from the lips of men, who, being themselves dead, are always at hand to restate the declarations, first made by them to the living, and to give their interpretation in person. These authenticators of divine revelation to the dead are those who were the ambassadors of God to the visible Church of all ages.

It is therefore plain that the dogmatic misconceptions of the visible Church are corrected in the creed of the invisible Church, —not, however, by the "higher critics," whose vocation is chiefly

concerned with the musty records of religious archæology, and whose usefulness is, accordingly, limited, in the main, to the parchment copies of the Law and the Prophets, the Gospels and the Epistles. But the enlightenment emanates from the original *bearers* of revelation, and who are therefore its *undisputed* authorities, namely, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Isaiah, Peter, Paul, John. The descent of Christ into Hades was an article in the creed of the invisible Church, prior to his death, quite as much as his advent to the living was an article in the creed of the visible Church, prior to his birth. The *suffering* Messiah was indeed very plainly portrayed in Old Testament typology and prophecy. Thus the sprinkling of the blood of atonement implied the *death* of Christ, and the slaying of the lamb for the Passover was its annual prefiguration. Whatever, too, may be the exegetical fancies of the critics of the present age, touching Isaiah, fifty-third chapter, it still remains that the Jewish interpreters affirmed the Messianic character of that prophecy prior to the crucifixion of Christ, and that they gave it a national application only after its fulfillment at Calvary, with the evident purpose of justifying their unbelief. The conclusion is but reasonable, that the original interpretation of the prophecy, to the effect that the Messiah should be slain for the world which he would save, is correct, since it was plainly in consequence of the perversion of the Messianic faith that the later commentators diverted the reference of the prophetic utterance from the Jewish Messiah to the Jewish people.

The descent of Christ into Hades was not, however, as the flash of a meteor out of the darkness, but as the coming of the day whose dawn proclaims its advent. Indeed the descent of Christ to the dead would seem to have been more fully heralded than his advent to the living. That the believing dead even had knowledge of the presence of the Messiah in Palestine is scarcely doubtful. But how could they receive intelligence of the advent of Christ prior to his descent to them? it may be asked. Possibly the shepherds had already died and borne them the tidings of the angel's announcement of his birth. It is certain that the aged Simeon and Anna had died, both having

knowledge of the advent, for each recognized the Infant Messiah in the temple. No one can doubt, moreover, that the recently martyred Baptist had declared to the expectant dead the appearance in Judea of one, upon whom, at his baptismal consecration, he had seen the Holy Spirit descending like a dove, and whose subsequent works proclaimed his Messianic character. It is reasonable, too, that Malachi should have identified the dead Baptist as the "messenger" who should clear the way for the Messiah's approach, (Mal. 3 : 1), and that Isaiah should have recognized in him the "voice" that should demand of the people his becoming reception, (Isa. 40 : 3.) That both these prophets would know this victim to Herodias' revenge, and declare him to have been predestined to the office of introducing the Messiah to the Jews, there can be but little doubt. Surely one may believe that the mission of the forerunner of Christ was extended to Hades, and that John bade also the believing dead to "behold the Lamb of God which beareth the sin of the world."

It must be evident from the foregoing that the invisible Church possessed the knowledge of the Messiah's character, which the visible Church lacked through wilful blindness, and, furthermore, that his descent into Hades was more intelligently anticipated by the dead than his advent was by the living. The conclusion is therefore warranted, that the recognition of his Messianic character, which had been denied the Lord by the living, was accorded him spontaneously by the dead.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DESCENT OF CHRIST FOR THE DEAD.

The first advent is the era of man's evangelization. The gospel is preached and men are not now challenged to believe in the Messianic idea, but in the Messiah. Reeking altars, sprinkling hyssop and paschal oblation became cherished memories at the supercedure of all Hebrew ceremonial in the Messiah's offering of himself, and revelation is now *personal*. Man's death, as well as his life, being within the period of the first advent, the descent of Christ into Hades was his personal challenge of the dead as much as his birth had been his personal chal-

lenge of the living. Such at all events is the conclusion of reason. Is it also the affirmation of recorded revelation? With exegetical freedom from dogmatical embarrassment, it would seem to be.

St. Peter's noted declaration, that Christ "went and preached unto the spirits in prison," implies the extension of the first advent into the realm of the dead, because: (1) The Lord's evangelistic mission to "the spirits in prison" coincided with his descent into Hades, since the apostle associates it with his crucifixion (1 Peter 3 : 18); (2) they were *disembodied* spirits to whom Christ preached, since they are characterized as having "aforetime" been disobedient (1 Peter 3 : 20). They are indeed designated as having been the contemporaries of Noah (1 Peter 3 : 20), and were therefore drowned in the flood twenty-four hundred years before the death of Christ. That the descent of Christ into Hades was his advent to the *believing* dead as well as to the dead who had been "disobedient," might be assumed with entire confidence. But the promise of Christ to his believing fellow-sufferer on an adjacent cross, that he should be with him in Paradise, is a demonstration of his communion with the saints in Hades.

What was the Lord's communication to these early unbelievers? In 1 Peter 3 : 19, the statement is made that the Lord "went and preached unto the spirits in prison" (τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν). The verb used to express the action is *κηρύσσειν*, which means to proclaim as a herald, but being without an accusative here, the nature of the proclamation is left to be inferred. The theory that the Lord proclaimed his triumph over the powers of darkness, in his descent into Hades, cannot be seriously entertained, because it breaks the sequence of revelation, his victory being won only at Easter which was *subsequent* to the proclamation. The kindred theory, moreover, that the Lord presented himself to the unrighteous dead to declare their doom involves an exegetical monstrosity, since judicial proclamation would have been out of all character with his present office, his revelation of himself, during his first advent, being for the *salvation* of man (John 3 :

17; 12 : 47.) His reign is most gracious and he tenders everlasting life to the race during its continuance. Only at its conclusion will he render final judgment (John 12 : 48). It is not conceivable on general principles, even, that one who would not precipitate the torment of the demons, but suffered them, at their request, to enter the swine, could thus by proclamation judicially foredoom the unbelieving dead; or that he whose prayer for his murderers yet lingered in the Father's ears could inaugurate a preliminary hell by the wanton destruction of hope. Nor does the New Testament use of *κηρυσσειν*, *to herald, to proclaim*, justify this gloomy exegesis. The verb is not employed at all to make judicial announcements, and when not in connection with *ὁ εὐαγγέλιον* (the gospel), it uniformly implies it.

The foregoing use of *κηρυσσειν* would seem to warrant the conclusion that the death of Christ extended his mission of *love* to man unto the realm of the dead. In 1 Peter 4 : 6, there is, however, not left the shadow of an excuse for a mistake so derogatory to the Lord's character as to make him, like the Cretan Minos, a judge in Hades. "For unto this end," writes the apostle, "was the gospel preached (*εὐηγγελισθη*) even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit." The writer here plainly represents the gospel as the standard of man's final judgment and the medium of his reconciliation to God as well. "Unto this end," or that it might serve this twofold purpose, "was the gospel preached even to the dead." The mission of Christ to the world would therefore appear to be as *extensive as the race*, the tidings of the gospel being meant for all *generations* as well as for "all nations."

The inference is here warranted that the provisions of the gospel were made *available* in the middle state, since the judgment of the dead by a standard whose terms, although promulgated, were not meant for their acceptance, would be a judicial pretext and not a measure of justice. The Saviour, moreover, could neither trifle with the unsaved, nor subject the perishing to the tortures of Tantalus. Nor could the God of love thus

mock the wretched beings for whom his son died. The preaching of the gospel indeed necessarily implies a *bona fide* offer of salvation. That such gracious tender was made, in the instance under consideration, appears indeed from the last clause of 1 Peter 4 : 6, which is the declaration, in part, of the purpose of preaching the gospel to the dead: "but live according to God in the spirit." As it is quite impossible for man to conform to the will of God without actually *accepting* the terms of the gospel, it is certainly plain that, in preaching the gospel to the dead, the Lord offered them the *grace* of the Messianic advent.

ACTUAL REVELATION LIMITED TO ATONEMENT.

The descent of Christ to the dead, like his preceding advent to the living, was an advance on Judaism, but in neither case was Messianic revelation made in full. Revelation, whether ideal or actual, is personal in its final analysis and Christ is the person revealing himself. The Jewish and the Christian eras represent, respectively, the successive degrees of his self-revelation. Thus the Rock, which followed the Israelites in the wilderness, was Christ (1 Cor. 10 : 4), but revelation prior to the actual incarnation was nevertheless *promise* in character, the pre-Christian Christ being but the *ideal* Christ. At his descent into Hades the Lord was necessarily the *dead* Christ, and it is quite plain that, being the *unrisen* Christ, he could not also reveal himself to the dead as the *risen* and *ascended* Christ, any more than he could have thus mortgaged the future for the living. Revelation in Hades, like revelation at Calvary, was therefore limited, as yet, to atonement. Nor, indeed, was it possible for revelation to develop into regeneration, in any proper, historical sense, except through the Lord's resurrection and ascension, and these were its *subsequent* stages.

THE GUARANTY OF PENTECOST TO THE DEAD.

The Lord exercised the prophetic function as no earlier prophet had done. He not only foretold his death, his resurrection and ascension, to his disciples, but also the subsequent gift of the Holy Spirit (John 16 : 7). May it not, then, be reverently assumed that, in his presence with the saints in Paradise,

he instructed them to the same effect, and that his ascent from Hades at Easter was the guaranty of the promised effusion of the Spirit for their faith as much as his subsequent ascension from Olivet was such a guaranty for the faith of his living disciples! Pentecost in the realm of the dead, it may be believed, was not the empty echo of the Spirit's outpouring at Jerusalem, any more than the appearance of Christ in Hades was, to the dead, the mere proof of his prior advent at Bethlehem: The belief is warranted, on the contrary, that "when the day of Pentecost was now come," the Holy Spirit fell also on the expectant believers in Hades and vitalized, *in their new birth*, the recently made atonement. It is reasonable, accordingly, to conclude that "there were added in that day" many more thousands "under the earth" than there were added *on* the earth.

ARTICLE IX.

HENRY TIMROD.

BY JAMES A. B. SCHERER, PH. D.

Matthew Arnold's pregnant criticism of America, that it needs ruins, hardly applies to Charleston, which was a city when New York was a town. The old place wears that quiet dignity which comes only with the heaping years. It has the calm culture whereof Arnold was so fond, but whose price is ruins. Its gray hairs are its glory crown.

From the ocean it is Wilhelm Mueller's sunken city, seeming to rise from the sea. Ancient spires gleam white in the Southern sun, under a perfect sky. Nearing, you see no vulgar showiness of piled-up brownstone, but the simple elegance of snowy, slender, columns fronting the open doors of ancient homes. It is not America, it is Europe; not the new world, but the old.

The churches can trace back their histories to a time when letter heads were dated 16— instead of 18—. One of them is a Huguenot church, founded by refugees, and still worshiping with its unchanged historic liturgy. The St. Cecilia Society,

oldest social organization in America, was founded in 1761, and the Charleston Library dates from 1748. There is a Hibernian Society, organized in 1701; one of Scotchmen, founded 1729; and a "German Friendly Society," organized in 1766.

The roll of this German Friendly Society bears the name of Henry Timrod (grandfather of his great namesake), who became a member in 1772. William, his only son, was born of a Scotch mother, thus uniting those two diverse elements which Professor Morley likes to trace in English literature,—Teutonic and Keltic. At the age of eleven William's love of books bound him to a book-binder, whom he startled one day in Nullification times with an outburst of patriotic poetry. Writing good verse, the book-binder never became more than a man of letters, bequeathing the bud of his poetic genius to a gentle son, in whom it blossomed into fairest and fullest flower, his immortelle.

Henry Timrod was born in the city of Charleston, South Carolina, in the year 1829. A studious schoolboy, he had as desk-mate and always warmest friend, Paul Hamilton Hayne, who prepared for the second edition of Timrod's poems (in 1873) a memoir to which the present writer is much indebted.* "Harry" was a sensitive, passionate lad, shy save with intimate friends. Poetic tastes appeared early, the natural fruitage of his temperament. His warm delight in nature, inherited doubtless from his beautiful English mother, gave him that power which marks the great poet from his fellows: the power to interpret rather than merely describe. He wrote verses when but a child, and later, while a student at the University of Georgia, pretty love-fancies appeared from his pen in the *Charleston News*. But ill health and poverty brought him away from school an undergraduate. For a while he studied law, then set about preparing to be a teacher. Yet ever while fighting the wolf, his whole heart yearned towards poetry. Hayne draws a graphic picture of him reciting Wordsworth's "Intimations," his favorite poem: "Short of stature, but broad-chested, and compactly formed,

*The edition has long been out of print, and rare. A third appeared this Spring, brought out by Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., for the Timrod Memorial Association.

with his superb head well set upon shoulders, erect, and thrown back in haughty grace—his gray eyes flashing, and his swarthy face one glow of intense emotion—it was impossible to listen to him without catching some spark of his fiery enthusiasm.”

Another literary friend of Timrod's was Gilmore Simms. The young poet, during his ten years of school teaching in the “up-country,” was frequently one of the cultured coterie whom Simms, “like a literary Nestor, gathered about him in his hospitable home.” Timrod wrote at this time for the *Southern Literary Messenger*, under the name of “Aglaiüs,” and for a short-lived journal edited by Hayne, known as *Russell's Magazine*. This magazine contains essays which show his theories of art. In defending the sonnet as a form of expression, he ridicules those who, regarding poetry as the “outgushing of a present emotion, cannot conceive how the poet, carried on by the ‘divine afflatus,’ should always contrive to rein in his Pegasus at a certain goal.” Then he adds, with rare discrimination and common-sense: “A distinction must be made between the moment when the great thought first breaks upon the mind,

‘Leaving in the brain
A rocking and a ringing,’

and the hour of patient, elaborate execution. It is in the conception only that the poet is *vates*: in the labor of putting that conception into words, he is simply the artist.”

His own work gives fine illustration to this union between passion and patience. He was both seer and artist. As a characteristic specimen of his style, we may take these verses addressed to a cotton boll:

“While I recline
At ease beneath
This immemorial pine,
Small sphere!
(By dusky fingers brought this morning here
And shown with boastful smiles),
I turn thy cloven sheath,
Through which the soft white fibres peer,
That, with their gossamer bands,
Unite, like love, the sea-divided lands,
And slowly, thread by thread,

Draw forth the folded strands,
Than which the trembling line,
By whose frail help yon startled spider fled
Down the tall spear-grass from his swinging bed,
Is scarce more fine ;
And as the tangled skein
Unravels in my hands,
Betwixt me and the noonday light,
A veil seems lifted, and for miles and miles
The landscape broadens on my sight,
As, in the little boll, there lurked a spell
Like that which, in the ocean shell,
With mystic sound,
Breaks down the narrow walls that hem us round,
And turns some city lane
Into the restless main,
With all his capes and isles ! ”

An elaborate metrical exposition of Timrod's theories of art is found in his "Vision of Poesy," the longest one of the first collection of his poems, published by Ticknor and Fields in 1860. These productions won deserved praise, the critic of the *New York Tribune* finding in them "a genuine poetic instinct," with a "lively, delicate fancy, and a graceful beauty of expression."

Timrod, more than any other man, is the poet of the South—of "the generous and lonely South." His voice is her breath, her spirit gave him life ; and in her defeat he fell. For when the flash of the Charleston cannon set the South on fire, Timrod was destined, like Sidney Lanier, to be one of the eventual victims of that fearful holocaust. From the first he threw himself with all his fervid feeling into the heated struggle. War verses, sonorous with drumbeat and trumpet, rolled from his pen,—yet beneath the blare and thunder breathes always some sweet earnest prayer for peace. His was a gentle spirit. In '62 he went to the front as correspondent for the *Charleston Mercury*, but was actually made sick with the sight of strife, and so "staggered homeward, half blinded, bewildered, with a dull red mist before his eyes, and a shuddering horror at heart." Then, in the thick of the whelming storm, he found for one swift elusive hour the sweet shelter of a comfortable home. Married in Col-

umbia to his "Katie," theme of the sweetest of his songs, he also found in that city what seemed an escape from the hungry wolf that had always followed at his heels. Becoming editor and part owner of a well-to-do Columbia paper, and blessed soon with a beautiful child whom he idolized, his gentle spirit was thrilled with quiet happiness. How pure and beautiful must have been the crowned love of a man who could sing thus of wooing:—

"As thou talkest at the fireside,
With the little children by—
As thou prayest in the darkness,
When thy God is nigh—

"With a speech as chaste and gentle,
And such meaning as become
Ear of child, or ear of angel,
Speak, or be thou dumb.

"Woo her thus, and she shall give thee
Of her heart the sinless whole,
All the girl within her bosom,
And her woman's soul."

Alas! his babe was not yet two months old when the war torch burnt his home, destroying utterly all his little property; leaving him beggared, only to be presently bereaved, by the death of his beautiful boy. The poet's life henceforth is the sickening record of a wrestling with famine and disease, made all the more pathetic by the un murmuring sweetness with which he fronts his foes. "Little Jack Horner," he writes to Hayne, making sad sport of his misery—"Little Jack Horner, who sang for his supper, and got his plum-cake, was a far more lucky minstrel than I am." Concerning his own sweet minstrelsy, which was infinitely dear to him, hunger makes him add: "I would consign every line of it to eternal oblivion for one hundred dollars in hand!" Copying legal papers for "a month's supply of bread and bacon," he says: "On two occasions I wrote from ten o'clock one morning until sunrise of the next day." Yet this man, while suffering so intensely from the effects of the war, could nevertheless interpret the voice of that terrible Spring of '65, in these brave and beautiful words: "She

hangs once more in our blasted gardens the fragrant lamps of the jessamine; in the streets, she kindles the maple like a beacon announcing peace; and from amidst the charred and blackened ruins of once happy homes, she pours through the mouth of her favorite musician, the mocking-bird, a song of hope and joy. What is the lesson which she designs by these means to convey? It may be summed in a single sentence—"forgetfulness of the past, effort in the present, and trust for the future!" When most men would have been grinding their hearts to wormwood, he can say to his dear friend Hayne, "I am really learning, Paul, to trust in God."

In the autumn of '67, from a last delightful visit to this brother soul of his, the young poet returned to Columbia to die. Hemorrhages befel him in the streets. Forced at last to his bed, they told him his time had come. His surprised answer was, "And is this to be the end of all? So soon! so soon! and I have achieved so little. Do you not think I could *will* to live?" adding, with a smile, "I might make an effort, like Mrs. Dombey, you know." His prayers were unceasing. Frequently he would fold his arms and repeat the lines,

"Jesus, lover of my soul."

Tortured with thirst, but unable to swallow, he murmured: "I shall soon drink of the river of eternal life." Of death he said, while dying, "It appears like two tides—two tides advancing and retreating, these powers of life and death! Now the power of death recedes; but wait, it will advance again triumphant." To one who whispered, "You will soon be at rest now," he answered: "Yes; but love is sweeter than rest."

"In a dim and musky chamber," while the dawn was broadening on the lawn without, they whispered, "He is gone." Shortly before breathing his last, he said to his sister, "Do you remember that little poem of mine?" The verses whereof he spoke, written long ago, proved to be his swan-song:

"Somewhere on this earthly planet
In the dust of flowers to be,
In the dewdrop, in the sunshine,
Sleeps a solemn day for me.

“At this wakeful hour of midnight
 I behold it dawn in mist,
 And I hear a sound of sobbing
 Through the darkness—hist! oh, hist!

“In a dim and musky chamber,
 I am breathing life away;
 Some one draws a curtain softly,
 And I watch the broadening day.

“As it purples in the zenith,
 As it brightens on the lawn,
 There’s a hush of death about me,
 And a whisper, ‘He is gone!’ ”

ARTICLE X.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY PROF. DAVID H. BAUSLIN, D. D.

The most absorbing question in current theological discussion in the English speaking world, is that pertaining to ritualism in the Church of England. It is not an attack on the “Book of Common Prayer,” the liturgy of the Established Church, but has reference solely to extra-liturgical importations and creations in a church at least nominally protestant. The question of ritualism is one thing, and the fact of lawless ritualism in a state church is another. It is with this latter that the warm discussion now going on in the Anglican Church has to do. The crisis is coming to assume an acute stage, Parliament even taking action, condemning illegal practices in the Church of England. Protestants and Ritualists, members of the same communion, it is said, are belaboring each other in every newspaper in the land; Protestants denouncing Ritualists for the mass, incense, tapers and vestments, while the Ritualists declare that they have a right to all these Romish things, because, as they allege, the Church of England is a true branch of the one

Holy Catholic Church. The chief question in the discussion now going on seems to be this: Whether popery can be introduced without the pope, and Catholicism without the Catholic Church. "It is only at a very recent period," says one writer of the Established Church, "that mild curates, ignorant of theology, and barely able to scrape through the modest curriculum of a theological college, introduced holy water, the asperges, the reservation of the sacrament, and other rites stolen from the Catholic Church." Accordingly the campaign is directed not against popery, but against popery in the Church of England. It is conceded that the principle of religious liberty protects Romanists in the exercise of their own peculiar religious ceremonies. But when Romish sympathizers within the Church of England divert their services and revenues to the support of practical papacy, objection is strenuously urged, and very properly.

In a state church like that of England, this question has assumed a political aspect. The "non-conformist conscience," as it is denominated, and which is so influential politically, now seems to be thoroughly aroused and has vigorously supported the evangelicals within the Church for parliamentary action which has resulted in a vote declaring that the House "deplores the spirit of lawlessness shown by certain members of the Church of England, and confidently hopes that the ministers of the crown will not recommend any clergyman for preferment unless satisfied that he will obey the bishops and the Prayer Book." The judicial committee of the Privy Council, the highest ecclesiastical court in the realm, has somewhat varied in its decisions. But in certain matters there has never been any doubt or wavering, as for example on the use of incense, the wearing of the eucharistic vestments, the elevation of the consecrated bread and wine, for these have always been certainly and indubitably contrary to the laws of the Church of England.

But the Ritualists have not been disposed to obey the law, and have paid but little attention hitherto to attempts to coerce them. They have met the judgments of the courts with a "non possumus," declaring that it hurts their consciences to obey

a state court, although at the same time their consciences queerly allowed them, and very gladly, to remain in a state church, receiving state money to pay their salaries. Several extreme clergymen for their obstinate defiance of the law, have been imprisoned for contempt of court. This, however, has served to excite sympathy for the Ritualists, for, although England has, in the past, indulged somewhat in religious persecution, at the present time it does not seem to serve the purposes of repression. Things do not always stay reformed in this world, at any rate without the exercise of eternal vigilance and much self-sacrificing devotion, and it sometimes seems in the progress of this controversy that the old battle of the Reformation would have to be fought over again in the Church of England,—the old church of Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, which stood for the supremacy of the Bible and the sturdy doctrines of the reformed faith.

The controversy occasioned by these tendencies and extravagances has called forth a voluminous literature. Certainly one of the ablest, if not the ablest contribution to the solution of the problems involved, has been made by Dr. A. M. Fairbairn, in his recently published book, "Catholicism: Roman and Anglican," which the *Critical Review* pronounces "a serious, learned and philosophical attempt to get to the bottom of the ideas implied by that great reaction which has influenced so profoundly the fortunes, not only of the Church of England, but of all churches, during the last half century." Dr. Fairbairn does not treat the movement as if it were a mere matter of man-millinery, or as something arising merely from the cravings of little men for spiritual tyranny. He is disposed to attribute to the school which he criticises a far-reaching philosophy of life. His fundamental thesis is this, that Catholicism, in its fullest extent Roman Catholicism, and in a lesser degree Anglo-Catholicism, and Protestantism represent not merely different ecclesiastical systems, but different religions, different ways of thinking about God and man's relation to him. He thinks that both Roman Catholics and Anglo-Catholics alike have failed to satisfy the claims of an honest intellect and a well-balanced conscience.

When he comes to deal with personalities Dr. Fairbairn appears at his best as a critic, for nothing could be fairer, and more just and discriminating than his treatment and appreciation of such men as Lightfoot, Hort, Hatch, Jowett and others.

Among other contributions to this interesting controversy may be named, "The Position of the Church of England," by Bishop Creighton; "Lawlessness in the National Church," by Sir William Vernon-Harcourt; "The Ritual Crisis: How it May be Turned to the Best Account," by Herbert M. Luccock, D. D.; "The Eucharistic Sacrifice," by W. H. Hutchings; "Cui Bono," by Hensley Henson, B. D.; "Is the Independence of Church Courts Really Impossible?", by R. C. Moberly, D. D.; "What Does the Church of England Say About the Real Presence and Adorations," by W. H. K. Soames; and numerous magazine and newspaper contributions. Dr. John Watson, the genial and bright "Ian Maclaren," contributes to the *North American Review* a fine article on "Parties in the Church of England." With much interest he defines what these parties stand for. Of the "High Church" party Dr. Watson says: "In the troubled days when the questions that are agitating our time were fought out to their bitter end, this party was represented in its saintliness by George Herbert and Bishop Andreews, and in its public policy by one in whom both its strength and weakness were strangely combined, Archbishop Laud; while, in our century, it has risen into life and strength under the guidance of Newman, Pusey, Keble, Liddon and Gore. This party stands for the Catholic idea of the Church, the principle of authority in religion, the beauty of public worship and the apostolical succession of the holy ministry."

Of the "Low Churchmen" he says: "Low churchmen accept, of course, the service of the Church of England, but they reject as much as they dare of what is Catholic, and introduce extempore prayer where they can. Low churchism was represented in the burning period by Bishop Hooper, of Gloucester, who refused to wear the Episcopal garments, and was in the end condemned as a heretic in the reign of Mary, and burned at the stake. It revived in later days, under the spirit of Whitfield and

Simeon, and is to-day most accurately represented by the venerable Bishop Ryle, of Liverpool."

Of the "Broad Churchmen" he writes thus: "The broad churchmen occupy a detached position, as regards both Anglicans and Puritans, since they do not hold the high doctrine of the sacraments and of the ministry, while, at the same time, they are in favor of an ornate and reverent service. Everything which is historical and everything which is æsthetic appeals to their culture, but they are at the same time cleansed from a belief in ecclesiastical authority and doctrinal obscurantism. Their cardinal tenets are the fatherhood of God and the true humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ, the incarnation as a perpetual force in human life, and the salvation of the race through the spirit of Jesus."

Dr. Watson thinks that the present crisis may be resolved and the Church saved from disestablishment by what may be called the "middle party."

The discussion of the Bible in our century has passed through two distinct stages: the first extending to about the year 1890, was the time of theologians who wrote books or review articles; the second has transferred questions about the Scriptures, their origin, inspiration and authority, to meetings of pastors and gatherings of laymen. Church papers as well as theological magazines now deal with the subject. The drift is unquestionably away from verbal and towards general inspiration of the Scriptures. The comparison of the human and divine natures of Jesus Christ is employed to describe the two-fold character of the Bible. It is the word of God speaking supremely to faith; it has a message and command only for the man who recognizes the voice of the Lord in it. We know it is from God, as we know that an unsigned letter is from home, though there be no historical or personal proofs in it that would convince a stranger of its authorship. From this point of view in an essay on the controversy about the Bible in the German Church of the XIXth century, it has been summed up thus: (1) "The authority of Scripture does not rest upon a definite theory as to its

origin, but upon the power dwelling in it and ever preceptible to faith. (2) The authority of the Scriptures is in the last instance the authority of Jesus Christ, to whom the Scriptures bear witness, and it belongs to every part of the Scriptures just in the degree that it makes Jesus intelligible to faith. (3) God's revelation of salvation since it is historical, demands to be understood both religiously and historically. Historical-critical empiricism misunderstands the first of these, and unhistorical supernaturalism misunderstands the second. (4) The Scriptures become a means of grace in so far as the Spirit of God awakens faith through them; and they are the standard of knowledge, by means of which we know the true form of Divine revelation and of Christian living. They can become the second only to the man to whom they had previously become the first."

The vicarious idea runs through the entire Bible. The idea conveyed in our Lord's words time and again, was that of substitution, the vicarious idea. The symbolism of the sacrificial system is "a life for a life," vicarious atonement, atonement by substitution. No fair and intelligent exegesis of the New Testament can fail to find in the teachings of Christ and the apostles upon this subject any other idea than that the sufferings and death of Christ are endured in the place of others, as a substitution, as vicarious. What else can our Saviour mean, when he says that he gave his life a ransom for many, and that he lays down his life for the sheep? What else can St. Paul mean when he writes to the Galatians, Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us? In harmony with this teaching of Christ and Paul on the subject of atonement through suffering, the Epistle to the Hebrews declares that Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many, and Peter preaches Christ as the one who his own self bore our sins in his own body on the tree, and further declares that he suffered for sins once, the just for the unjust. So fundamental is the teaching that we welcome any line of approach that in any measure serves as a proof. In the *Reformed Church Review* for April, Prof. Jacob Cooper, D. D., contributes an article on this

subject, "Vicarious Suffering the Order of Nature." His argument is the analogical and he casts a strong light on this great subject. Professor Cooper says: "We can as easily understand the transference of energy from one moral agent to another as in the case of material things. We have constant evidence of the latter because all the acts of life, as well as the laws of physical science, are dependent upon such transference. In the latter case no one disputes the facts. They are seen wherever force is either generated or applied, and these data include all our experience with material nature. In the former the statements of Divine Revelation are explicit that man is utterly helpless to overcome the power of a sinful nature, and can be made capable of holy living in no other way than by taking away his own sin, and by the imputation of righteousness which belongs to another. If the method of divine government through vicarious atonement is absurd so also is the course of nature. Transference of energy, by which a creature helpless in himself can control the physical powers of the world to an indefinable extent, is the measure of a progressive civilization. Transference of righteousness, that is, imputation of the divine holiness, after the offender's guilt has been assumed and his debt to justice paid, not only renders him guiltless before the bar of God, but also makes him a growing factor in the creation of a new heaven and a new earth by alliance with that energy whereby Jesus Christ is able to subdue all things unto Himself."

The scientific method of research is the application of induction to the investigation of any realm of existences, whether natural or supernatural, whether personal or impersonal. In the *Quarterly* from which the above is taken, Professor E. V. Gerhart, D. D., of the Reformed Seminary at Lancaster, Pa., in an article on "The Limitations of the Scientific Method," makes some well articulated and timely criticisms, on the perversion of this method in the hands of some alleged scientists who seem to have a morbid antipathy for religion. Prof. G. writes as a man who not only understands the "scientific method," but knows how to use it with a strong hand. He says:

"A singular inconsistency of procedure confronts us. The scientific method claims the distinction of conducting investigations, not from the view point of an *a priori* thesis, but on the basis of facts, facts carefully ascertained and classified; yet when experimentation and thought approach the noblest kingdom in the economy of nature, the scientific method, as applied by the class of thinkers in question, relinquishes the law of induction and proceeds on the ground of an *a priori* conception, assuming that the ape and man are as to kind identical, an assumption which is an *assumption*, not an inference from the personal facts of mankind. The physical connection between human life and animal life no one denies, just as no one denies the connection between the life of the animal and the life of the plant; but as there is a generic difference between the animal and the plant, so there is a generic difference, as psychology presupposes and confesses, a difference more pronounced, between the animal and man."

In the April *Bibliotheca Sacra* we find a strong *apologetic* presented by a layman, the Hon. F. J. Lamb, under the title, "The Trial of Jesus: Its Value in the Foundations of the Faith." The writer goes into the discussion of the subject with the acuteness of a trained lawyer and with the devoutness of a sincere believer, and deals in a manner evidently suggested by Greenleaf's great work on the same line of Christian evidence, with the great central fact of the evangelical records, viz., the resurrection of our Lord. The importance of the method of proof used by Mr. Lamb appears in the fact that the resurrection is not like an occurrence which has passed away without leaving behind it any traces of its existence. On it is based the greatest institution that has existed among men, viz., the Christian Church. This institution has lived with a continuous life for eighteen centuries, and has exerted an influence that is world-wide. So closely connected is the resurrection of Jesus with the origin of this great institution, that unless his followers had been fully persuaded of its reality it could never have come into existence; and if it could be proved that Jesus is now sleeping in his grave

somewhere in Palestine, mighty as it is, it would crumble to ruins. Mr. Lamb accordingly well says: "The three intimately related, momentous facts of Christianity—the Trial, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection of Jesus—must always awaken in a believer a strong and deepening sense of devout gratitude to God, that in his wisdom he has, in the record of those events, as well as in his dealing with mankind through the ages, furnished and preserved to sincere and honest souls ample evidence for human belief in him and all his counsels, promises, and warnings, so that we may trust them all, and thereon as a sure foundation our faith may safely build and securely rest."

Questions concerning death and the life to come are perennially interesting. Anything that casts light, any sort of light, upon such great themes is welcome, and anything that corroborates where the Old Testament makes an incomplete answer and the New Testament reveals a glorious life hereafter, is received with pleasure. In the *Methodist Review* for May, Rev. Dr. Ingraham contributes an interesting paper on "Carlyle, Tennyson, and Browning on the Future Life." He pronounces all these great souls as religious; but not as manifestly so as Milton and Dante, but more so than Keats, and expresses rightly the judgment that without religion all three of them could not have been nearly what they were. "The position of Carlisle toward immortality," says the writer, "is not satisfactory." "The idea of God engages much of his thoughts, and, frequently the thought of man's coming from God and going to God finds solemn expression in his works. But his belief did not bloom into the fullness of the Christian faith." Tennyson was truly a Christian poet, and his treatment of the future life has made him a helper of Christianity. It would appear that he was so alive and favorable to the scientific spirit of his time that he had to pay the cost of sorrow and doubt before he emerged into the restful hope of the soul's undying future."

Of Robert Browning "whose absolute confidence of immor-

VOL. XXIX. No. 3. 55

talities has naught of doubt or cloud," this is said: "So sure is he of the soul's great future that for him the present, not the hereafter is life's dream." "The great fault to find with him, in fact, is that his faith is so exuberant that he is too impatient to give its grounds." "When Darwin and Huxley bring sorrow, Browning will bring peace and comfort to the Christian who will take the pains to know him."

One of the most thoughtful articles the writer has had the fortune to read in current theological discussion, is from the pen of that stalwart and thoughtful Dutch Calvinist, who recently lectured at various points in America, Dr. Abraham Kuyper, in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, for April, entitled, "The Antithesis Between Symbolism and Revelation." Dr. K. defines: "Symbol means a fictitious link between the invisible infinite and the visible finite."

The scope and sweep of this strong and timely article can be discerned in a few quotations: "What the soul wants to realize is a grasping of the infinite as such; and such an infinite sensation symbolism only can produce, just because it puts an invisible stamp upon a visible or palpable phenomenon. In free masonry you see quite the same thing. Free masonry aims at the infinite but rejects all revelation, and therefore it created from the first, and still advocates, the most explicit and elaborated symbolism. Spiritism on the contrary, is almost choked with thirst for revelation from the other side of the tomb, and consequently knows of no symbolical fancy whatsoever."

"Symbolism throws us back to that *lower* stage of religious development, which can but stir the feelings and intoxicate the senses of the masses; our churches, on the contrary, have raised the religious life to that much higher level, which leads every believer personally to what St. John confessed, 'that the Son of God has come and has given us the understanding that we might know him.' And so also symbolism subjects the laity to the mysterious performances of the clergy and thereby fosters aristocratic sympathies; our churches on the contrary have united both laity and clergy in one brotherhood, and

thereby laid the foundation for the democratic preëminence of modern times."

"Our decided opposition to symbolism, should never silence liturgical claims. Calvin with his musical friends, tried his utmost to make the singing not of the choir, but of all the people, thoroughly melodious and pure." "He who debars all equitable liturgical demands, and even deems it a point of honor to banish all that is solemn and harmonious from our services, may suppose he is opposing symbolism, but indeed it is he who makes its highways straight."

"If you have to deal with one who pleads enthusiastically for splendid music, brilliant singing and richly decorated churches, but to whom the confession for which our martyrs died is immaterial—who does not care a bit, for the most fundamental points of our confession, and almost refuses to give an answer if a reason is asked of the hope that is in him—then know that the symbolical blood poisoning has commenced, and try to save him with meekness and fear. But if on the contrary, the man who has warmly and even with urgency vindicated the rights of a more dignified liturgical worship becomes threefold more earnest and eloquent whenever the foundations of divine truth are assailed—then do not be afraid; such a one has no drop of symbolism in his life blood; in him speaks the true Calvinist," and we may add, Lutheran also.

Professor William Henry Green, the venerable Princeton scholar and specialist on Old Testament criticism, within the last three or four years has laid the Church of Christ under deep obligations by publishing "The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch," and the "Unity of Genesis." To these he has now added a third volume, entitled "General Introduction to the Old Testament: The Canon." In all these works this venerable scholar has done noble service in behalf of sound theological learning and practical religion. There are states of society, of which the present is one, in which questions about the Bible are certain to be asked and with an imperious demand for an answer. At the foundation of the questions we come upon the

canon of the Scriptures. What books are in it? How have they come to be separated from all other writings? This book is taken up with the answers to such questions. The author expounds and upholds (pp. 80-86) the opinion long prevalent, or perhaps universal: That the Old Testament is the Bible of the Jewish Church, and the division into three sections rests on fundamental ideas in that Church. The first section is the Law, or the books of Moses, the mediator between God and Israel, the founder of the Theocracy or combination of State and Church. The second section is the writings of the Prophets, men with a high official position in the Theocracy. Whether they preserved the lessons of the past, or scrutinized the present, or unfolded the future, they were the same ministers of God, authoritatively linking providence with grace and bringing out and applying the Law to the people in ever new circumstances. Moses himself had welcomed the activity of such prophets in his own time, and he had promised that they should also arise after him. In the so-called Former Prophets the historical element greatly preponderates, and the writers are anonymous. In the books named the Later Prophets, the history occupies an extremely subordinate place and the authors' names are carefully given, even when these writers are otherwise unknown, because while they were ministering they must have been well known and must have taken the responsibility of their utterances. This is seen in the contest between Jeremiah and Hananiah recorded in Jer. 28. The third section was composed of the writings of private men, that is, men who had not the official position of prophets in the Theocracy, however high their secular position might be—perhaps kings like David and Solomon, or men of such high rank at heathen courts as were Daniel and Nehemiah, and, perhaps, Ezra.

The issue of the *New World* for June contains a Unitarian criticism of the New Evangelical Catechism recently published by English non-conformists. This catechism has been constructed so as to suit Wesleyans, Congregationalists and Baptists, and, like all similar performances, is constructed on the

basis of theological indefiniteness and ambiguity. The Unitarian critic is not slow to see this and utters some wholesome truths in his criticisms, as for example in this: "It really must be urged on our friends, and on ourselves as well, that the first duty of the teacher is to be as lucid and straightforward as possible. Strange, and pathetically strange, it is that a duplicity of language which we should condemn in the scientist and the historian, is considered not only permissible but even creditable in theology. The source of this intolerable evil lies undoubtedly in the desire to include comforting theories in one authoritative orthodoxy. There is a better inclusiveness. It is that where all are free to think and free to speak, and yet feel a vital union in religious hopes and aims. We must not blame the Evangelicals for not achieving at one step this higher unity. Their new catechism will, we suppose, be fairly tried awhile. Some will be content with its haziness of thought providing its moral inspiration be felt abundantly. But with the most virile minds things will have to be thought out definitely and candidly, and then these flimsy webs of accommodating phraseology will be brushed away."

Writing of the Ritualistic controversy in the Anglican Church, a writer in the *Spectator* says that he is not greatly concerned about the burning of candles, the swinging of censers, the floating of banners, processions, prostrations and the like. He thinks that in some occult way these things may please and help some people, and he is willing that such should be both pleased and helped. Such things, however, he thinks, do not constitute the crux of Romanism. There is one thing, nevertheless, he thinks the British people will not stand: "Our children shall not be forbidden to present themselves at, they shall not even be discouraged from approaching the Lord's table without previous confession to a priest. This is not mere matter of doctrine or of ritual, but of the conduct of life. Here the voice of the father and of the mother shall drown that of the priest." This, however, is to be taken into the account and is warranted by the history of Romanism. If the confes-

fessional be tolerated in the Established, or any other, Church, the priest will very soon drown the voice of the opposing father and mother. The priest requires a disciple to abandon father, mother, husband, wife or child, and cleave unto him in all matters of so-called spiritual authority.

In an address recently given before a Congregational Club, Professor Briggs, of Union Theological Seminary, gave a strong plea for the reunion of Protestantism and Catholicism. He endeavored to minimize the difference between the Pope and the Pilgrim, and to show how easy it would be to tie up the shamrock with an orange ribbon. This is not surprising to such as recall the position taken by Prof. Briggs in his famous inaugural, regarding the source of authority in religion. Readers of his volume "The Bible, the Church and the Reason," long ago understood that theoretically he holds the Church to be "a fountain of great authority," however little he has shown himself inclined to respect such authority when represented by the Presbyterian General Assembly. When a man cuts loose from the absolute supremacy of the material and formal principles of the Reformation, his ecclesiastical way is likely to be wayward, if not reckless.

[Because of severe and protracted illness in his family, the Rev. Mr. Hefelbower has been unable to make his contribution on Current German Theological Thought, to the July QUARTERLY. We assure the brother of our sincere sympathy for himself and his family.—*Editors.*]

ARTICLE XI.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

The Theology of the New Testament. By George Barker Stevens, Ph. D., D. D., Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University, 1899. Crown, 8vo. Pages XVI., 617. Price \$2.50 net.

This volume, though complete in itself, belongs to "The International Theological Library," a library of twenty-three volumes intended to form a series of Text-Books for students of Theology. The American editor is Dr. Briggs, of Union Theological Seminary, New York; the European, Dr. Salmond, of the Free Church College, Aberdeen. While these names may not stand for orthodoxy, they do for scholarship. Moreover, the individual authors of the series are entirely untrammelled in the expression of their convictions.

Dr. Stevens, no doubt ranks among the very foremost of American critical scholars of the New Testament. He has been well and favorably known for several years through his *Johannine Theology* and *The Pauline Theology*. His new volume will add to his high reputation, and will probably find its way as a text-book into many Theological schools. As far as we know there is no other English or American author who has presented the subject with equal fullness or clearness.

New Testament Theology as a distinct science is of comparatively recent origin. About a century ago Gabler first asserted its purely historical character "in the manner in which it has since his time been almost universally acknowledged." One of the most important contributions to the science in recent years is Bernhard Weiss' "*Biblical Theology of the N. T.*" Dr. Stevens, while profiting by the labors of his predecessors, has produced an original book, that seems to transcend all previous efforts. "Its aim is not apologetic or controversial. It seeks to expound, not to defend." Nevertheless he points out here and there the untenable positions of such authors as Wendt and Beyschlag.

Our author, while fully abreast with the theological thought of the day, follows in the main the old orthodox "traditional" interpretation. It can hardly be expected that every form of expression in any orthodox writing should present exactly the convictions of the reader. Hence exception might be taken to some of the language of our author. But his distinct avowal of the supernatural origin of Christianity goes far to settle the general character of the book. He says: "I do not believe that Christianity is a mere product of the age in which it arose. I hold to the unique and distinctive originality of Jesus and to the supernatural origin of his gospel."

The literary style of the volume is simple and lucid. The author expresses himself so plainly and with such an absence of pedantry that any intelligent English scholar will be able to peruse the volume (with the exception of the Greek quotations) with edification. Passages of rare beauty and spiritual depth abound. Let us quote almost at random: "Eternal life is the life whose essence is love. It is the life from which all true fellowship springs. It is the basis of all true unity, harmony and sympathy. Hence the chief requirement of the dispenser of life is that men should love one another as he loved them. Only on the principles of the eternal life can human society ever be perfected. No true social fellowship can exist except where mutual service and helpfulness, which spring out of love, are the law of action. Men realize the eternal life in proportion as they love one another as Christ has loved them. Redemption is accomplished in the degree in which men are brought into likeness to him whose very nature, as love, is the absolute norm of all goodness." (p. 233)

Our author follows the natural divisions of the New Testament under the following general headings: 1. The Teaching of Jesus according to the Synoptic Gospels; 2. The Teaching of Jesus according to the Fourth Gospel; 3. The Primitive Apostolic Teaching; 4. The Theology of Paul; 5. The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews; 6. The Theology of the Apocalypse; 7. The Theology of John. Each part is prefaced with an "introductory" chapter giving "brief explanations of the mode of teaching certain portions of the New Testament, with respect to which important critical differences exist among scholars." These pertain largely to their genuineness and general object and character. Then follow chapters discussing the salient doctrines of the part under consideration. The volume concludes with a valuable "Bibliography" and two indexes.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its language, literature, and contents, including the Biblical Theology, edited by James Hastings, M. A., D. D., etc., etc. Volume II. Large Quarto, pp. 870.

Volume I, of this truly great bible dictionary was noticed at considerable length in the *QUARTERLY* for July, 1898. All of a general nature that was said there about Vol. I. applies with equal force to Vol. II. Hence we deem it sufficient here only to call attention to some of the more important articles and contributors, though it may be said again that all the articles on the various books of the Old Testament are written from the standpoint of the Higher Criticism, albeit the treatment is mostly cautious and always reverent. As a sample of the devout and reverent spirit of treatment, we quote from Prof. H. E. Ryle, on Genesis: "A consideration of the religious value of Genesis reveals to us its true character and purpose. The Scriptures were written for religious instruction; and in no book of the Q. T. are the treasures of theology to be found so close, as it were, beneath the surface *as in the*

Book of Genesis." p. 147. The article on Genesis covers nearly twelve of these columns of nearly seven hundred words each. The "Geology of Palestine," by Prof. Hull, of Dublin, fills 12 columns. "God," according to the O. T. teaching, is contributed by Prof. A. B. Davidson, of Edinburgh; and according to the teaching of the N. T., by Prof. W. Sanday, of Oxford. The article could scarcely have been placed in better hands. It fills 39 columns. The "Gospels" is treated in 31 columns by Prof. Stanton, of Cambridge. The writer argues for the Johannean authorship of the Fourth Gospel. The article on "Holy Spirit," by Prof. Swete, of Cambridge, 18 columns, is thoroughly orthodox, as is the article on "Incarnation," 19 columns, by Rev. R. L. Ottley, of Oxford. In 27 columns, Prof. George Adam Smith, of Glasgow, has discussed "Isaiah" with his well-known and eminent ability. Lieut. Colonel Conder, R. E., devotes 34 columns to Jerusalem, with full page map.

In our judgment the most important article in the entire volume is "Jesus Christ," by Prof. W. Sanday. It fills 102 columns. It is analytical, comprehensive and thorough. We know of no christological discussion in the English language so timely and valuable. The Rev. T. B. Strong, B. D., of Oxford, discusses "John the Apostle, (Life and Theology of)," in 27 columns. The Johannean authorship of the Fourth Gospel is taken for granted, rather than argued. Sixty-eight columns are given to "John, Gospel of," by Principal Reynolds, of Cheshunt College, who strongly maintains the thesis that the Fourth Gospel was written by the Beloved Disciple.

The thoroughness and elaborateness of discussion exhibited in these leading articles, are in due proportion applied to all the articles. Nowhere have we discovered superficial and *dilettant* discussion. Each author seems to have studied his subject anew, and has made use of the latest conclusions of the ripest and best scholarship. Especially are we pleased to note the familiarity shown by these English and Scotch writers with the freshest German theological thought; and as a matter of fact, of the 118 writers who have contributed to this volume, 103 are English, Scotch and Irish, 13 are Americans, and 2 are Germans.

We commend this work to all who are in search of the very latest conclusions of the very best scholarship on all subjects appertaining to the Bible. We venture the opinion that the work as a whole will be found much more conservative than many persons at first thought it would be.

J. W. RICHARD.

The Books of Samuel. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary. By Henry Preserved Smith, Professor of Biblical History and Interpretation in Amherst College. pp. XXXIX, 421. \$3.00 net.

This volume is one of the International Critical Commentary series now being issued under the editorship of Drs. Briggs, Driver and Plummer. As such it conforms to the rules laid down by the editors, being

based upon the methods of interpretation in vogue among the higher critics. It follows in the line of the earlier volumes of Dr. Driver on Deuteronomy and Prof. Moore on Judges. In the somewhat lengthy introduction the author states the results of the higher criticism of the original Hebrew text, introducing original theories of a number of disputed passages and arguing his case with the clearness and fairness of the thorough scholar. In the author's opinion there are clear traces of two earlier sources, the documents being designated as Sm. and Sl. The difficulties in reconciling I Samuel to this theory are greater than in the case of II Samuel; yet the author works out his case with minute specification. His method is strictly and sedulously critical.

The general method of the commentary proper is to introduce each section of the text with a paraphrase and summary of events. The comments, which for the most part are strictly critical, are concise; the textual comparison is very full.

This brief review gives little idea of the magnitude of the task undertaken by the author or of the laborious care with which every letter of the book has been investigated. The book is the fruit of years of study and must do credit to the series in which it has its place, as well as to American critical scholarship. It is a book for specialists, however, and can be of secondary service only to the average preacher. While admiring the learning for which it stands, one can not help wondering how much of this pretentious edifice will stand when the sober thought of a new generation takes up the matter of criticism.

Like its companion volumes it is a beautiful piece of typography, the very best product of the art of book-making

H. C. ALLEMAN

The Epistle to the Hebrews The First Apology for Christianity. By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D. D. pp. 451. \$2.50

Prof. Bruce has in this book made a distinct contribution to the interpolation of this precious and inexhaustible document of the New Testament. Students will find it a worthy companion to his previous works on *The Kingdom of God* and *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*.

He accepts the traditional view that the treatise was addressed to Christian converts from Judaism, a view which in spite of the ingenuity displayed by those who claim a Gentile destination, "reasserts itself with irresistible force"

"The spiritual situation of the persons addressed was very serious, full of peril both from outward and from inward causes. They were in danger of apostatizing from the faith, because of persecution endured on account of it, and also because of doubts concerning its truth." The author—whom Prof. Bruce admits to be unknown—sets about, with all his great intellectual and moral strength, to commend Christianity as the perfect and final religion. The leading idea of his Apology, running like a refrain through the whole discussion, is, that Christianity is the religion of free, unrestricted access to God, accomplishing the end

of all religion, and because it does this it can never be superseded. It establishes a fellowship between man and God as complete and intimate as if sin had never existed.

A chapter on the theological import of the Epistle, at the end of the expository part, forms an exceedingly instructive addition. Here the author adduces some strong support from the Epistle for his Kenotic views. He claims that "nowhere else in the New Testament are the earthly lot and human behavior of Jesus depicted in such vivid and life-like colors." That the distinctively Christian conception of God as Father is comparatively in the background, "may be ascribed to the exigencies of the apologetic argument," to "the transition time, on the border line between an old and a new world," to the historic situation, "the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Jewish state impending."

On the nature of faith the critic has read with much interest such a paragraph as the following: "In our Epistle faith derives its virtue from its psychological character as a faculty of the human mind, whereby it can make the future present and the unseen visible. This faculty is not, as such, ethical or religious; it is a natural endowment of man."

E. J. WOLF.

Problems of Philosophy. An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy. By John Grier Hibben, Ph. D., Stuart Professor of Logic in Princeton University. pp. 197. Price \$1.

Philosophy has of late fallen somewhat into disrepute. Many regard it as a chase after shadows. They tell us that we want something real and practical instead of the dreams of the schools. They forget that the busy, bustling world is made up of the transient. The matter and fame and pleasure which engage their energies and ambitions are merely of the passing present. "The fashion of this world passeth away." Behind the phenomena there must be something abiding. The permanent is the most real. The things seen are temporal, the things unseen are eternal. This practical age of ours is pursuing the shadows. Philosophy is the search after realities. It is the philosopher who is dealing with the most real among real things. He is uncovering those principles which enable us to understand the fleeting present and forecast the impending future. He holds up the substance that we may know how to interpret the meaning of the shadows. As soon as men begin to think they begin to philosophize. They ask for the reason of facts and as they learn them they become really practical. The child with its incessant why is a budding philosopher. Some who sneer at philosophy now were philosophizing all their lives but did not know it. A little careful study of the schools would be of very great benefit to them. They need a book just like this of Prof. Hibben's to begin with. It will give them a proper perspective and save them a great deal of aimless drifting. It is an excellent introduction to the study of philosophy. The style is clear. Technical terms that could not be avoided

are explained. It is very pleasant reading and any one who is willing to think can understand it. The chief problems of philosophy are clearly stated and additional interest is imparted by the historical setting. The problems of being, of the world, of mind, of knowledge, of reason, of conscience, of obligation and of beauty, cover the greatest part of the field of philosophy. We commend the book to students just about to enter philosophical studies, to intelligent laymen who want to keep acquainted with what the schools are thinking about, and especially to young ministers who touch at so many points the current of philosophical thought but are too busy to give much time to philosophic reading.

L. A. FOX.

History of Egypt. The Ptolemaic Dynasty. By J. P. Mahaffy. Vol. IV. pp. 261. Price \$2.25. Imported.

History of Egypt. Under Roman Rule. By J. Grafton Milne, M. A. Vol. V. pp. 262. Price \$2.25. Imported.

The above named publications are part of a series of six volumes on Egyptian History, the second of which was noticed in the *QUARTERLY* in the January No. of 1897. Vol. IV includes the reigns of the Ptolemies from Alexander's victory at Issus to the Roman conquest and Vol. V begins with the organization of Egypt under the Romans, comprehends the period during which the temporal and religious powers were united and concludes with a description of the social and economic conditions of the people, 642 A. D. Temples, tombs, monuments, stelae, papyri, and the works of historians generally, are the prolific sources from which the two distinguished authors have drawn their material. Many new facts have thus been brought to light for the first time and placed in their proper relation and setting, while points hitherto surrounded with difficulties have been cleared up. The chapters on the struggle between the State and the Church and the supremacy of the Church are of especial interest. The various historical events throughout both volumes are so accurately grouped and so graphically portrayed that these people of the dim past move before us with all the vividness and reality of a nation living and acting in the present. With this volume in his hand the reader will gain a knowledge of Egypt and the Egyptians such as he can find nowhere else. The appendixes contain matter that is invaluable.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH.

[Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.]

The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with a Critical Introduction. By George Milligan, B. D., Minister of Caputh, Perthshire. 1899. Crown, 8vo. Pages XX, 133. Price \$2.25.

The volume before us shows considerable research on the part of its author. In the "Introduction" he treats of the history, authorship,

date and aim of the Epistle. That Paul was not the author seems to be generally conceded. Luther's happy conjecture that Apollos may have written the Epistle seems to be gaining ground. As long, however, as there is no direct evidence, either internal or external, in his favor, it can not be asserted that he was the author. Dr. Milligan quotes Origen approvingly, "Who it was that wrote the Epistle, God only knows certainly."

The Theology of the Epistle is discussed under the headings: 1. The Covenant-idea, and the Person of the Son; 2. The Son as High Priest; 3. The High-Priestly Work of the Son; 4. The New Covenant. There is also a chapter on "the Relation of the Epistle to other Systems of Thought," and one on "The Present Day significance of the Epistle."

The author is doctrinally sound and biblical concerning the person of Christ as God's incarnate Son. But on the work of Christ he borders dangerously near the exploded Socinian heresy. He denies the substitutionary character of Christ's atonement. He says, "Throughout therefore it is not as a sinless victim laying down his life to stand between men and the just punishment of their sins, that Christ in his atoning work is presented to us, but rather as the foremost of the human race, leading the way through death unto the inheritance of eternal life." (p. 155.)

Over against this "moral influence theory" of the atonement which is vague, unsatisfactory and unscriptural, stands the true view as exhibited by Dr. Stevens in his *New Testament Theology*, noticed in this number of the REVIEW "The repeated affirmation that he (Christ) died on our behalf and for the sake of our sins, taken in connection with other statements, does imply some kind of a substitution of Christ's sufferings and death in place of the sinner's punishment. The desert of sin is penalty; Christ by his death averted that penalty. In that sense his death was substituted for the penalty. * * He so far took the sinner's place as to suffer for him." (p. 410.)

J. A. SINGMASTER.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK.

Thoughts on Protestantism. By Adolph Harnack. \$1.00.

Prof. Harnack is the highest authority in the learned world in Church history and the development of dogma, and in this brief treatise undertakes to analyze the peculiar, present-time, transition stage through which Protestant Christendom is passing, to indicate its dangers, and point out the duty of the hour to those who would remain faithful to the fundamental principles of the Protestant faith. A careful study of this little book has impressed us with the feeling, that it is the most comprehensive and timely solution of the intricate and confusing phenomena of church-life in our day, and a warning against certain dangerous tendencies that threaten the extinction of the evangelical ele-

ment, which is at the heart of the great Protestant movement in all the diversified forms it has assumed in the world.

The argument runs thus: "The old Protestantism"—the Church of Luther—"was a church founded exclusively on *Articles of Faith* drawn from Holy Writ"—on doctrine, creed, or theology in the sense of the *Theologia Sacra*, on this the church of the Reformation was founded. The old Protestant idea was that each individual should find for himself spiritual nourishment alone in the word of God, "of which the *Theologia Sacra* was only the elaborated form." But theology conceived of as divine, because but the elaborated development or science of the divine word of God, was obliged to assume a measure of secular knowledge, and the exercise of man's natural intelligence, in its exposition; and so the idea of theology "in the sense of an infallible Bible doctrine," was gradually undermined, until now it has ceased to exist. The application of the legitimate methods of higher criticism to theology has brought about this great revolution. Moreover theology is *knowledge*, and meantime "*the conception of what knowledge means has altered*," and to undertake to fix the goal beforehand at which knowledge is to arrive, "is to make knowledge impossible." But the author finds that the Church itself has cooperated with science in relieving theology of its original absolute claim, raising the cry of "undogmatic Christianity," and protesting against doctrinal sermons from the sacred desk. In any event the church of the Reformation is conscious of the slipping away of the sacred, or absolute element, in the foundation of theology on which it arose.

In this dilemma it was inevitable, that a strong effort would be made in the direction of *back to the Creed*, to recover lost ground for theology as the foundation of the Protestant Church. This gives tremendous significance to the imposing movement in theology inaugurated by Ritschl, who, for his distinguished service in this direction, is characterized by Harnack as "the latest father of the Lutheran Church." But by far the strongest current of tendency, because implicating wider areas of Protestant Christendom, is in the direction of what our author calls the "Catholicizing" habit of the Teutonic churches. By this he does not mean a return to Rome. It is a "*sham Catholicism*" toward which the national churches of Germany and England, and their representatives in this country are tending—an attempt to reinstate the ecclesiastical spirit and methods of the Catholic Church. He says in his Preface: "It is Catholicism as a religion and an ecclesiastical spirit that threatens us; it is clericalism, and ritualism, the alluring piety and solemn secularity and the substitution of (formal) obedience for religion—this is the spirit that is knocking at the doors of the Protestant churches in Germany.—I fear also in England—and is demanding admittance. It has mighty allies. All those who in their hearts are indifferent to religion are its secret friends. In their view, if religion and the church are to continue at all, it is

the Catholic form of them which is still the most tolerable and the most rational."

This Catholicizing movement is especially operative in the new and strange attitude the churches have had to assume toward the *creed*—giving it an ecumenical authority analogous to the authority of *tradition* in the Catholic church—that is to say making it "a legal ordinance," demanding implicit obedience and devotion without reservation or doubt. To use the author's own language: "It is not so much a doctrine, as the definite unalterable form of the very existence of the church." "But" he goes on to say "the old Protestantism, however earnestly it took the creed, was never able to forget that the creed is a collective statement of the faith necessary to salvation; that it exists only for the faith, and must be continually prepared to undergo correction through a better understanding of the word of God. But anyone who, in contradistinction with this view, sets up the creed, whether the strictly Lutheran creed or any portion of it, as an unalterable legal ordinance, and demands subjection to it before all things—nay, sees in such subjection the preliminary condition of Protestant Christianity—anyone who does this, I say, is to that extent of the Catholic opinion." Strangely enough this rigidity of creed-enforcement is in the interest of the creed as a whole, while there is a singular indifference and apathy toward any liberties that might be taken with the doctrines in detail. To quote our author again: "Every man is left to take up what inner attitude he will toward its separate articles; but in no single point must he doubt or attack the creed, because it has to be recognized as the fundamental ordinance of the Church which must never be touched."

Then comes what the author calls "*the liturgical Catholicizing of our Churches*," and here is a chapter which is so aptly descriptive of the current condition of things among the leading denominations of this country, especially our own, that it might have been addressed to them by name, and the challenge would not have gone amiss. The craze for ritualistic uniformity, he would say, is not Protestant, it is a part of the pseudo-Catholic spirit that is sweeping through the churches. His own remarkable words are best: "Hand in hand with this changed attitude towards the creed goes the attempt to produce complete uniformity in the services of the church, through the agency of ecclesiastical police, and to fix the doctrine to be taught as though it were a liturgical programme." "The Protestant principle was that the church service should be something free, something appealing to soul; and however little doubt there may be that it requires to be subject to certain regulations, there is just as little doubt that they must not be more than regulations; within which the minister, the congregation and the individual Christian, must be able to move with freedom. To impose an order of divine service as though it were a legal ordinance; to regard the punctilious performance of an appointed ritual as a matter of

the most important and sacred necessity ; to misuse ritual for the purpose of oppressing the conscience of individual Christians, of intimidating them, of compelling and burdening the expression of their faith—all this is not Protestant.'

The same tendency is found at work in the changed conception of the Church and the sacraments—these being more and more divorced from the word of God. Harnack is of the opinion that the evangelical conception of the Church—that which was so distinctly at the heart of the Church of the Reformation—has almost ceased to be entertained. The evangelical conception of the Church, so briefly and simply, and explicitly embodied in the 7th Article of the Augsburg Confession—of that no one hears even a casual mention now-a-days. It seems obsolete, smothered up and hushed, in the un-Protestant glorification of the Church as an ecclesiastical institution "with its majorities, its doctrinal regulations, its equipment"—in short the Catholic conception of the Church. When the evangelical conception of the Church is gone from Protestantism, what is left? Nay, what must come in to fill the aching void? "Added to this Catholic conception of the Church, which identifies the Church of the faith with the Church of history, we evangelicals are also gradually experiencing everything that naturally goes with it—fanaticism, the despotic tendency, impatience, a mania for persecution, clerical uniform, and clerical police. This is a fact which is quite obvious ; a fact which has already asserted itself. It is not God Almighty who is building for himself a Church of the faithful within our churches, but it is majorities who are to build them, and to undertake all the responsibility for them."

And so on. Space forbids a more detailed account of this remarkable book. There is a closing chapter on *Counterbalancing Considerations*, and a final one on *Our Duty* in the premises, in which our author repeats and emphasizes the grounds we have for hope that evangelical Protestantism must ultimately prevail. We must face the crisis. We must not give way to timidity or despair. "Protestantism has only to remember its original principles, and the duty incumbent upon it to shut its ears to no form of truth, and then it is impregnable."

W. H. WYNN.

HARPER AND BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

The Jacksonian Epoch. By Charles H. Peck. 1899. 9x6. pp. 472.

This book by Mr. Peck is a very interesting and welcome contribution to the literature on American political history. It achieves what the preface speaks of as an attempt at two things, a political history of the times from the Presidential candidacy of Jackson to the accession of Tyler, and an exhibit of the influence of the men who shaped these times.

In tracing the history of this epoch, the author clearly views the events from the standpoint of an opponent to the protection theories,

and while his account is most readable, we can scarcely call it strictly impartial. This however has not prevented his giving a very vivid portraiture of the period and its chief actors. It was distinctly one of the most important periods in our national development, and it called to the front of affairs men who have ever since been famous. In his pen pictures of those who participated in those stirring times, the author is most happy, and he has given us many vivid descriptions of men whom, while we all knew them before, we cannot but feel we know much better for his admirable account of them. He has the happy faculty of drawing in a few sentences such a portrait of a man and his character as makes a most vivid mental picture for the reader, just as if he had revealed by a flash light these celebrities of bygone days.

We heartily commend this book both to the student of American history, and most especially to the general reader. Its style admirably adapts it to the latter, since it puts before him an interesting narrative of an interesting epoch.

The make-up of the volume, in type, paper and press-work is very pleasing.

S. G. VALENTINE.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

Ecce Clerus. By a Student of the Times. pp. 341. \$1.50.

This "student of the times" has given us a stimulating book, which will serve to awaken thought and inspire to more active service in the Kingdom. It is "an attempt to deal with some pressing present-day problems having their incidence within the sphere of religion, and holding peculiarly intimate relation to the ministerial calling." The author realizes that he has given a "free and candid criticism of the spirit, status, functions, methods and achievements of the Christian ministry," which will not be equally acceptable to all his readers. While the author is conservative in his plea for the retention of the old truths and institutions, he at the same time believes that there is a conservatism that hinders true development. He urges throughout the necessity and wisdom of rehabilitating and forcibly presenting the "eternal facts and verities of religion" in forms adapted to the needs of a busy, enterprising and restless age.

One's appreciation of the power and value of the Christian ministry as a factor in the civilization of the world is measurably heightened from a perusal of the first chapter of this book. The author eloquently sustains his contention that "the leading factor in the moral and intellectual progress of mankind has been the Christian ministry." In the chapter on "Domination of Type in the Ministry" the author utters a strong protest against "the narrowing and withering spirit of creed and ecclesiastical particularism," which places candid and inquiring seekers after truth under suspicion and brings down upon

them the misrepresentation, flaunts and scorn of those who hold it to be their peculiar function to defend the traditional creed at all hazards. Just as hurtful to the cause of truth, the author regards extreme liberalism. But he sees a better day dawning when all men will see that "true orthodoxy—the orthodoxy of Jesus and Paul—is not so much a faultless logic as a perfect Christian love"; and when through "interdenominational fellowship, frequent pulpit exchanges, frank and friendly discussion of differences, we may be led to realize how much wider is God's truth than man's interpretation of it, and how much greater is the Spirit of Christ than all controversy."

In the chapter on the "Ministry in the Making" we are reminded of the value of the discipline of poverty. We may not agree in every particular with the author in his view of the kind of training our schools should furnish, yet we will agree in this, that the "true shepherd must be trained to govern his sheep by feeding them; to be a watcher of his own fold, not to leave it to an hireling." The book was written in part for public delivery, and hence is written in a vigorous and persuasive style. It deserves and will receive the approbation of those who wish to form correct ideas of the Christian ministry, its spirit, function and power in the regeneration of the world and in the advancement of God's kingdom. While he who reads this book may at times find himself at variance with the author in some of his conclusions, yet no earnest seeker after truth will fail to find stimulus, encouragement and helpful suggestion. It is a valuable contribution to the literature on this subject.

D. FRANK GARLAND.

English Meditative Lyrics By Theodore W. Hunt, Ph. D., Litt D.
pp 157.

The subject is one evidently suited to the taste and disposition of the author. The book is eminently a wholesome one. The distinction between the morally pure and the impure, between what is religiously correct and what false is never lost. The illustrative quotations from the various authors are well selected and contain many gems of lyric verse. The subject, however, seems too narrow to allow of profitable generalizations and progressive treatment. Consequently, the chapters are nearly all headed with the names of individuals some of whom have little claim to be regarded as lyricists at all.

J. A. HIMES.

FLEMING H. REVELL CO., CHICAGO, NEW YORK, TORONTO.

Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology. By Revere Franklin Weidner, D. D., LL. D. Part I. Introduction and Exegetical Theology. Second Edition, entirely rewritten pp. 296. \$1.50.

Dr. Weidner is an industrious compiler of books. We heartily wish that he would stop compiling long enough to write a book on some subject to which he had given the necessary amount of thought and study. All of his books, we are sorry to say, bear the marks of haste—

of hasty generalization, and contain inaccurate and incoherent definitions. The book before us is essentially a compilation from Hagenbach, Raebiger, Cave, Schaff and Heinrici. It contains much information about theology and the proper methods of theological study, that is excellent ; but as a whole the book lacks that unity and consistency which might result from an independent study of the subject.

The mistakes and half-truths that have crept into the book are numerous. We are surprised to learn from a book "entirely rewritten" in 1898, that McCosh, Porter and Hickok are still numbered "among the living representatives of philosophy in America." p. 89.

If it be true that Zwingli was "no thinker," p. 99, then Luther did a very foolish thing to carry on a controversy with him for five or six years while he lived, and to write a severe treatise against him thirteen years after he had died.

It is not true that "Pietism, in its best shape is a pure Christianity in a feeble and feverish state of health, lacking force, freshness and largeness." p. 100. Pietism "in its best shape," as represented by Spener and Francke in Germany, and by Mühlentberg and his immortal colleagues in America, *had* force, freshness and largeness; as witness the noble institutions it established in Germany, and the strong foundations it laid in America. Neither is it true that "there is not a theologian on the Continent of the highest order who holds the old Calvinistic system in its integrity as a system of faith, nor even as a mode of thinking," p. 101. Certainly Dr. Weidner had not heard of Abraham Kuyper, nor read his *Encyclopedia of Theology*, when he penned that paragraph. Nor is it wholly true, when he says, that "Lutheranism was never held more purely, intelligently and fervently than it is at this hour by millions in Christendom, and among these are many of the princes of theology." p. 101. Lutheranism abides as a system of faith and as a mode of thought, and, we believe, is destined to abide to the end of time; but like every other system of faith and mode of religious thought, it has undergone modifications in theology. Every new apprehension of truth leads to a modification of the old form of statement. It is idle to say that Lutheranism is generally apprehended to-day as it was apprehended in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Dr. Weidner cannot name a single living prince of Lutheran theology in Germany, who is orthodox according to the standards and interpretations that were in vogue three centuries ago. Let him inquire at St. Louis.

Such are some of the unqualified statements that mar the excellence of this book ; and yet the book has considerable value for students and pastors who do not have the time to study the larger and more scientific works on the subject. The bibliography, while by no means exhaustive, is comprehensive.

J. W. RICHARD.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK AND LONDON.

History of The People of The Netherlands. By Petrus Johannes Blok, Professor of Dutch History in the University of Leyden. Translated by Oscar A. Bierstadt and Ruth Putnam. Part I. From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century. 1898. 9x6, pp. 374.

In recent years there has arisen a new branch of historical writing that meets with growing welcome. For the world cares quite as much to know the history of the people as it does to know that of the kings and queens, and of the various political ongoings of the centuries. For while the latter are important, they have been made over-prominent until we have been made prone to forget that below and about them there lived, toiled, and developed the masses of those for whom after all the kings and governments exist. And in these days of the people's growing importance we realize that their history is worth knowing about.

Dr. Blok, in the volume before us, takes us back through the centuries and from the data that have been industriously collected and carefully sifted, traces with great skill the rise and development of the people of the Netherlands. It is a great subject, for it is a great people, not so much in numbers as in character. For the world shows no parallel to their historical influence and importance in great crises of history. Whoever is familiar with their achievements in the later centuries (and who is not?) will greet with welcome this story of the beginnings and growth of those who have left so sure a mark on the world's events. Dr. Blok takes us to the bottom of it all. He tells us how the nations formed, how society and institutions developed, revealing through the mist of bygone days the birth and early life of that noble folk that in the fulness of time should take its place and do deeds which should be an inspiration to centuries yet unborn. The position, growth and influence of the nobles, the clergy, the cities and all their social relations and development, are clearly portrayed for the period covered, and the volume supplies what many have lacked and will gratefully welcome.

We owe to the translators, who have so well done their part, our thanks for placing Dr. Blok's work in such available shape.

S. G. VALENTINE

P. ANSTADT & SONS, YORK.

Luther's Notes on the Gospels. By P. Anstadt, D. D. pp. X., 411 with index.

This volume is a translation of a German work by Rev. E. Mueller, Guetersloh, Germany. The original is a compilation from the writings, particularly the sermons, of Luther; the Reformer never wrote a full commentary on the Gospels. In consequence some passages of the gospel text are omitted. This, however, does not seriously detract

from the usefulness of the work. Luther's thought remains perennially fresh, and he is at his best in brief and pungent comment. This is what is preserved for us here. For the Lutheran pastor and teacher the work is invaluable. The translator is to be congratulated upon his excellent English, which is pure and idiomatic, while nothing of the original flavor seems to have been lost.

Prefatory to the commentary proper Dr. Anstadt has placed Luther's Preface to the New Testament and his Introduction to the Four Gospels, in which the reader will find, in Luther's quaint and striking style, very valuable hints and helps.

The volume is a Luther book through and through and makes a valuable contribution to the Luther literature in English which is rapidly multiplying.

H. C. ALLEMAN.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Kurze und Einfältige Auslegung der Evangelien, so auf die Sonntage und vornehmsten Feste durch das ganze Jahr in der Kirche gelesen werden. Für die Pfarrherren und Hausväter gestellt durch M. Anton Corvinus. Quarto, pp. 280.

These excellent explanations of the Gospels were published in High German in 1537, with a Preface by Luther. They are here introduced to the German-reading Christians of America with a biographical and literary Preface by Prof. A. L. Graebner, of the St. Louis Lutheran Seminary. We heartily wish that every German-reading pastor and *Hausvater* in the United States, possessed, and would diligently read and study this good book, so rich in instruction and in Christian consolation. It belongs to a period when Christians believed the word of God, and did not stop to criticise it. Open the book where you will, and you find sincere milk and strong meat.

The German is very easy. We presume the spelling and the grammar have been modernized by the editor. The type is large, the paper and binding are first-class.

J. W. RICHARD.

Joh. Guilielmi Baieri Compendium Theologiae Positivae, Adjectis Notis Amplioribus, Quibus Doctrina Orthodoxa ad Paideian Academicam Explicatur atque ex Scriptura S. Eique Innixis Rationibus Theologicis Confirmatur, Denuo Edendum Curavit Carol. Ferd. Guil. Walther, SS. Theologiae Doctor et Professor. Editio Auctior Et Emen-datior. Indices Fecit Theo. Buenger. 8vo., pp. 132.

The late Prof. Dr. C. F. W. Walther, of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, at St. Louis, rendered a valuable service to Theological science by publishing, some twenty years ago, Baier's *Compendium Theologiae Positivae*, with such ample additions as to quadruple the size of the original work. But he prepared no index for it. Hence the book was less serviceable than it otherwise would have been. Happily this labor of love has now been done in the most satisfactory manner by

Mr. Buenger, in the volume before us, which is chiefly a book of indexes, and has the following contents: *Index Rerum, Nominum, Auctorum*, pp. 1-105; *Index Locorum Scripturae*, pp. 106-112; *Axiomata et Dicta Praestantissima Nonnulla*, pp. 113-129; *Index Terminorum*, pp. 129-130; *Nonnulla Baieriana*, pp. 131-132, that is, various phrases, opinions and definitions in the teaching of Baier, that Dr. Walther did not approve. These *Baieriana* extend to almost every doctrine of the Lutheran Church,—another proof that even the most orthodox doctors in the Lutheran Church do not always agree in their theology.

This book of *Indices*, so full, comprehensive and scholarly, is a grateful supplement to Walther's Baier's *Compend*, which ought to be read and studied by all candidates for the Lutheran ministry. The fact that it is mostly in Latin ought to commend it, rather than condemn it. It is used as a text-book in the St. Louis Seminary. We welcome to our table all such scholarly aids to the study of theology, as the one before us.

J. W. RICHARD.

GERMAN PUBLISHING BOARD, CHICAGO, ILL.

Formel Buch für die Deutschen der Lutherischen Generalsynode. Dritte, vermehrte Auflage, pp. 144.

German-English Catechism for the use of Lutheran Catechumens in America. pp. 119.

The author and compiler of these two German-English books, is the Rev. J. D. Severinghaus, D. D., whom we have long known and highly esteemed for his excellence of character and for his valuable services as a teacher, and as a mediator between the Germans and the English-speaking of the General Synod.

The *Formelbuch* contains a form of worship, forms for the various ministerial acts, Constitutions for District Synods, various rules and regulations for congregations, and other valuable matter. We are pleased to notice that in the form for Infant Baptism the questions are *not* addressed to the child.

The Catechism contains Luther's Small Catechism in German and English, an "Examination of Candidates for Confirmation," in seventy-three questions and answers. "An Order of Confirmation," "An Abstract of Christian Doctrine," and several other subjects. Pastors and young Christians will find this bilingual book very useful. It gives such information and help as are much needed.

J. W. RICHARD.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. A practical Exposition By Charles Gore, M. A., D. D., of the Community of the Resurrection, Canon of Westminster, Hon. Chaplain to the Queen. Vol. I., (Chapters I.-VIII). Price \$1.50.

This new volume from Canon Gore will have a wide welcome. Ever

since his Bampton Lectures, for 1891, on *The Incarnation*, his name has been an assurance of high worth in the products of his pen. The favor accorded them is due not alone to the scholarly ability they show, but also to their strong maintenance of the great features of evangelical theology.

This exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, given in part in the present volume, and to be completed in a future one, though thoroughly doctrinal, has largely a practical aim which determined the method and form. After a general introduction, indicating St. Paul's training through a personal experience which prepared him for a clear apprehension of the gospel of grace, and tracing the fundamental principles in the doctrine of justification by faith as the central theme of the epistle, the exposition proceeds by sections. Each section, according to the Revised Version is taken, or sometimes two sections are taken together, prefaced by an analysis or paraphrase, as has seemed most useful, and followed by further explanation of the main ideas or phrases. In these further explanations the doctrinal teaching is developed, its position in wider theological view is noted, and practical lessons are suggested for the Christian life. The advantages of the method become evident, not only in exhibiting the structural and doctrinal unity of the Epistle as a whole, but also in maintaining the continuity of the central theme, as well as pointing out the great variety of its applications to personal character and conduct. The work is one of unique value. Numerous as are the published volumes on this great Epistle, students of it will want to add this latest exposition of all to their other helps in studying its divine teaching.

Canon Gore is a devout and earnest churchman. He has been moulded in the theology and spirit of the Anglican Church. This, of course, influences his Scripture interpretation, and results in some explanations and teachings which will not be universally received. These frequently appear along the lines of characteristic views, such as the relations and office of the Church and the emphasis placed upon the sacraments for the conveyance of saving grace. In his preface he expresses his belief that "it requires one who enters thoroughly into the spirit of Churchmanship, or the obligation of the one body, to interpret with any completeness the mind of St. Paul." Without doubt, a strong insistence on the place of the Church and on sacramental grace is required for a true interpreter, but when the "one body" is conceived of as a priestly and episcopal organization rather than the 'congregation or body of believers,' and the sacraments are exalted above "the word," the emphasis may become excessive. And such it seems to be when, as to the Church, the representation is made that our 'incorporation into Christ' is through incorporation into the Church, and not that we enter the Church by union with Christ through faith; and when, with reference to the sacraments, the affirmation is made: "St. Paul's language

does not admit of our supposing that he knew of any other way of admission 'into Christ' except through the gate of baptism, or any other means of communion in Christ's body and blood except 'the breaking of the bread.' " We note these extreme views, not as withdrawing our high estimate of the worth of Dr. Gore's exposition, but with the view of adding that, irrespective of these, and of some other statements on which many will fail to agree, the work is such a strong and impressive vindication of the gospel of justification by faith in its essential features and the necessary correlated truths of orthodox theology, that we may well excuse the presence of these special sentiments of the able author.

M. VALENTINE.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

OCTOBER, 1899.

ARTICLE I.

LUTHER AND FREE WILL.

BY PROF. LUTHER A. FOX, D. D.

Most of us who have not made a special study of the subject, regard Luther a necessitarian. We know that he wrote a book against Erasmus and called it *De Servo Arbitrio*. We have often seen quotations from his writings like this: "It is manifest that there can be no such thing as free will." It is positively asserted in our histories of philosophy and many of our theological books that he denied that the will is free. Schaff in his volume of Church History devoted to the German Reformation, says, "Luther infers from God's almighty power that all things happen necessarily, and that there can be no freedom in the creature." Fisher in his recent History of Doctrine says, "Luther reiterated with vehemence his propositions relative to human impotence and the absolute control of God within the sphere of man's voluntary action." With so many authorities of high rank agreeing in the same assertion and often supporting their statements by references and quotations from Luther's writings, it has passed into a generally accepted fact that Luther was a philosophic necessitarian. Bledsoe, who had never read any of Luther's works did not question its correctness and devotes the first section in the first chapter of his Theodicy to "The attempt of Calvin and Luther to reconcile the scheme of necessity with the responsibility of man." Luther taught a form of necessity and in the most positive language denied the freedom of the will in the sense in which he understood it, but

still it may be questioned whether he was a philosophic necessitarian. There is room for renewed study of the case. In the revived interests in his life and theology, especially in our Church, a new presentation seems opportune.

Luther wrote as a theologian and not as a philosopher. His interest in the question of the freedom of the will was wholly religious. But he was not unacquainted with the philosophic side of it and the rational principles involved. At the University of Erfurt he was educated in philosophy according to the best methods in use at that time. Trutvetter and Arnoldi, his favorite professors, were not great philosophers, but they were able men and widely known. The chief text-books in this department were Aristotle's *Logic*, *Ethics* and *Physics*. Through these teachers and books he got not only his earliest training in philosophic thinking but also his first ideas and his fundamental principles in philosophic thought. He had a philosophic mind, acute and analytic, and at that time a decided philosophic taste. He devoted himself with great earnestness and assiduity to his work in philosophy. While he studied the ancient classics and was intimate with some of those who became eminent Humanists, his strength was laid out upon his *Logic* and *Ethics*. He was known as the foremost man in his class, and the Faculty looked upon him as a philosopher of great promise. Rubianus, some years later, in a personal letter to him, alludes to his reputation among the students: "You were the musician and erudite philosopher of our old circle." Either in the university or in the monastery he studied also William Occam, John Gerson, Peter D'Ailly and Gabriel Biel. He studied Occam very closely and ever afterwards held him in high esteem. He said that Occam was the most highly gifted of the scholastic doctors. He had sympathy with the evangelical and reform views of Gerson. He read D'Ailly and Biel until they were almost committed to memory. We hear most about his spiritual struggles in the monastery, but we have evidence that he found time during this period to make himself familiar with a large part of the scholastic philosophy and theology. His reputation as a student at the university survived his monastic

burial, and his philosophic work in the cell was known to Staupitz. When the University of Wittenberg, after a temporary transfer to Heidelberg, was reopened and the faculty enlarged, he was nominated to the chair of philosophy, and for several months lectured on the Logic and Physics of Aristotle. It was upon his own request that he was made professor of theology.

These opportunities and studies made Luther the heir in philosophy of the ages dating from Aristotle. Humanism had opened up the best books in philosophy, written during the classic period. Scholasticism had brought down much of the Grecian and Roman speculative thought. The ambitious student and professor had read all that was extant. He was influenced even by those great thinkers whose books had not fallen into his hands, for their thought had been taken up into the general current and been carried on after the source had been forgotten. But there are with every man certain writers who are most helpful, and we know who did most to mould the opinion of Luther in regard to free will. After the Bible, Augustine had the greater influence over him. Aristotle first put him to thinking and gave him his first views. He knew the doctrine as held by the early Church Fathers. Through them he became acquainted with the ideas of the Stoics and Gnostics. He had followed Thomas Aquinas and Peter Lombard through their discussions. Through these influences, positive and negative, he had reached his own conclusions. To understand clearly his doctrine it is necessary to take a brief review of the history of the doctrine of the will.

Socrates, the father of ethical speculation, made the moral element in reason the starting point of his philosophy. No man can emphasize as he did moral truth without recognizing the freedom of the will. He assumed it without verification. But in defining the nature of virtue he admitted principles which, logically carried out, undermined his assumption. He identified virtue with knowledge and made sin the result of ignorance, a defect of the intellect and not of the will. If we must do what we know to be right and good, and must know what falls under

our faculties of knowing, our will is not free. Plato agrees with his teacher so far as to say that vice is involuntary, but held that virtue is voluntary, because the natural tendency of the will is towards the good.

Aristotle, in the third book of his *Ethics*, discusses the will. He asserts that it is free. It is the common sense view, and is proved by civil laws. He makes a distinction between voluntary and involuntary actions, and also between voluntary and premeditated action. He confounds desire and will. "There is volition in regard to impossibilities, as of immortality. And there is volition about things which cannot by any possibility be performed by one's self, as that a particular actor should gain the victory." He defines the voluntary as that of which the principle is in the doer himself, having a knowledge of the circumstances of the act. He limits the compulsory to external restraint. "Now the compulsory appears to be that of which the principle is external and to which the person compelled contributes nothing." The will is free whenever the agent meets no external obstacle and is able to deliberate intelligently. Virtue is a habitude, a constant state or disposition of the will which determines its volitions. Here is abundant room for the entrance of necessitarianism, both theological and philosophic. He regarded the soul as the entelechy of the body and the ethical as the end, the fruit of the natural. Necessity rules in the natural and must therefore in the last analysis rule in the moral. With this definition of will Luther could say that the will is not free, because, first, the desires are enslaved and, second, the intellect is so obscured as to true religion that we cannot deliberate intelligently, and yet hold that because there is no external compulsion man's sins are voluntary. Neither Socrates, Plato nor Aristotle, ever considered the question whether the will itself is self-determined or is governed by necessity.

The later Stoics were preëminently moralists, and as such they stoutly affirmed the freedom of man and the freedom of the will. But it was only a relative freedom. They held that all things are ruled by an iron fate. They taught that we ought to love virtue for virtue's sake, and yet they said that a man who

voluntarily and maliciously injures us ought to be forgiven, because he could not avoid it. Fatalism is absolutely contradictory to virtue, and annuls every ought. The Stoics could not have admitted into their system such irreconcilable inconsistencies if they had seen clearly the indissoluble connection between liberty and virtue.

The early Church Fathers were brought into contact with the Stoic teachings, and the idea of fatalism drove them into the extreme which Luther saw and condemned. But while maintaining a false autonomy of the will they brought out distinctly what the philosophers had largely overlooked. Justin Martyr asserted that freedom is necessary to accountability. "If all things are determined by fate, farewell freedom of the will; and if this man is destined to be good and that one to be evil then neither the one nor the other can be justly approved or condemned; so that unless we suppose that man has it in his power to choose the good and refuse the evil no one can be accountable for any action whatever. But to prove that men are good or evil by choice I argue in this manner: We see in the same person a transition to quite contrary actions; but now were he necessitated either to be good or bad he would not be capable of the contrary." (Ap. 1: 10, 80). Clemens of Alexandria said, "Man like every other spiritual being can never lose the power of arbitrary choice" (Strom, 8). Origen held with Clemens that every voluntary action is a compound of free choice and divine aid, and that without liberty there is no accountability. Tertullian asks, "How can man destined to rule over the whole creation be a slave in respect to himself?" But yet in other places he sows the seeds which develop afterwards into the Augustinian philosophy. Luther accepted the general truth that only the voluntary is accountable, but rejected their doctrine of free will. He remanded to philosophy the question of the relation of volition and choice to responsibility.

Augustine introduced an epoch in the history of speculation concerning the will. He himself passed through several stages before he reached his final conclusions. He started as an enthusiastic opponent of Manicheism and emphasized its freedom,

but as his system advanced he approximated more closely towards necessitarianism. Necessity is closely related to unconditional election. He distinguished between three kinds of necessity, 1. Spontaneity as opposed to external force. This belongs to all men and is the sphere of civil liberty. 2. The power of a contrary choice. This belonged to Adam in Eden. 3. Freedom through grace. This is the *non posse peccare*, the union of freedom and necessity. He saw that the acts of the will are conditioned upon the persistent disposition, the habitude, but this, he thought, did not destroy its freedom. The power of a contrary advice is not possible in a perfectly established habitude, but that is not necessary to freedom. God cannot choose sin and is for that very reason alone perfectly free. The sinner in a state of nature can not choose the spiritually good, but nevertheless his will in the sense of spontaneity is free. The power of contrary choice was not a perfection in Adam, but was given him for probationary purposes. If he had chosen persistently the good he would have lost the power to choose evil and would have become thoroughly free. Through that power of contrary choice he could and did in fact originate sin *ex nihilo*. That power is then a defect rather than a virtue. In confirmed drunkenness the man is a slave, but his will is free. But he went on to say that not only no sinner but also no creature has the power of self-determination to the right. One can choose the good only through divine grace. God is made the direct agent in all virtue, and the created will is merely the instrument. Augustine is not clear in his analysis of the will. He makes the feelings, especially the desires, a part of it. He says for example, "I was bound by my own iron will. For of a perverse will came lust, and lust yielded to became habit, and habit not resisted became necessity." As his doctrine of predestination was developed his opinions in regard to the freedom of the will become more confused and obscure. He thinks of grace as a power outside of the mind determining the acts of the will. Irresistible grace is incompatible with a free will, even though the first effect of that grace be to make one willing. It is to the mind an external force, a compulsion

Inconsistently he asserts that we must have free will that punishment may be just. He saw the inconsistency, and warns us that in defending grace, free will must not be given up, and in defending free will, grace must not be given up. Bain says, "It is difficult to give any meaning to free will in such passages." Mozely thinks that with Augustine free will means only voluntary action and that he allowed only a determination by either original sin or divine grace. In evil he asserts a self-determination. "The cause of evil is in the will which turns aside from the higher to the lower. The evil will works evil, but is itself not moved by any positive cause." The sinner is justly punished. But there is no merit in virtue. "The free will follows grace as its servant. It is certain that we act when we act, but the fact that we act is due to God who communicates to us the necessary powers. God is our might." This he maintained for the reason that God upholds the will in its existence and the continuance of its power depends upon him. In grace it became doubly true because God must supply the spiritual principle or power by which it can choose the good. Luther, for reasons that will hereafter appear, rejected along with Augustine the name free will, and to a large extent agreed with him in regard to the nature and powers of the will, in spiritual things.

Not much was added by the schoolmen. Thomas Aquinas taught that voluntary action is action springing from internal principles. The will is not subject to the necessity of compulsion but to that necessity which does not destroy freedom, the necessity of striving after ends. Man judges of ends by reason, does so freely and after comparison. By controlling our ideas we control our decisions. The choice lies in our power, but still we have need of divine grace in order to be truly good even in the sphere of natural virtue. The moral faculty was not destroyed by the fall but remains as a natural power of practical principles. The will is related to free will as *intellectus* is to *ratio*. Will is the desire for anything for its own sake; the free will is the desire of anything as a means to an end. There are two kinds of necessity: 1. Natural, absolute or intrinsic; 2. Extrinsic, which is compulsion and excludes will. Peter Lom-

bard distinguished two kinds of liberty: 1. Freedom from necessity; 2. Freedom from sin. Many of the Schoolmen analyzed will into velleity, intention and fruition.

Such in brief outline was the inheritance of Luther. Many of the questions now fervently discussed had never been raised, and many of the distinctions with which we are familiar had not been made. The principle of accountability had been established, but its nature and bounds had not been defined. The influence of motives and their character as causes, the nature of a sufficient reason in relation to volition, the difference between the voluntary and the freely voluntary, the real distinction between liberty and necessity, and the essential elements of the will had not been fully considered. They do not seem to have occurred to Luther, and having failed to make these distinctions he fell into seeming inconsistencies and exposed himself to the charge of philosophic necessitarianism. It is unjust to pick out single statements and construe them strictly. With our clearer definitions we are in danger of putting into his language a meaning he did not intend.

Most of us take a short cut to the conclusion that the will is free. We believe that we are conscious of its freedom. All men believe that they are free, and this universal and spontaneous judgment can not be wrong. If the will is not free there can be no just punishment for sin or crime. Ethics and civil government postulate liberty. Without it all religion is ridiculous and all attempts at philosophizing preposterous. If we are not free we are not persons, but mere machines. The doctrine of necessity seems absurd, and we dismiss the subject with a feeling of pity, if not of contempt, for the poor befogged necessitarian philosophers. We feel that it is a stain upon the memories of Luther and Calvin and Edwards that they were entrapped. But when we stop long enough to look at the chain of argument by which necessitarianism is maintained we find one of iron. Dr. N. K. Davis has put it in this form: Every change has a cause. A volition is a change, therefore a volition has a cause. Everything caused is necessitated. A volition is caused, therefore a volition is necessitated. Many eminent phi-

losophers have struggled with the problem and pronounced it insoluble. Prof. William James started on the objective side and found himself confronted with necessity. He said that psychology would not prove that the will is free, and turned the question over to philosophy. Kant in his speculative philosophy found that contradictory propositions were equally tenable, and fell back on the postulate of practical philosophy. Sir William Hamilton thought it could be proved only by the law of excluded middle or by the philosophy of the conditioned. We can neither think a volition as caused nor yet as uncaused, but as they are contradictory the one or the other must be true. Dr. McCosh in his *Divine Government* stands up for liberty, but Bledsoe has pointed out that he slipped back into the ranks of the necessitarians. It is not strange then that Luther without the philosophic apparatus of to-day and without the acute distinctions brought out by Leibnitz, Hobbes, Collins, Clarke and many others, used language and held some principles in common with the advocates of necessity. How far he is justly charged with necessitarianism must be learned from a careful study of his own statements.

Köstlin* has given the growth of Luther's doctrine of the will. His deep consciousness of sin and his personal struggles had early in his religious life fixed his opinion in regard to original sin. He knew that man is thoroughly depraved and utterly helpless without divine grace. Out of this profound conviction grew his idea of the complete impotence of the will in spiritual things. It was primarily and chiefly in relation to his conception of Divine grace that he took any interest in the subject of the will. We find him saying before the Indulgence Controversy that "The will of man is not free without grace but in slavery and that not unwillingly; appetite is not free but captive." Free will is opposed here to self will. Adam and Satan by a choice of their own wills transformed the free wills which they had received from God into self wills. Free will is

*Luther's Theology, Vol. I., pp. 140-150, 284, 326, 428. (Hay's translation).

obtained by gazing upon God's will. A remnant of the original will remained, a *synteresis*, and upon this grace can lay hold, but without grace it is unable to turn to God. It is an inclination to knowledge and love for the invisible. It is a power of punishment in hell, for the lost do not desire hell but salvation. He denies free will in respect to merit and demerit but not in regard to inferior things. In 1518 he reaffirms that the will has only a capacity for evil so far as it regards religion. He asserts that Adam's fault was in his will. He had the ability to do if he willed, but he had not the will to do what he was able. At Leipsic he maintained that the will is merely passive in every act of its own, for it is borne along by grace like a saw in the hands of a carpenter. The Bull of Excommunication specified among other errors that Luther had called free will an empty name. In reply he maintains that the will is not free, because it is enslaved by sin, and says that the word ought to be abandoned. In a Latin treatise he carried the question up to metaphysical grounds. He denies that the will is free because of man's supreme dependence upon God. He can not of himself even choose evil. He can not control his own thought. He thinks himself free only because of the limitation of his view. In the higher conception of man's relation to God he finds himself a slave. But having made the assertion he falls back upon the practical, religious side, indicating by that fact that he regarded the philosophic view as incidental and secondary. We have in this outline all the essential features of Luther's doctrine. He amplified and supported, but never added an important principle.

Luther has spoken of the will and free will a great many times. Sometimes he makes a passing remark and at others he discusses some one aspect a little more at length. We have his fully developed doctrine, stated and defended in his *De Servo Arbitrio*. It was a formal treatment of the subject in reply to the greatest scholar of the age. In such a treatise we look for guarded and precise statements sustained by the clearest and strongest arguments at one's command. It was written in 1525. Its author held it in high esteem. In 1537 he said that if like

Saturn he could devour his children he would spare this book and his Small Catechism. Rightly, therefore, the world has regarded it as the first and highest source of his opinion upon this subject.

But when we take it up we are disappointed by not finding any precise definitions of will, of free will, of necessity, of man's innate power, or of God's control over human actions. He has scattered statements through its pages which we must gather together and from them draw our inferences as to his ideas of them. We do not read far, however, before we understand why he did not give formal definition. They were not necessary to his purpose. He was intent only on proving that man can do nothing for his salvation without divine grace. He states it clearly and repeatedly: "Whether our will be active in those things which pertain to everlasting salvation, or be merely passive, grace meanwhile being the agent; whether we do by mere necessity (which we must rather call suffer) whatever we do of good or evil." "To know whether the will does anything or nothing in the matter of salvation. This is the very hinge of our discussion."* The proposition laid down by Erasmus and which he discusses is: "Moreover by free will here I mean that power of the human will, whereby a man is able to apply himself to those things which lead to eternal salvation or to turn himself away from them."† It is this that he denies and refutes. "We are not arguing," he says at this conclusion, "about nature, but about grace; we are not inquiring what sort of persons we are upon earth, but what in heaven and before God. But this is our question whether man has free will towards God so that God wills and does what man wills, or whether God rather has free will over man so that man wills and does what God wills."‡ He speaks of God's power only to show what free will is: "It is impossible for you to understand what free will is until you know what the human will has power to do and what God does; whether he foreknows or not."§ It is, then, avowedly a treatise on man's inability in religion rather than on the nature

*Part 1, Sec. 8, 9.

†Part 3, Sec. 1.

‡Part 5, Sec. 28.

§Part 1, Sec. 9.

of the will. We do him great wrong when we interpret, as writers generally do, this theological book by philosophic rather than by religious conceptions.

Luther has used the word will in a very comprehensive sense. We are accustomed to a careful distinction between will and the other mental faculties. It is more distinct from the intellect, the feelings, including sensations and emotions and affection, and the desires than the imagination is from the memory or the faculty of thought. The essential elements of the will are choice, intention and volition. It is conditioned upon desires, but the desires are not a part of the will, for there are always conflicting desires, but there can be one choice in any given case. It is conditioned on cognition, for until we know something to be desired we cannot desire it and until we know something to be done we cannot choose to do it. But cognition and desire are not elements of the will, no more than memory is a part of the imagination which is conditioned upon it. Memory must furnish the material for imagination, and without it imagination is impossible, but the imagination is a distinct faculty. Without the distinction between the will as a special faculty and the other special faculties confusion of thought and statement is inevitable. Edwards included the desires under the will in his celebrated definition: "So that whatever names we call the act of the will by: choosing, refusing, approving, disapproving, liking, disliking, embracing, rejecting, determining, directing, commanding, forbidding, inclining or being averse, a being pleased or displeased with; all may be reduced to this of choosing." In this wrong definition lay a large part of his error. But Luther includes not only the desires but also the intellect. Sometimes he means by it not only all the active powers but even the entire being. When he says that the will is not free we are sometimes at a loss to know whether he means the will as we understand it or something else. He gives this definition: "By a power of the human will, then, is meant, as I suppose, an ability or faculty disposedness or suitedness to will, to refuse, to choose, to despise, to approve, to reject and to perform whatever other actions

there are of the human will."* Disposedness means the state of mind or character which lies back behind the will. To despise and to approve refer to things as well as actions, and these actions may be our own or those of others; while choice as a part of the will means only actions possible for one's self. He adduces as evidence that the will is enslaved the fact that the heathen Cicero and the Greeks with a genius, erudition and diligence surpassing Christians, never obtained grace. "What have the most excellent wits amongst the heathen thought of a future life and of the resurrection? Was it not true that the more they excelled in genius, the more ridiculous did the resurrection and eternal life appear to them? Festus called Paul a madman for preaching these things? What does Pliny talk about these things in his seventh book? What does Lucian so great a wit teach?"† He says: "The Sophists, or at least Peter Lombard, their father, deliver what is far more tolerable to us when they affirm that free will is the faculty of first discerning good from evil and then choosing good from or evil according as grace be present or wanting."‡ "What does this mean but that the free will or the human heart is so trodden under foot of Satan that except it be miraculously raised up by the Spirit of God it can not of itself either see or have those things which strike upon the very eyes and ears, so manifestly as to be palpable to the hand; such is the misery and blindness of the human race. What can be more marvellous? The light, saith he, shineth in darkness and the darkness comprehended it not."§ That he includes the appetites under will is evident from the passage quoted before from Köstlin: "The will is not free; appetite is not free but captive." That he includes also other faculties will hereafter appear.

He is not more precise in his use of the expression free will. What he meant by it may be seen in some measure in the fact that he attributes it in its perfection to God. "Free will is a

*Part 3, Sec. 2.

†Part 2, Sec. 8; Part 3, Sec. 3. All the translations from *De Servo Arbitrio* are from the Latin by E. T. Vaughan, published in London 1823.

‡Part 3, Sec. 5.

§Part 2, Sec. 18.

title which belongs altogether to God, and cannot be found in any other being save the Divine Majesty only. For that Divine Majesty can and does effect all that he wills in heaven and on earth. But if that title be ascribed to men you might just as well ascribe divinity itself to them.”* “Free will is a term peculiar to God and expresses a divine perfection.”† God has free will—

1. Because he is self-existent. This is only indirectly stated but is clearly implied in some of his denials of free will to men. “With how much less propriety can we call a man or an angel free when they live in the most absolute subjection to God (to say nothing of sin and death) so as not to subsist for a moment in their own strength?”‡
2. Because there is no law or force outside of himself to control him. “He is God whose will has no cause or reason which can be prescribed to it for a rule and measure; seeing it has no equal or superior but is itself the rule of all things. If it had any rule or measure, or cause or reason it could no longer be the will of God. For what he wills is not right because he ought to have willed so; on the contrary because he wills so therefore what is done must be right. Cause and reason are prescribed to the creature’s will but not to the Creator’s, unless you would set up another Creator over his head.”§ Luther does not regard God as a tyrant and his will as caprice, but as the embodiment of reason and justice. He does not speak of the special faculty of volition but of the whole mind and character of God. He does not make the will independent of reason and holiness, but independent of any ulterior force or higher being. This is evident from the last sentence in which he denies that there is any Creator who can lay down a law by which God’s actions must be judged.
3. Because God is perfectly holy. The will is free only so far as it obeys reason and conforms to the behests of holiness. God’s will does this perfectly and therefore it is perfectly free.
4. Because he has the power of self-determination. He is subject to no constraint from any external force but follows only and always the impulses of his own nature.
5. He is independent of all restraint.

*Part 1, Sec. 5.

†Part 3, Sec. 4.

‡Part 3, Sec. 1.

§Part 4, Sec. 15.

He is absolutely free to execute his purposes. Nothing can compel him and nothing hinders him. Luther lays so much emphasis upon God's omnipotence that he often seems to make it the great constituent of his will. Köstlin says, "The will of God for Luther is the *natural power* of God, his very nature itself." So far as our wills are wanting in any one of these characteristics Luther could deny that they were free and yet not hold a single principle in common with the necessitarians. But he did not hesitate to say that God's absolutely free will was under necessity. God is necessarily self-existent and omnipotent. By the holiness of his nature it is impossible for him to choose the evil. He is omniscient and must necessarily foreknow. "The Christian faith is altogether extinguished, the promises of God fall absolutely to the ground if we be taught and believe that we have no need to know that the foreknowledge of God is *necessary* and that all acts and events are *necessary*."* God's foreknowledge makes necessary, and as he foreknows his own actions, his own acts are done under necessity. Necessity in Luther's view is not opposed to the most perfect liberty.

In opposition to his conception of the true meaning of free will he gives us the popular idea of it: "Free will is too magnificent, extensive and copious a term by which the common people suppose (as both the force and nature of the word require) that a power is meant which can turn itself freely to either side and to such extent as not to yield or be subjected to any one."† The liberty of indifference, which he here positively rejects, is not held now by any reputable philosopher. Free will is necessarily a power of a rational being, and to act without reason and character is not will but mere blind impulse.

Luther objects to the word necessity. "I could have wished indeed that another and better word had been introduced into our disputation than this usual one, Necessity, which is not rightly applied to the will of either God or man. It has too harsh and incongruous a meaning for this occasion, suggesting

*Part I, Sec. 13.

†Part I, Sec. 25.

to the mind the notion of something like compulsion and what is at least the opposite of willingness, for both God's will and man's will does what it does, whether good or bad, without compulsion, by dint of mere good pleasure and desire as with perfect freedom. Let the understanding of the reader supply, then, what the word necessity does express; apprehending by it what you might choose to call the immutability of God's will and the impotency of our will, what some have called a necessity of immutability."* He positively and repeatedly denies the desire to reject the fact of accountability when he affirms that the will is governed by necessity. In reply to the objection that necessity has neither merit or demerit he says, "If we speak of a necessity of compulsion this is true."† He ridicules the distinction made by the Schoolmen between the necessity of the consequent and the necessity of the consequence, and proves that both alike fall under the necessity of immutability, but denies that either is by compulsion. Bain, like Luther, objects to the words freedom and necessity as applied to the will. He points out the difference between their common meaning and that in philosophy. He says, "The perplexity of the question of free will is mainly due to the inaptness of the terms to express the facts. The capital objection to the word free will is the unsuitability, irrelevance and impropriety of the metaphor of freedom in the sequence of motive and acts of volition. We do not bring mental sequence under pure material laws by calling them sequence and maintaining them to be uniform in their working."‡ Even Edwards noted the difference between the popular and philosophic sense. "It follows that when the terms necessary, impossible, irresistible, unable, are used, they are not used in their popular signification but quite beside that in common speech."§ Bain remarks that Edwards did not draw the obvious inference that the word necessity should be discarded from the discussion. Having excluded the idea of compulsion Luther, as Edwards did afterwards, used freely the word neces-

*Part 1, Sec. 11.

†Part 3, Sec. 38.

‡Psychology, p. 318.

§Works, Vol. 2, p. 10.

sity as best expressing his idea. What, then, did he mean by it? What is the necessity of immutability?

There is no will without choice, and there can be no choice where there is compulsion. Luther saw this very clearly and said, "This will of Satan we do willingly and cordially, agreeably to the nature of our own will which if we be compelled would not be a will; for compulsion is, if I may so speak, mere non-will."* But there is ambiguity about the word compulsion. It may mean an objective force compelling our external actions as in the case of a slave, or it may mean a force exerted directly upon the will. Liberty of the will was made by Locke, Edwards and most necessitarians to consist simply in the absence of restraint in carrying out our purposes. But the question is not about a force resisting the will but one determining its volitions. Luther's language, notwithstanding his protest against compulsion, often seems to mean that the will is irresistably controlled by the power of God exerted immediately and directly upon it. The question forces itself upon us, does Luther contradict himself and after all his efforts fall back among the most rigid necessitarians?

Luther does not admit any meaning of necessity that interferes with the natural ability of the will. Once his words taken by themselves might imply a doubt as to the very existence of such a faculty in us: "You might, perhaps, with propriety attribute will to man, but to attribute free will in divine things is too much."† But he never thought of questioning it. He said that no influence exerted upon men when they sinned did violence to the will, and that they sinned willingly. "But now seeing that he is driven and hurried along to an act of willing—no violence, it is true, being done to his will, because he is not forced against his will, but a natural operation of God hurrying him away to a natural acting of his will, such a one as it is, and that is a bad one—it follows that he can never run foul of the word."‡ This will is the basis for the ope-

*Part 1, Sec. 24.

†Part 3, Sec. 1.

‡Part 4, Sec. 17.

ration of divine grace. Without a will acting naturally we could not be brought under the saving power of the Spirit. "For we also confess this power (that is, this fitness) in the will or, as the Sophists speak, this disposable quality and passive adaptedness; which everybody knows is not implanted in trees and in the beasts; for God has not created heaven for geese and ganders as it is said."* Will acting naturally is governed by motives, and if God or Satan rules it without violence they must do it through motives. The will can be enslaved only by changing the habitude, the disposition so that wrong motives will always be the strongest or by controlling the external influence so that it may be always led to wrong decisions. One might hold either or both views, as Luther did, without being a necessitarian in the philosophic sense.

Luther in common with libertarians held that we have since the fall of Adam a certain degree of freedom of the will. Protesting against the word as misleading, he said, "If then we be not willing to give up the term altogether, which would be the safest expedient and most consistent with piety, still let us teach men to keep good faith in using it only within certain limits by which free will shall be conceded to man and only with respect to such substances as are inferior to himself, and not to those which are superior. In other words let him know that he has faculties and possessions and a right of using them—of doing and forbidding to do—according to his own free will, although this very right be also controlled by God's free will whenever he sees fit to interfere."† In another place he said, "We know that free will performs certain natural acts; that she eats and drinks and begets children and rules the house." "He had no need of Diatribe's instructions, surely, to teach him that man already had eyes, nose, ears, mouth, mind, will, reason and all other properties of a man."‡ "For this is the very point I am arguing and trying to get proved, that free will does many things which are but nothing in the sight of God."§ The Augsburg Confession teaches the same doctrine asserting, as Luther

*Part I, Sec. 25

†Part I, Sec. 25.

‡Part 4, Sec. 25.

§Part 4, Sec. 51.

uniformly had done, that man has a free will, in the common acceptation of the term, in civil matters. Luther always held that Adam and Satan had free wills before they fell. While he was denying that man since the fall had the full power of contrary choice in religion, as held by some of the fathers, he denied also that the will is absolutely determined by external powers as taught by some of the ancients.*

In Luther's broad use of the terms free will and slavery of the will he could affirm that the will was free and enslaved in the very same act without contradiction. It could be so in different relations. In this way most of the inconsistencies and contradictions in his statements are to be explained. We may criticise his language but we ought to be just to his thought.

We have already seen that he denies freedom to the will because it is dependent upon God for its existence. It cannot "subsist" by its own power. Allowing his use of the word will we must agree with him that in no act whatever is it free.

We have seen also that he denies that the will is free because it cannot make its own laws. In this sense no created will can be free. But this is a wrong use of the word freedom. A nation which has the best laws and the most loyal subjects is most free. A citizen who most cheerfully and implicitly obeys the wise and just laws of society is most a freeman. The savage in his wild independence is most a slave. Through obedience to law we ascend to true liberty. It is not necessary that the laws should be enacted with our consent. It is true no matter who made them. The Jews with God as lawgiver and king had the opportunity of being the freest people in the history of the world. But admitting Luther's definition we cannot deny his conclusion. "Free will in the judgment of all men is properly applied to that which can do and which does whatsoever it pleases without being confined by any law or by any command. You would not call a slave free who acts under the command of a master. With how much less propriety do we call a man or angel free."

We have seen further that Luther includes under will the

*Leipsic, Vol. 1, p. 32 b.

faculty of knowing spiritual things, and in that respect denies that it is free. "Erasmus making no mention of the power of discerning confines his praises to the power of choosing alone and so deifies a sort of crippled and half begotten free will."* Granting that definition we must grant also that the will is not free. We would in holding to free will deny the need of a revelation. We would have to endorse all the crudities and absurdities of the heathen religions. We would have to shut our eyes to the failures of philosophy in all ages in discovering spiritual truth. Luther was wrong only in failing to distinguish the cognitive powers from the special faculty of the will.

Luther made the habitude, disposition, character a part of the will. He said that God's will is free, not because it is free from determination, but because it is determined by his one holy character. Its freedom consists in its holiness. Man's will is enslaved because it is determined by his own sinful nature. "The free will, without the grace of God is absolutely not free but is immutably the captive and slave of sin; since it cannot of itself turn to good."† The will has a power of self-determination in respect to motives. It can turn its attention from one motive to another and thus determine which motive shall prevail. But in any given moment it cannot get back behind itself to the habitude which gives power to the motive. In choosing between actions according to existing motives the will is free. But it may from another point of view be the slave of an inveterate passion, prejudice or permanent type of character. The habitual drunkard each time he takes up the glass acts according to his free will. He is self-determined but yet he is a slave because his will has been determined by a depraved appetite. He is accountable because his will is free, but he is a slave at the same time because his will is governed not by reason and interest but by passion. In the light of these facts we can understand what Luther meant when he denied that the will is free because of a sinful nature. He did not deny freedom in

*Part 1, Sec. 25.

†Part 3, Sec. 4.

choice or the power of self-determination but the power of self-determination towards God and holiness. In this he was right.

Paul said, "we are not sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves but our sufficiency is of God." "The carnal mind is at enmity against God and is not subject to the law of God neither indeed can be." We must be born again precisely because our first birth put us in direct opposition to God. Reconcile it as we may with responsibility for our lives, our wills are determined by character, and if the character is debased the will is enslaved. Libertarians who stop short of the solution of this knot in the problem, as most of them do, fail to fully establish their case. It is enough for our present purpose of understanding Luther to observe that if God can have an absolutely free will and yet his will be absolutely determined by his own holy nature, a sinner may have a free will and yet be determined by his own sinful nature. God is free but the sinner is a slave. The only contention we can have with Luther is as to the use of words; we must agree with him in the matter of thought. Without this determination there would be no uniformity in life. There would be no such thing as character. There could be neither saint nor sinner. We could forecast no man's actions. We could trust no one. Society would be impossible. There can be no question as to the fact that free will is determined by the state of mind whether habitual or transitory which lies behind it. Concede to Luther that this state is innate and so deep and thorough that a man can do nothing towards changing it and he would not stickle for the statement that free will is an empty name.

Luther did not enunciate the principle that liberty is a conscious conformity to reason, but it was determinative in his reasonings about the freedom of the will. In a general way we say that anything is free which is permitted to act according to the impulses of its own nature. So Spinoza defined freedom. It is self-determination. God is free because he acts according to his own nature. We speak of the freedom of the water, of the winds, and of the flames. We call the bird free while it feeds and flies and sings according to its own will. Our will is

not an entity, set up over the mind, but is an essential part of it. It must conform to law. It was made to obey reason. It is free, therefore, only when it follows an enlightened reason. It must rule the appetites according to reason, and when it allows itself to be swayed and dragged by them into unreasonable choices it is enslaved. Sin is contrary to our nature; it is against reason. When a man sins he violates his rational nature, and when his whole nature is steeped in sin his will is a slave. It is thus that all men think and speak of the vicious man and they do not dream that they are calling in question the freedom of the will in its own peculiar sphere. Luther when he said that there is no free will because all men are born depraved, meant nothing more than the Church has always understood the Saviour to mean when he said, "Whosoever committeth sin is the slave of sin."

We can understand now Luther's doctrine concerning the will of Adam in Eden. He held with Augustine that Adam had a free will but it was not perfect! He had a free will, not because he had the power of a contrary choice, but because he willed according to law and reason. Conformity to law and reason was its habitude. It was not perfect because that habitude was not thoroughly established. It was possible for him to choose, as he did, to obey his appetites against God's holy will. The power of the contrary choice between righteousness and sin was an incompleteness, a defect in his will. We understand, too, what Luther means when he said that free will comes only through a new birth.† It is free because it is not only possible to choose to love God and holiness but chiefly because the heart does actually turn to God. The new birth is not wrought by the omnipotence of God. Might cannot make right. It can not change character. We stand in the presence of the mystery of regeneration. But by some influence, not physical but spiritual, God brings about a change in the habitude of the will, and its choices are changed. We begin to choose to do what it was impossible to choose before. The will is set Godward, and for that reason Luther says it is free. Here again Luther is in full

*Liepsic, Vol. 1, p. 349 a.

†Liepsic, Vol. 17, p. 374 b.

accord with the practical thought and feelings of the whole Church from the very beginning.

If there is any evidence to convict Luther of necessitarianism it must be found in his doctrine of foreknowledge and of the all controlling presence of God's omnipotence. His language often conveys the idea of the most rigid necessity, and he seems sometimes to be a necessitarian of the most extreme type. But it is true that on any fair interpretation of his words in connection with his doctrine of the will the charge can be rightly fixed upon him? Does he make God, as he appears in some places to do, the author of sin?

Before entering upon the investigation we must recall the fact he was proving that man without divine grace can do nothing in the matter of his salvation. It was to show us our helplessness and make humble submission to the divine influence that he denied that the will is free. It was to fortify his position and silence forever the opposition that he introduced these subjects. They are incidental to his main contention, means to his chief end. It was not so much to exalt God as to make us realize our nothingness that he treats them. His purpose was practical, and not metaphysical. His aim will help us to understand his meaning as we follow him into the mazes of foreknowledge and sovereignty. He states plainly his reason for discussing them. "For it is impossible that you should know what free will is until you know what the human will has power to do and what God does, whether he foreknows or not."* And, then, we must know what free will is to know how we can be saved.

Luther regards God's knowledge as a most direct proof of necessity and an undeniable evidence of the slavery of the will. "It is most necessary and most salutary for a Christian to know this also; that God foreknows nothing contingently but foresees and purposes and accomplishes everything by an unchangeable, eternal and infallible will. But by this thunderbolt free will is struck to the earth and ground to powder."† "The foreknowledge of God is necessary and all acts and events are

*Part I, Sec. 9.

†Part I, Sec. 20.

necessary.”* “If Paul had not resolved this question, or had not unequivocally determined that a necessity is imposed upon us by the divine prescience, what need was there to introduce persons as murmuring and alleging that it is impossible to resist his will? For who would murmur or be indignant if he did not think that this necessity had been determined?”† Prescience is inseparably linked with certainty. What is infallibly foreknown is absolutely certain, and what is absolutely certain is in some sense necessary. Luther saw this and concluded that the will is not free. “So that God’s foreknowledge and omnipotence are diametrically opposed to free will. For either God will be mistaken in his foreknowledge and disappointed in his efforts, which is impossible, or we shall act according to his foreknowledge and agency. This omnipotence and prescience, I say, absolutely abolishes the dogma of free will.”‡ “For all find this sentiment written in their hearts so as to approve and recognize it even against their will when they hear it discussed: first, that God is omnipotent, not only in what he is able to do but also in what he does, else he would be a ridiculous God; secondly, that he knows and foreknows all things and can neither be mistaken nor misled. These two things being conceded through the testimony of their heart and senses, by and by they are compelled to admit by an enevitable consequence that we are not made by our own wills but by necessity; and hence, that we do not anything in sight of free will but just as God hath foreknown and doth direct us by a counsel and energy which is at once infallible and immutable. So then we find it written in our hearts that there is no such thing as free will.”§ “If you allow the necessity of a consequence free will is vanquished and laid prostrate and is nothing aided by the consequents being either necessary or contingent. What is it to me that free will does what she does willingly and not by compulsion? It is enough for me that you concede, it must necessarily be that Judas do willingly what he does and that the event cannot be otherwise if God has so foreknown it. If God foreknows that Judas will

*Part 1, Sec. 3.

†Part 4, Sec. 19.

‡Part 4, Sec. 20.

§Part 4, Sec. 21.

betray the Lord or will change his mind to betray him, whether of the twain he shall have foreknown, it shall necessarily come to pass; else God will be mistaken in his foreknowledge and predictions, which is impossible. The necessity of the consequence effects this; if God foreknows an event that very event necessarily happens. In other words free will is nothing.”*

This problem of foreknowledge without predestination, and certainly without necessity, has seemed dark to both the theologian and the philosopher. It has been pronounced by many, as by Dr. Schaff, insoluble and has led many, as Augustine, Calvin and Edwards, into the ranks of the necessitarians. Hazard finds a solution in the denial of God's foreknowledge. He says that God voluntarily foregoes a foreknowledge not only of the future actions of his creatures but also of his own.† In this extreme and untenable position he has been followed by others and recently by Dr. Darling. The Church has always held that God foreknows all things. Edwards regards it, as Luther did, a thunderbolt against free will, and he presses it with great vigor. He lays down first the proposition that God has absolute and certain foreknowledge of the volitions of moral agents.‡ He proves it at length by the prophecies of such events as God could not have certainly foreknown unless he had foreknown the volitions; by the fact that if God had not known the volitions of moral agents he could not have foreknown the fall of man and of angels and the great events consequent upon them; that if he does not foreknow he is liable to be wholly frustrated of his ends and to be continually repenting of what he has done. From these things, argued at wearisome length, he draws the conclusion that all human actions are necessary with a necessity of consequence. He says that Origen's remark is an evasion: “God's foreknowledge is not the cause of things future, but their being future is the cause of God's prescience that they will be.” He discusses the different kinds of necessity but falls back upon the idea that God

*Part 4, Sec. 23.

†On The Will, pp. 386, 450.

‡Works, Vol. 2, p. 61-80.

could not foreknow unless he himself had determined to cause. His conception of necessity of the future is solely that of immutable causality. But there are other grounds of foreknowledge than predestination, and of certainty than causal necessity.

There are different kinds of necessity. The popular meaning differs from its metaphysical and philosophic sense. There is natural necessity and moral necessity and closely akin to them inability. There is great danger, in our reasoning from necessity, of an ambiguous middle. We may start with one kind and introduce another and draw a conclusion when none is warranted. A past fact is necessary. It may have been caused by a hundred different things. Its necessity has no reference to its cause. What God has done is necessary in this sense, and some things are positively certain to us, but these necessary things were done by an absolutely free will. If we can be certain of necessary things in the past, done by an absolutely free agent, may there not be certainty and a kind of necessity in regard to the acts of a free agent in the future? Certainty and the necessity connected with certainty, therefore, are not inseparably connected with a necessary cause. We may find difficulty in construing such a foreknowledge of a future fact because we know the future only by reasoning from cause to effect and that only in the realm of physical causation. All outside of that is for us contingent. We suppose that God must reason in the same way. But we assume too much. We forget that he is not limited to our modes of knowledge. He sees without eyes and hears without ears. He does not lay down premises and proceed through long processes to his conclusions. Our ratiocination is necessary to us because of our limitation. His cognition is most nearly akin to our intention. He can see a fact in the future as a fact without running down the chain of senses which will produce it. But limit him to our method of reasoning, and still there is no need of necessary causes. He knows the nature of the human mind and the laws under which it acts. He knows the conditions under which every individual will be placed. He knows the state of mind or disposition, and therefore what motive will be strongest, at any moment under which every choice will be

made. He can thus foresee perfectly free actions. He foresees his own actions without surrendering his own free agency. Foreknowledge, certainty and necessity do not take away free will in the sense of self-determination according to one's own character. And this is the only kind of liberty or freedom of the will that any libertarian can claim.

Luther therefore may have spoken of certainty and necessity arising from foreknowledge without being a necessitarian. With his broad use of the term free will he may have held that foreknowledge crushed free will to the ground without denying the power of choice and self-determination under character. He is at least entitled to the benefit of the doubt. But we have strong proof that he did not deny the freedom of the will as the libertarian understands it. Adam's acts before the fall were foreknown and were certain and necessary, but Luther says he had free will. The same thing is true of the actions of Satan in heaven. Bledsoe charges him with self-contradiction in these opinions but only because he did not know that Luther used free will more broadly than he was accustomed. Luther says that our actions in the affairs of life and in everything except in the matter of salvation are done by free will, but these are foreknown and therefore certain and necessary. He says repeatedly that the will remains and acts according to its own nature. It must choose, and choice is necessarily free. In one of the strongest of his passages he grants that free will does willingly what it does and not by compulsion, and that Judas acted willingly and might possibly have changed his mind. These things make it clear that Luther believed as we do about the freedom of the special faculty of the will and that he was not a necessitarian.

Luther used quite strong language in regard to God's almighty power and sovereignty. He had such a profound sense of God's infinite greatness and of our littleness and nothingness that he did not shrink from any statement in regard to God that the Scriptures seemed to authorize. He endorsed Wickliffe's assertion: "All things are done by necessity," and adds, "That is by the unchangeable will of God."* In another place he

*Part 3, Sec. 54.

said, "Each of these two things are connected under this trope, namely that on the one hand we can do nothing of ourselves, and on the other whatever we do God worketh in us."* "Since then God moves and actuates all things in all things it cannot but be that he also acts and moves in Satan and in the wicked. But he acts in them according to what they are and what he finds them; that is, since they are wicked and averse from him and are hurried along by this divine omnipotency they do only such things as are averse from him and wicked, just as a horseman driving a horse which is lame in one or the other of his feet, drives him according to his make and power, and so the horse goes ill. But what can the horseman do? He drives the horse such as he is in a drove of sound horses: he makes him go ill, the others well; it cannot be otherwise unless the horse be cured. By this illustration you see how it is when God works in bad men, and by bad men evil is the result; but it cannot be that God does wickedly, although he works evil by the agency of evil men, because he being good himself cannot do wickedly; but still he uses evil instruments, which cannot escape the urgency and impulse of his power. The fault is in the instruments, which God does not suffer to remain idle, that evil is done; God in the meanwhile being the impeller of them. Just as if a carpenter should cut ill by cutting with an axe or a saw that is toothed and sawed. Hence it arises that the wicked man cannot but go astray and commit sin continually inasmuch as being seized and urged by the power of God he is not allowed to remain idle but wills, desires and acts just according to what he is."† "God's omnipotence causes that the wicked man cannot escape the moving and driving of God, but being necessarily subject to him obeys him."‡ "The will of God, nevertheless, is immutable and infallible and governs our mutable will—as Boethius sings, 'and standing fixed moves all the rest'—and our will, wicked in the extreme, can do nothing of itself."§ Even the Christian is impelled by the same

*Part 3, Sec. 35.

†Part 4, Sec. 11.

‡Part 4, Sec. 12.

§Part 1, Sec. 11.

almighty power. "Christians are not led by free will but by the Spirit of God. Now to be led is not to lead ourselves but to be driven along, just as the saw or hatchet is driven along by the carpenter."* He has repeated the same idea a great many times but never in stronger language than in these quotations. One of them is commonly used to prove that he was a necessitarian. His view of God's all comprehensive and all regulative power seems to make God an agent in sin, and Luther accepts the inference. "What is more injurious, you say than to publish to the world this paradox, whatsoever is done by us is not done by free will but by mere necessity, and that saying of Augustine that 'God works both good and evil in us and that he rewards his own good works in us and punishes his own bad works in us?' Here you are rich in giving or rather in demanding reasons."† Instead of denying the charge of Erasmus he acknowledges it and defends himself. He interprets literally the Scripture which says that God hardened Pharaoh's heart. He explains David's words about Shimei's curse thus: "David then had regard to this consideration that the omnipotent God speaks and it is done; that is he who doeth all things by his eternal word. So then, the divine agency and omnipotency seizes hold of the will of Shimei together with all his members—that will which was already evil and which had aforetime been inflamed against David who met him just at the right time, as having deserved such a cursing—and even the good God commands (that is, he speaks the word and it is done) this curse which is poured out by a wicked and blasphemous organ inasmuch as he seizes hold of that organ and carries it along with him in the course of that agency."‡ This looks like making God at least partaker of the guilt of sinful actions, and it has been said that Luther took refuge from the conclusion in the inscrutable will of God. "But why does he not change those evil wills which he excites? This belongs to the secrets of his Majesty in which his judgments are incomprehensible. We have no business to ask these questions; our business is to

*Part 3, Sec. 44.

†Part 1, Sec. 22.

‡Part 4, Sec. 13.

adore these mysteries.”* “But why this majesty of his does not remove this fault of our will or change it in all men (seeing that it is not in the power of man to do it) or why he imputes this fault of our will to us when we cannot be without it, these are questions which it is not lawful for us to ask, or which if you should ask them you would never get answered.”† “In these words, I imagine, it is abundantly shown to us that it is not lawful for us to scrutinize the will of sovereignty.”‡

This is the case that those who charge Luther with necessitarianism on the ground of God’s omnipotence and sovereignty make out against him, but it is not by any means unanswerable! It assumes that Luther held that God exerted a direct control over the will. But he was far too profound a philosopher to be guilty of any such absurdity. Power may restrain effort but cannot constrain volition. Such irresistible power if possible would be compulsion, and that Luther repudiates most emphatically and repeatedly. It ignores his limiting and qualifying statements in the very passages cited. “Our will is not compelled to do evil.” “God works in them according to what they are and what he finds them.” “The fault is in the instrument.” “Let not any think that God when he is said to work evil in us does so by creating evil as it were anew in us.” “Some when they hear it said that God works both good and evil in us and that we are subjected to the operation of God by a mere passive necessity, seem to fancy that man is made the subject of a bad work of God.”§ “God lays hold of Satan’s evil will in the course of his operations and moves it whithersoever he will.”|| “No violence is done to his will because he is not forced against his will but a natural operation hurrying him to a natural acting of the will.” “When one is destitute of the Spirit of God he does not work evil against his will through a violence put upon him.” “This will we do willingly and cordially according to the nature of our will.” God’s omnipotence, then, is not exerted directly upon the will, and

*Part 4, Sec. 15.

†Part 3, Sec. 28.

‡Part 3, Sec. 32.

§Part 3, Sec. 28.

||Part 4, Sec. 13.

God's sovereignty is exercised in perfect harmony with or fully respects the free choices of the will."* The charge overlooks Luther's explanations. In respect to the hardening of Pharaoh's heart he said, "Add to this that he at the same time presents from without that which naturally irritates and offends it; so that Pharaoh cannot avoid being hardened any more than he can avoid the agency of the divine omnipotence and the aversion and malignancy of his own will. So that Pharaoh's hardening is completed thus: he sets from without before his maliciousness that which he of his own nature hates, after this he ceases not to stimulate his evil will just as he finds it by his own omnipotent impulse within."† "Furthermore he was equally sure that the will of Pharaoh, naturally wicked and averse from him, could not consent to the word and work of God which was contrary to it, so that whereas the impulse to will was preserved inwardly in Pharaoh by God's omnipotence and a contradictory word and work of God was thrown upon it from without, nothing else could result but a stumbling and a hardening of Pharaoh's heart."‡ Here is nothing but a man hardening himself under motives which God had presented to him. The influence is from without. The charge overlooks the significance of the contrast between God's influence over the will and that of Satan. "The human will is placed as a sort of pack-horse between two contending parties. If God hath mounted, it wills and goes whither God pleases; if Satan hath mounted, it goes whither Satan pleases."§ "You imagine both God and the devil to be afar off as mere spectators of this mutable and free will and do not believe that they are impellers and agitators of this bond will of ours, each of them most determined warriors on the side on which he acts."|| Satan has no power over the will except through motives, and if God exerted any other kind of influence or by direct power interfered with the natural activity of the will there would be no likeness and no contest between them.

*Part 1, Sec. 24.

†Part 4, Sec. 14.

‡Part 4, Sec. 17.

§Part 1, Sec. 24.

||Part 4, Sec. 50.

Luther in his strongest expressions, like that of God being the principal agent in all things, only makes prominent certain familiar and universally accepted doctrines. We are dependent upon God for our continued existence. He upholds us and thus only can we exercise any faculty or power. "In him we live and move and have our being." Our wills therefore in every act are dependent upon him. The will is naturally active. It must act continually. As God's omnipotence sustains it Luther speaks of it as being impelled and driven by that omnipotence. In the light of his repeated statements there is no other legitimate interpretation. God's providence is over all his works. He directs the circumstances under which our lives fall and under which we are compelled to choose. He does not determine the choices; we ourselves do. Whatever we do we do willingly. He permits the evil acts when he determines to overrule them for good. The wicked in this sense must carry out God's will. Under the conditions of our being, the free will is not absolutely independent of God, however rebellious against him it may be. Luther meant nothing more than this in those passages which taken apart from the whole discussion look so ugly. As he explains his own meaning we all agree with him. The will is not free in the sense that it can turn itself capriciously just any way whatever, independent of character and motive, and that it can act independently of God's power and carry out its intentions in the face of God's will. Erasmus charged Luther with opposition to all the Fathers. Luther admitted it with the exception of Augustine, Wickliffe and Laurentius Valla. We know that he admitted much more than he ought. But it was not in regard to the nature of the will but simply its power in the matter of salvation.

We must agree with him about the inscrutable will of God. We can know God's will only so far as he has revealed it in his word and works. There are many things we would like to know about his plans and purposes that we can never know. There are many, many mysteries in his providence, and so far as that providence has to do with the will we may speak properly of his inscrutable power over it. We may not agree with

Luther in his remark about the death of the sinner, where he says that "God does not will it according to his revealed will but does according to his inscrutable will," because he confounds God's general desire with his particular will under special conditions, but this has no direct bearing upon the nature of our will. The Lutheran Church holds as Luther taught that while the will is free it is wholly incapable of doing anything to attain salvation without divine grace. It differs from him not in faith but in the form of expression.

That we have interpreted his doctrine aright is evident from a collation and comparison of his teaching throughout his works, but we must content ourselves, because of our limits, with a hurried review and a few references to the most important passages.

As we go through these volumes the first thing that strikes us is, that the charge of necessitarianism against Luther, based on his relation to Augustine, is false. Superficial study created the opinion that Augustine was a fatalist, and as Luther held to the Augustinian theology he was a fatalist also. As an example of this general opinion we may take Seebohm's. He says, "From this time Luther accepted other points of the theology of Augustine and especially those afterwards adopted by Calvin, and are now called Calvinistic, such as all things are fated to happen according to the divine will, that man has, therefore, no free will, and that only an elect number, predestined to receive the gift of faith, are saved." "He then wrote an abusive reply to the Bull pushing his Augustinian doctrines to so extreme a point as to amount to fatalism."* This is an utter perversion of Luther's view. His doctrine of the sacraments are inconsistent with the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, and far more with fatalism. He taught that the means of grace are God's institution and that they bring saving grace to every recipient. This is the determinative doctrine of the Lutheran as over against the Calvinistic system. It is so plainly and fully taught that citations are hardly necessary. Nothing could be

*Era of the Reformation, pp. 98, 112.

more positive than his words concerning infant baptism: "No one is born to be a child of wrath."* Luther adopted Augustine's doctrine of human depravity and made it fundamental in his system of theology, but he did not accept everything that Augustine taught. Augustine, whether consistently or not, admitted that in some respects the will is free. In the Augsburg Confession, written some years after Luther's reply to the Bull, Augustine is quoted as saying, "We acknowledge that in all men there is a free will, for they all indeed have natural innate understanding and reason; not that they are able to act in something pertaining to God or to love and fear God from the heart, but only in external works of this life have they freedom to choose good and evil."† Luther endorsed this Confession as the authorized expression of his own doctrines. In his comment on the article, he says, "A bad tree cannot bring forth good fruit, and without faith no one can please God. Therefore although we admit that it is in our power to do such external works, we nevertheless say that the free will and reason can do nothing in spiritual things, viz: trusting in God, confiding in him, believing that God is with us, hears our prayers and forgives us our sins. These are the true, high and noble good works of the first table of the ten commandments and no human heart understands them without the light and grace of the Holy Spirit."‡ The Augsburg Confession uses almost the very same words that Luther had five years before used in his reply to Erasmus. Both drew directly from Augustine. Luther repeatedly gave utterance to the same idea. It was one of his most settled convictions that we have a free will in civil and social things and to some extent in moral duties but not in spiritual matters. "Man has a knowledge and free will that he may rule inferior creatures, but he does not know how to rule himself and obey God. Without God's word the will is blind, powerless, dead and condemned in spiritual matters. We cannot choose or do anything in regard to them but must rely upon the word of God."§ These facts show us how Luther un-

*Leipsic, Vol. 4 : 21 b.

†Article 18.

‡Leipsic, Vol. 20 : 103 b.

§Leipsic, Vol. 4 : 108 b.

derstood Augustine and in what respect Luther followed him. It is not our present task to interpret Augustine but Luther, but if Augustine was a necessitarian it is unjust and false to charge Luther with the same philosophic error.

Another thing that strikes us as we go over Luther's works is, the very broad sphere he gives to the will. In the citation just made he makes the reason a part of it. The will is not free because it is blind as well as powerless. It cannot, unless enlightened by the Holy Spirit, understand even the Ten Commandments. The reason is with him the faculty of spiritual discernment. Even when he seems to distinguish between the reason and the evil, as he does in many places, he makes them parts of the same faculty. In his sermon on Nicodemus he said, "Nicodemus shows us what reason and free will can do in one of the very best of men who are not enlightened by the Holy Spirit. He was a Pharisee and a ruler. In the sight of God his reason and free will were blind indeed. The longer he was with Christ the less he understood."* In discussing the giving of the Law upon Sinai, he said, "Here we can see what are the powers of the free will and what it can do. The children of Israel, although sanctified, could not understand a syllable or letter of the law. It is therefore a vain, false and odious thing to say that we ought to value highly the free will with its powers in matters of conscience."† When he puts the reason and will in contrast, as he does in a few places, he limits often the will to the feelings. "The will is that which wishes, desires and enjoys."‡ As thus defined he says it is desperately depraved and incomprehensible. The passions and desires are blind, without the power of self-control and cannot therefore be free. Free will thus limited, we must confess is nothing but an empty name. If spiritual discernment be made a part of the will, we must confess again, it is not free. "No man can call Jesus Lord but by the Holy Ghost." When Peter said "Thou art the Son of God," our Lord replied, "Flesh and blood have not revealed it unto thee but my Father which is in heaven." It is

*Leipsic, Vol. 14 : 17 b.

†Do., Vol. 11 : 235 a.

‡Do., Vol. 13 : 66 b.

everywhere manifest that when Luther denies freedom to the will he does not speak of the faculty as we now understand it.

Another thing that strikes us is that he uses the word liberty very often in the popular sense of personal independence. When he denies that the will is free it is generally in opposition to that sense. Self-will, denying its dependence and allegiance to God, comes from Satan and Adam. A truly free will, recognizing its relation to God, looks up to God's will, and it is only by obeying God's will it becomes truly free. He proves that self-will is not free by different arguments. It is not free because we are taught to pray: "Thy will be done." If we pray that God's will rather than ours be done we acknowledge that ours is not free. It is not free because Christ said, "Without me ye can do nothing." How can the will, helpless to do anything right and good, be free? It is not free because Christ has supreme will over all things. "All power is given unto me." The will that must yield to the power of Christ can not be free. It is not free because God's providential control extends to the sparrows, not one of which can fall without God's permission, and to the hairs of our heads, all of which are numbered. Much more must it extend to human actions. Nothing can be independent of God, and the freest acts of the will are under his direction. In this light we must understand those passages which seem most fatalistic like that of the carpenter and the saw. He got the figure from Isaiah 10 : 15. "Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith? or the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it?" It was the prophet's rebuke of the boasts of the king of Assyria who said, "By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom, for I am prudent," (verse 11). In Luther's comment upon it he uses his strongest language: "And this comparison teaches us, contrary to the doctrine of those who maintain the freedom of the will, that we can do absolutely nothing good or evil. For the saw does not make itself, and that which the saw does is not a work of the saw but a work of him who uses it. If he ceases to work with it, it rusts away. In like manner we are God's instruments which God handles and uses. And the objection

does not hold of those who say, "The saw is a thing without life hence the comparison fails," for God compares the mightiest tyrant with all his power and wisdom to a saw. Now a monarch is certainly a living instrument, yet God compares him to a dead one."* The king was boasting of what he had done in civil affairs, and Luther never questioned that in such things men have free will. But the king was under that control which directed the fate of a sparrow. Like the saw his works were used by God to work out ends the king could no more understand than the saw can understand the purposes of the carpenter. This was the thought in Luther's mind when he wrote this passage, and therefore in denying that the king had a free will he did not deny that he had a will that chose its own plans and means, but that the king was independent of God's providential control.

There is nothing more manifest in every place where Luther speaks of the will than his practical, religious aim. He has stated it in the plainest words. It is seen in every one of the several scores of passages in which he alludes to the will. No statement could be more direct than this: "*Free will is condemned in theological and spiritual matters, not in worldly affairs.* When we dispute about free will we inquire what it can do *from a theological standpoint*, that is, in matters which relate to God, to God's will and word, *not what it may do in earthly affairs and which are subject to reason.* And we say that man without the Holy Spirit is wicked and godless in the sight of God, however much he may be graced and adorned with all the heathen virtues; as truly one finds in the histories of the heathen admirable examples of chastity, humility, love for country, love for parents and for children, likewise examples of manliness, kindness, etc. We also find that the very best ideas of God, of God's will and of God's service are in the greatest darkness. For the light of reason, which has been given to man, understands nothing more than what is good for and does good to the body; this is however a corrupt love of pleasure."† We open

*Leipsic, Vol. 7 : 143.

†Leipsic, I : 49^b.

at random and we read: "Man has not a free will to do good and forsake evil. It cannot obey God by its natural powers ;"* "Free will can do nothing. The only power for good is in the seed of the Sower. The field, which is the human heart, brought forth only weeds and thorns ;"† "The free will after the fall has nothing more than a mere name, and when it does what is possible for it, it commits a sin. The free will is in bondage and is a servant of sin, not that it is nothing, but that it is not free except to sin. Augustine speaks about this in the book on The Spirit and Letter, saying, "The free will without divine grace can do nothing except sin."‡ But it is unnecessary to cite passages any further. One who looks into his works cannot fail to see anywhere that Luther is writing and thinking as a theologian, and not as a philosopher, and that his utterances are to be interpreted in their theological, and not their possible philosophic sense. With this fact so patent one fails to understand how he has been so greatly misunderstood.

It is admitted that Luther in his fear of meritorious works and in his zeal in opposing all forms of Pelagianism was often one-sided in his statements. He wrote hurriedly and often under strong emotions, and, as all men do who write in that way, gave expression to the thoughts as they came to him. They were, therefore, not sufficiently guarded, and while true from the standpoint in which he was for the moment considering them, they were only partial truths. He did not give sufficient prominence to the other side, and the Lutheran Church sometimes seems to dissent, when really it does not, by emphasizing more the neglected sides. In this way we are to understand the difference between its language and that of Luther on the subject of predestination.

Luther's view of the will is that of all evangelical churches. If they reject his language they accept his thought. We are justified and saved through faith only, and that involves the truth that the will has no power without grace in spiritual things. "Erasmus and the Pelagians," as Dorner says, "makes man at

*Do., 21 : 212 b.

†Do., 12 : 381 b.

‡Do., 17 : 151

first richer than Luther does, but yet how far is Luther's conception of freedom ultimately superior." They thought "the best element of freedom is reached in freedom of choice." "Luther's conception of freedom leads to godlike, real freedom by grace."

ARTICLE II.

THE MEASURE OF BENEFICENCE.

BY REV. WILLIAM HULL, D. D.

In the Scriptures we are told that the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof. The gold and the silver are his and the cattle upon a thousand hills. It is asserted that the earth is his for he made it. He owns it by right of creation. Mankind are tenants of his property and he has not alienated a square foot of the earth or any of the personal property to any of his tenants since time began. One generation comes and uses both real and personal property, and then leaves it for the use of the next generation.

Men often speak of lands as their own; they pose as owners, and they speak of themselves as possessors of large estates, but this is all assumption and a fiction. No one can produce a deed from the Great Owner to establish his title. The best he can do is to show a deed from some former tenant who was *not* the owner. We brought nothing with us into the world and we can take nothing out of it. God says at the close of the life of each tenant, "Give an account of thy stewardship as thou mayest be no longer steward." He says, "Occupy until I come." There is a radical difference between an occupant and an owner. Mankind therefore are only tenants at will of the Great Lord of the Manor.

Tenants are expected by landlords to pay rent or a part of the crops for the use of the land. In the early history of this country certain men, called patroons, obtained large tracts of land, called patents, from some European government which gave them the lands in fee simple, and then they let the prop-

erty, divided into farms, to tenants, and these usually gave annually to the lord of the manor twenty bushels of wheat, several fat fowls and a number of days work for the use of each of such farms. Some of these leases were in perpetuity and some were life leases. The former descended to the heirs of the tenants, but the title remained generation after generation in the proprietor.

After God had created the world, he placed the first human pair in the Garden of Eden, and later they were driven out of it on account of disobedience and disloyalty.

Cain acknowledged God's ownership of the earth as he brought of the fruit of the ground as an offering unto the Lord. Abel, his brother, had the same theory as he brought of the firstlings of his flock and the fat thereof as an offering to the Great Proprietor. They thus acknowledged God's ownership.

Abraham did the same as he traveled from place to place as a sojourner in the Holy Land. He built his altar and offered burnt offerings unto the Lord.

When Israel went out of Egypt and the theocracy was established in the wilderness, its economy included the acknowledgment of God's proprietorship, in offerings unto the Lord. The tithe or tenth was the measure of rent which Jehovah was to receive. The first fruits of the harvest were presented to the Lord of the harvest.

In heathen lands offerings and sacrifices have been presented to their supposed deities of all ages. In these acts mankind has disclaimed the ownership of the world, and they have acknowledged the ownership to be in another direction. They have not withheld the rental.

Under the old dispensation the proportion for God was fixed at the tenth. It is claimed that other offerings brought it to about one seventh.

But could the nation bear such a burden of tithing for the Proprietor? It *did* bear it, and prospered under it. The revenue was used for the benefit of the people. It went to maintain the institutions of religion. One of the twelve tribes was supported out of this ecclesiastical revenue, and they devoted

their lives as public teachers of religion and in giving intellectual instruction to the nation.

If a person were to propose in our day that one twelfth of the population of our country should devote themselves to religious and educational work and that they be supported by the other eleven twelfths, his sanity would perhaps be questioned. Yet this was God's plan for Israel and when it was most faithfully adhered to the nation enjoyed its highest prosperity. God said, "Bring all the tithes into the storehouse that there may be meat in my house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of Hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it" (Mal. 3 : 10). While this tithing was nominally for God, the Great Proprietor, it was really for themselves. As they were the recipients of the resulting blessings, they had no reason to complain.

When the new dispensation opened, the ceremonial law and the law of tithing passed away, but the same principle remained and the wants of the kingdom of God continued and even increased, for the Christian religion was to be carried to the ends of the earth and the gospel proclaimed to all nations. A larger and grander field of operations confronted the new dispensation.

When our Lord sent out his apostles to preach in the cities of Israel, he told them not to carry money or provisions with them, but to enter houses and eat what was set before them, for said he, "The laborer is worthy of his hire." He taught that those who devote their lives to religious work should be supported by those who receive the benefit of their labors. St. Paul afterward taught the same doctrine. He said that they who preached the gospel should live of the gospel. The ox that trod out the corn was not to be muzzled. He inquired, "Who goeth a warfare at his own charges?" He also asserted, "Even so hath the Lord ordained that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel." He also said, "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things?"

That Christ approved of great liberality in the things of religion is taught in connection with the act of the poor widow. The account says, "And Jesus sat over against the treasury; and many that were rich cast in much. And there came a certain poor widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing. And he called unto him his disciples and said unto them, Verily I say unto you that this poor widow hath cast more in, than all they which have cast into the treasury; for all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want, did cast in all that she had, even all her living—(Mark 12 : 41-44).

On the day of Pentecost after the mighty outpouring of the Spirit, we read, "And all that believed were together and had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all men as every man had need."

The Scriptures present these facts which we have enumerated from our instruction, and in view of them we may ask, "How much owest thou unto my Lord?" and what is "The Measure of Beneficence?"

It is hard for us to lay down a specific rule for every one as deduced from these general principles. No specific portion is assigned to the Christian Church as was apportioned under the old dispensation. St. Paul writes to the Corinthians (16 : 22), "Upon the first day of the week let every one lay by him in store, *as God hath prospered him.*"

Our Lord did not mean to teach in commending the act of the poor widow, that every one should put into the Lord's treasury all that he had. What the Christians did on the day of Pentecost was probably governed by the circumstances of that peculiar exigency. At that feast the largest hospitality was practised by the resident Jews to those who came from all directions to attend that festival, and those who believed in Christ made provision for a longer stay on the part of believers who came from a distance. Their course at that time was not enjoined upon the Church and we have no knowledge that holding property in common was practised in the Apostolic Church or at any subsequent period. St. Peter told Ananias and Sapphira specifically, that they had voluntarily sold their property,

and had the control of it. Their sin was in pretending that they had brought the whole proceeds of the sale, when in fact they were only bringing a part.

While the percentage of giving is not stated in the New Testament, yet a large measure of beneficence to the cause of God and humanity is enjoined. The Saviour says, "Freely ye have received, freely give." Our Lord said to Peter, "And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive a hundred fold and shall inherit everlasting life."

The young ruler was told by our Lord to sell all that he had and to give to the poor and to come and follow the Master. Yet our Lord did not give such a direction to his friend Lazarus, at Bethany, nor to Joseph of Arimathea.

For some, the rule of devoting a tenth of their income to benevolence might well apply. They are able to do it and should do it. With others, who have a large income, one tenth would be too small and they should give more, while there are others who depend upon charity themselves for an existence, have no income and nothing to give and must therefore be excused.

Those who have an income should give a percentage of that income to God and to his cause, no matter how small it may be. Some persons who can give but little often excuse themselves from giving at all for that reason, but this is wrong. Although the contribution may seem small in the eyes of men, yet if given with a good motive it will not appear so in the eyes of God, as we learn from the story of the poor widow who gave the two mites. Many small offerings, in the aggregate make a large sum to help the work of the kingdom, and generally the poorer classes pay more in proportion to their ability than the rich.

But God leaves the problem with every tenant to measure the amount he should pay. From that decision however there is an appeal to the Great Proprietor, who will at length say, "Thou mayest be no longer steward—render an account of thy stewardship." Those who have withheld more than is proper will receive censure and condemnation. God said through his prophet

Malachi (4 : 8, 9), "Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me. But ye say wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation."

This duty of giving should be conscientiously performed and we should rather err on the liberal side than on the other. We are told that, "There is that scattereth and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty" (Prov. 11 : 24). We cannot afford to be guilty of robbing God and losing the blessing which comes from the exercise of a proper beneficence. Our Lord said, "Give and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down and shaken together and running over shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again" (Luke 6 : 38). In the Proverbs we read (11 : 25), "The liberal soul shall be made fat; and he that watereth shall be watered also himself."

When the brethren in Jerusalem were in need, we are told, "Then the disciples, *every man according to his ability* determined to send relief to the brethren which dwelt in Judea; which also they did and sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul" (Acts 11 : 29, 30).

Here we see again the proper measure for giving, "*every man according to his ability*"—not a part of the men and none less than he could afford.

If this "Measure of Beneficence" were observed, what great sums would flow into the Lord's treasury, in this very wealthy country, for the support of the gospel and the needy in our own land, and what vast sums there would be at hand for sending the gospel to the ends of the earth. What hundreds of millions are spent annually in foolish display and luxury and to gratify the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eye and the pride of life. What hundreds of millions are freely spent annually on depraved appetites which only minister harm and ruin as a return for the expenditure.

How feebly the Christian Church comes up to the measure of its duty and its high privilege in this respect. How the Lord's

cause is crippled for lack of means, while at the same time there is such great wealth in the hands of the Lord's tenants and the Lord's stewards. Without distressing themselves they could furnish the money to meet with alacrity all legitimate calls to supply the wants of the needy, sustain the Church in Christian lands and in a very few years carry the gospel to the ends of the earth.

ARTICLE III.

LUTHER AND THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

BY PROF J. W. RICHARD, D. D.

INTRODUCTORY.

This series of articles is offered as a complement to the series entitled, *Melanchthon and the Augsburg Confession*, which appeared in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for July, 1897, July and October, 1898. The object of the former series was to present the history of the Augsburg Confession from the standpoint of Melanchthon's relations to it. The object of this series is to present the history of the Augsburg Confession from the standpoint of Luther's relations to it. In this way the reader will be enabled to get a more comprehensive and a more accurate view of that immortal document, which, from age to age, commands the attention of students of church history and of Christian doctrine. Nor will the true student of history object to the re-employment of materials which figured so largely in the former series. Many facts connected with the history of the Confession can be properly understood only when they are viewed in this proposed double setting; and the history of the Confession can be rightly understood only when it is studied in its relations to Luther and in its relations to Melanchthon. No one-sided representation can satisfy all the demands of truth; and certainly we are far enough away from the exciting scenes and partisan strifes of the sixteenth century, to demand full and accurate narration, with documentary verification, and to reject or discount

all special pleading, and every assumption not supported by testimony from the times. This is the diplomatic method of writing history, and it is the only method that can meet the requirements of the science. It is also the inductive method. All known facts must be presented, and must be placed in their proper relations, before an attempt is made to draw a conclusion. It is only in this way, viz., by exhibiting the whole truth and nothing but the truth, and by carefully separating fact from fancy, that history can be made a guide of conduct and a philosophy of life. Given the facts, and the intelligent reader may be safely left to draw his own conclusions.

With such views as to the method of writing history and as to the mission of history, we aim here chiefly, even at the expense of historical perspective, to let the documents speak, and scholars and historians of highest repute for learning and fairness. Besides, every important fact and opinion will be placed to the credit of its source. In this way we hope to secure and to hold the confidence of the reader, though we may weary him with long quotations and with multiplied details. In a word, we aim here to present such a full and exhaustive account of the *composition* of the Augsburg Confession and of Luther's *relations* to the same, as to enable the reader to affirm this or that, upon the basis of documentary evidence, and to draw his own conclusions. Hence no fact known to the writer and pertinent to the subject in hand, will be omitted from this series of articles.

But where shall we begin in writing a history of the Augsburg Confession and of Luther's relations to the same? If the object were to include in such history all the antecedents and all the causes, that culminated in the most important ecclesiastical event of the year 1530, we ought to begin with Luther's call to a theological professorship in 1512, for in his first theological lectures already, and in his contemporaneous letters and preaching, we discover the germs of those great evangelical truths, which, expanded, clarified, and fortified by Scripture and by the witness of the fathers, appeared in the *Augustana* in 1530. To treat the subject in such a way would require the writing of an ac-

count of the teaching of Luther and Melanchthon at Wittenberg,—of the one for eighteen, and of the other for twelve years. In this way it could be shown that the Augsburg Confession was a growth, that it had its causes and antecedents, remote, mediate and immediate. Note might also be made of another series of facts: That the Reformers, confident of the correctness of their views, and of the harmony of their teaching with that of the early Church, had steadily pleaded for a general council, and had promised to abide by its decisions; that the Pope had persistently refused to call a general council of the Church; that the Emperor, Charles V., during the earlier years of his reign, was not in a position to demand the calling of a general council of the Church. But these matters belong to ecclesiastical and civil history, rather than to the history of the Augsburg Confession. The history of the Augsburg Confession as such, begins with the calling of the Diet of Augsburg, as prior to that time the reforming and protesting Princes and cities had had neither desire nor opportunity to make a common confession of their own faith and of the faith of their churches; and prior to that time their affairs were not in such a condition as would enable them to make *such* a confession as they at length made.

In the year 1529 the dark hour had come; but it was the dark hour that heralds the dawn of day. Events that at the time were alarming, and that boded disaster, proved to be blessings in disguise. June 29th, 1529, Charles V. concluded the Peace of Barcelona with the Pope, and August 5th, 1529, he concluded the Peace of Cambray with France. He was now ready and prepared to counsel for the national security and religious quiet of the German peoples. The situation, no less from a civil than from a religious point of view, was grave. The Turks had besieged Vienna, and were desolating the fairest portions of Austria; and the Emperor's most powerful and loyal German Princes, and fourteen imperial cities, had protested against the action of the majority at Spires, and with their protest had sent an Appeal across the Alps to the Emperor, to a na-

tional council and to impartial judges.* An imperial diet was demanded by the exigencies of the times. A ruler even less diplomatic than Charles, and less loyal to the Church, would have seen the necessity of visiting Germany in person, and of consulting the collected wisdom of the nation concerning the safety of the Empire and the harmony and integrity of the Church. A ruler so prudent as Charles would naturally employ pacific measures first.† Accordingly, January 21st, 1530, he issued from Bologna an imperial rescript, summoning a diet to meet at Augsburg, April 8th, ensuing, and promising to be present in person. The object of the Diet as stated in the Rescript was to counsel about resistance to the Turks, and to consider the best method of putting an end to the dissensions about religion. The references to the religious dissensions are couched in mild and conciliatory language: "To consult and decide about the disturbances and dissensions of the Holy Faith and the Christian Religion. And in order that all dissensions and errors may be abolished in a salutary manner, all sentiments and opinions are to be heard, understood and considered between us in love and kindness, and are to be composed in sincerity, so as to put away what is not right in both parties, that true religion may be accepted and held by us all, that as we live and serve under one Christ so we may live in one fellowship, Church, and unity."‡

*The Protest and Appeal were carried to Italy by John Eckinger, Alexius Faventraut and Michael von Kaden. These ambassadors were detained by the Emperor at Piacenza and Parma as prisoners, and were forbidden to communicate with their principals.

†"According to other testimonies, a formal league was concluded at Bologna of the following import: The Emperor and Ferdinand were to make every effort to bring back the heretics, and the Pope was to supply the spiritual means. But if they stubbornly persisted, the Emperor and Ferdinand were to coerce them by arms and the Pope was to see that the other Christian princes assisted with all their forces." Again: "The Emperor was exhorted to unite with the Catholic estates, to work against the Protestants, at first with promises and threats, and then by violence, and after their suppression, to establish an inquisition." Gieseler, *Eccles. History*, IV., pp. 136-7, notes.

‡Original in Förstemann's *Urkundenbuch zu der Geschichte des Reichstags zu Augsburg*, I., 2-9.

This Imperial Rescript, expressed in such gracious language, at once dispelled the darkness that had gathered about the minds and hearts of the Reformers during the autumn and winter of 1529–30. The apprehension of a common danger had led several reforming Princes and cities to propose and to consider methods of defense; but they were divided in their counsels, and were unable to reach a common conclusion. The Swiss and Upper Germans were considerably alienated from the Wittenbergers. The Nuremberg Convention of January 6th, 1530, had dissolved in disorder. Only dire and ominous reports came from Bologna, where the Pope and the Emperor were living together in the same palace.

Suddenly the mighty tension was broken. The Imperial Rescript had recognized the Protestants as a "party," and had given the fullest assurance that an amicable settlement of existing difficulties was to be expected! At once the whole welkin grew bright. Sunshine took the place of gloom. The Protestants were now to have a hearing before their peers in a diet presided over by an impartial judge. Forthwith it was resolved at Torgau that the Elector of Saxony should attend the diet in person; and the next day, March 12th, the electoral counsellors presented a report to their master, containing various items of suggestion and advice touching the journey to Augsburg, and naming the persons who in various official capacities were to accompany the Prince. The following are named as "learned counsellors:" "Dr. Martin, Jonas the Provost, Philip Melanchthon, Musa of Jena. Dr. Martin and Jonas are to remain at Nuremberg and await further orders. Master Eisleben as preacher; Master Spalatin to be employed in connection with faith, and for other reasons, together with other scholars."*

*Förstemann's *Urkundenbuch*, I., 13 *et seqq.* It will be seen from this report that from the beginning it was not the intention, at least not immediately, to take Luther to Augsburg. He must await further orders at Nuremberg.

THE PREPARATION FOR THE DIET.

The electoral counsellors were thus making provision for a proper representation and defense of the Protestant cause. Nor was it deemed sufficient merely to take these "learned counsellors" to Nuremberg and to Augsburg. The wise senior chancellor, Dr. Gregory Brück, forecasting the importance of the proposed Diet, wrote the following letter to the Elector: "Inasmuch as the Imperial Rescript provides that the opinion and view of each one is to be heard, it would be a good thing for us to bring together systematically in writing, the views maintained by our party, and to fortify them out of Holy Writ, so as to present them in writing, in case the preachers shall not be admitted to a participation in the transactions. This will facilitate business, and it will serve to remove misunderstanding to have such views and opinions presented."*

In all probability it was this prudent suggestion that influenced the Elector, March 14th, to write a somewhat lengthy letter to the Wittenberg theologians, in which he informs them that a diet is to be held at Augsburg, beginning April 8th, ensuing; that such diet will probably take the place of a national council; that matters pertaining to religion are to be considered; that whatever is not right in both parties is to be corrected, so that "all may receive and hold one true religion, and as we all live and serve under one Christ, so we may live in one fellowship, Church and unity, and finally thus attain to a good unity and peace." He then instructs his theologians to prepare articles "both of faith and other church usages and ceremonies," and to present them in person at Torgau by Sunday 20th; and further: "If the preachers and estates shall not be permitted to attend, ye, and especially you Doctor *Martin*, shall await our further decision at Coburg."†

The Imperial Rescript had declared the restoration of Christian fellowship and unity to be the religious aim of the proposed Diet. The Elector's letter to his theologians, Brück's letter quoted above, and the Report of the Saxon counsellors, March

*Förstemann's *Urkundenbuch*, I., 39.

†Förstemann's *Urkundenbuch*, I., 41-44.

12th,* show to a demonstration that the Saxon court at Torgau was fully possessed by the desire, thought and purpose of reconciliation with the Church, and that they all enter on their preparation for the Diet with such desire, thought and purpose in the ascendent. This is made so clear by these and other official documents, and is expressed with such evident sincerity and simplicity that it becomes a chief point of view from which to study the history of the Confession, and furnishes a necessary cue in ascertaining its original meaning. Nothing was further from the thought of the Saxon Court than to go to Augsburg with a belligerent, defiant and aggressive spirit. They took the Emperor at his word, and sought to establish peace and reconciliation.† That such was the prevalent frame of mind, becomes increasingly evident from letters written by the Wittenberg reformers themselves. Luther wrote to Jonas as follows: "The Prince writes us, that is, you, Pomeranus, Philip and me, a letter in common, to unite, and, putting aside everything else, to make ready by next Sunday whatever is necessary for the Diet on the coming eighth of April. For the Emperor Charles himself will be at Augsburg, and will amicably settle (*amice compositurus*) all things, as he writes in his proclamation. Hence to-day and to-morrow, though you are absent, we three will do what we can. Nevertheless it will be your duty also to obey the Prince, and, turning over your duties to your colleagues, to join us here to-morrow. For all is hurry. Christ grant that everything may be done to his glory. Amen. 12 o'clock, March 14th, Anno 1530.‡

The following day Melanchthon wrote to Jonas in a similar strain of delight and gratification: "A diet has been appointed

*Förstemann's, *Urkundenbuch* I., 11, *et seqq.*

†See the Preface to the Augsburg Confession. Also Brentz's letter to Isenmann, June 24th, 1530: "In ea (Confessione) petunt principes, ut amice controversia componatur, et pax constituatur." C. R., II., 125. Also Melanchthon's letter to Camerarius, C. R., II., 119. C. R. II., 281. Virck in *Zeitschrift für Kirchenges.* (1888), p. 69-72.

‡DeWette's, *Luther's Briefe*, III., 564.

at Augsburg. The Emperor has graciously promised to review the case and to correct the faults of both parties.”*

The day for which Princes, courtiers, and theologians, had long pleaded, was now in sight. They hailed it with joy, and began to make preparation for its duties and privileges. But as regards the preparations of the Wittenberg theologians, as to whether they, in obedience to the command of the Elector, wrote articles of faith and external ceremonies,—of such things we have no contemporaneous record. Indeed, there is no documentary proof from the times that they wrote at this particular juncture a single line in exhibition or defense of the faith held, and of the ceremonies practiced by themselves and their adherents. The statement made by some of the older historians† of the Confession, that “before the journey to Augsburg began, Luther composed seventeen articles,” which are “the archetype of the Augsburg Confession,” is, so far as chronology is concerned, a pure fiction. The seventeen Schwabach articles which are “the archetype” of the first *seventeen* articles of the Augsburg Confession, were composed by Luther and others more than five months before that time, and were in all probability at that time in the electoral archives at Torgau, and not at Wittenberg. Neither were they *revised* for the proposed Diet, nor placed among the preparations for the Diet, as we learn from Luther’s own words in the Preface to his published edition of those articles. He writes: “Seventeen articles have lately been published under my name with a title that indicates that I meant to lay the same before the present Diet. Of such a thing I never had a thought. It is true that I helped to compose such articles, for they were not composed by me alone, but not on account of the Papists, nor to lay them before this Diet. It is very well known why they were composed. I had not even intended that they should be published, much less that they should go out with such a title under my name. And whoever did it,

*C. R., II., 28.

†Coelestin, *Historia Comitiorum Anno M. D. XXX. Augustae*, etc., p. 25 *et seqq.*; J. J. Müller, *Historie von der Evang. Stende Protestation und Appellation*, etc., p. 441; Chytraeus, *Historia*, p. 18.

knows very well that I had neither commanded nor wished it. Not that I shun the light, or think that such articles are not right. They are too good and too precious to be used in negotiating with the Papists. For what do they care about such beautiful, holy, superb articles?"*

It would have been impossible for Luther to write in this way, had he even *revised* these articles for use at the proposed Diet. They were written for an entirely different purpose, and were at no time designed by him to become the basis of an Apology, or Confession, to be laid before the Emperor. Hence we have in this Preface also another clear and distinct proof in support of the proposition that the Wittenberg theologians did not write "articles of faith" in obedience to the electoral command of March 14th.† It was only a subsequent and unforeseen exigency that brought the seventeen articles into requisition, and caused them to be made the basis of the first seventeen articles of the Augsburg Confession.‡ But it is the very general supposition of scholars and specialists in this field of Reformation history, that between March 14th and 27th, certain

*Erlangen edition of Luther's Works, Vol. 24 : 337. These seventeen articles, known as the Schwabach Articles, were composed by Luther and others about the 7-10 of October, 1529, (Kolde in *Beitraege zu Reform. Geschichte*, p. 110,) and were laid before the Schwabach Convention, Oct. 16th, ensuing. They were offered by the Saxon Elector and the Margrave of Brandenburg as a condition of union with the Swiss and the Upper Germans, but were rejected by them. Early in the year 1530 Hans Bern of Coburg published these Articles with the title: "The Confession of Martin Luther composed in Seventeen Articles to be laid before the present Diet at Augsburg." Misled by the title, Conrad Wimpina, John Mensing, Wolfgang Roderfer and Rupert Elgersma, Catholic Theologians at Augsburg, wrote a refutation of these articles. Thereupon Luther, who was at Coburg, wrote the Preface (from which we have just quoted) to these seventeen articles, and had the whole printed at Wittenberg under the title: "Martin Luther's Reply to the Howl of Certain Papists." These articles reached Augsburg already in May; as we learn from a letter of Jacob Sturm to Zwingli (Zwingli's Works, VIII., 459).

†It is purely gratuitous for Dr. Krauth to say: "March 20. These XVII. Articles of Luther revised were sent to Torgau." *Conservative Reformation*, p. 29. There is not a syllable of contemporaneous proof of any such *revising* or *sending*.

‡See LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, July, 1897, p. 312.

articles on abuses, now called the "Torgau Articles," were composed by Melanchthon,* and subsequently, perhaps not before April 3rd, taken to Torgau, and called "Torgau Articles." But of contemporaneous documentary proof of this supposition, and of the veritable existence even of "Torgau Articles," there is not a line known to historians.† That is, there does not exist a line or even a word from the times, which tells us that the Wittenberg theologians wrote articles on "external ceremonies," March 14th–27th, and sent or carried them to Torgau, nor have we any document from the times inscribed, "Torgau Articles." It is only highly probable, not historically and demonstratively certain, that the essay,‡ of several parts, and discussing several subjects, discovered by Karl Edward Förstemann at Weimar, and published by him in his *Urkundenbuch zu der Geschichte des Reichtags zu Augsburg in Jahre 1530*, pp. 68–84, was written at Wittenberg, March 14th–27th, carried to Torgau, thence to Augsburg, and finally used in composing the second part of the Augsburg Confession. The data in hand will not allow any more definite affirmations in regard to a basis of the Articles on Abuses.

The fact is, we are almost entirely destitute of information touching the doings of the Wittenberg theologians from March 14th to March 27th. From Luther and Melanchthon we have in those thirteen days only the letters to Jonas quoted above.§

*See Prof. Dr. Brieger's exceedingly acute and learned article in *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, 1888, pp. 268–320; Engelhardt in Niedner's *Zeitschrift*, 1865, pp. 515–629. LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, July, 1897, pp. 301 *et seqq.*

†Dr. Krauth wrote: "March 20. In addition to these (Schwabach Articles) a special writing, of which Luther was the chief author, in conjunction with Melanchthon, Jonas, Bugenhagen, was prepared by direction of the Elector and sent to Torgau. These articles are on the abuses, and are the *Torgau Articles proper*." *Conservative Reformation*, p. 219. In its main features this paragraph also is gratuitous. But as the matter was fully discussed in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for July, 1897, pp. 301–310, no further notice need be taken of it here.

‡Translated into English, and published in Vol. II. of Jacobs' *Book of Concord*, pp. 75–98.

§DeWette assigns to March a letter from Luther to Amsdorf, but the date is in dispute. It contains no reference to happenings at Wittenberg.

From Jonas and Bugenhagen we have nothing during that time. We know, however, that the Wittenberg theologians did not appear in Torgau, Sunday March 20th, for March 21st, the Elector wrote them to hasten to Torgau with their books, as matters of importance were demanding attention there. We find Melanchthon at Torgau, March 27th.* But there is no proof that Luther and the other theologians went at that time.† Even of Melanchthon's doings at Torgau, counting out what he has reported about Campanus, and of the date of his return to Wittenberg, we know nothing. We can now go so far as to say that we know very little of the doings of the Wittenberg theologians from March 14th to April 3rd, a period of nearly three weeks. If they made any theological preparation at all for the Diet, it seems to be confined to an essay on abuses, and they themselves seem not to have any very definite ideas as to the future. To Nicholas Hausmann Luther wrote April 2nd: "Philip, Jonas and I are going with the Prince as far as Coburg, until it is made known what is to be attempted at Augsburg. Have your church pray earnestly for the Diet."‡ On the same day he wrote to Cordatus: "I hear you want to go to the Diet. I advise against it. First, because I have not been summoned thither; but for certain reasons will attend the Prince only through his own dominions."§

One thing, however, is clear: Luther is not to go to Augsburg, at least not at once and in company with the other the-

*C. R., II., 33, 34.

†Köstlin says: "The articles were first considered at Torgau and delivered to the Elector, April 3rd. For an earlier consideration of them by Luther and Melanchthon at Torgau, there was no opportunity. March 27th, Melanchthon was there (C. R. II., 33) engaged on the new doctrines of Campanus, and Luther was not there with him. For April 1st he still knows nothing about the doctrines of Campanus." *Martin Luther* (1883) II., 651. This is absolutely conclusive, for April 1st Luther wrote: "For about fifteen days already he (Campanus) has been at Torgau, publishing wretched monstrosities of doctrines, which I have not yet seen, but only heard of. Hence I cannot imagine what he maintains." Luther could not have written thus, had he been at Torgau with Melanchthon engaged in considering the doctrines of Campanus. De Wette III., 566.

‡De Wette, III., 567.

§De Wette, III., 568.

ologians. But there is no existing document of this, or of earlier date, that tells us *why* Luther was to be left at Coburg. We know only that he had been so informed by the Elector's letter of March 14th, quoted above. We do not know whether at this time he knew the reasons, or whether at any time in his life he knew all the reasons, that led to the determination not to take him to Augsburg. Nor is there any evidence that at this time Luther was dissatisfied with the decision that had been made in the matter.

We have now come to the beginning of the journey. April 3rd, Luther, Melanchthon and Jonas left Wittenberg for Torgau.* The following day the electoral train consisting of about one hundred and sixty persons,† set out for Augsburg. They took with them three boxes full of civil and religious documents, among which in all probability were the Schwabach Articles, and the so-called "Torgau Articles," though these are not named in the Catalogue given by Förstemann.‡ The train proceeded *via* Grimma, Altenburg, Isenberg, to Weimar, which was reached on Saturday 9th, and where the Elector was met by a messenger from Nuremberg who announced that the Emperor was on his way to Germany, and would certainly appear at Augsburg.§ On Palm Sunday (April 10th), Luther preached at Weimar, and the Elector and some of his train partook of the Lord's Supper.|| After resting a couple days at Weimar, the party turned southward, and on Friday, April 15th, entered Coburg on the southern limit of the Elector's dominion. Here again Luther preached. In his sermons he made no reference to the questions of the hour, but declaimed violently against the fanatics, "as if it were sufficient once more to warn his Elector against any association with Sacramentarians."¶

*Jonas' *Briefwechsel*, I., 145.

†Seckendorf, II., 152.

‡*Urkundenbuch* I., 134, *et seqq.*

§Jonas' *Briefwechsel*, I., 145.

||Schirmacher, p. 372; Coelestin, I., 29 b.

¶Kolde, *Martin Luther*, II., 327.

LUTHER LEFT AT COBURG.

Already, April 7th, from Eisenberg, the Elector had requested the senate of Nuremberg to receive Luther and to furnish him protection during the Diet, as he (the Elector) wished to have him in a safe place, and nearer at hand for the purpose of consultation, "than in our land,"* that is, in Coburg. As the Elector found no answer awaiting him at Coburg, he wrote again, April 15th, and repeated the request of April 7th.† But the next day, April 16th, Michael von Kaden came to Coburg to say that, April 13th, the Nuremberg senate had decided not to receive Luther, nor to furnish him with a safe-conduct.‡ This information at once determined the place of Luther's residence during the Diet. It had been the Elector's intention to take him as far as Nuremberg, or within about one hundred miles of Augsburg, that as "opportunity offered" (nach Gelegenheit) he might consult him in the proposed transactions.§ It was now decided to leave Luther at Coburg. Accordingly on the morning of April 23rd, before four o'clock, he was conveyed secretly to the castle. This was the best that the circumstances would allow. He was under the ban of the Empire, and under the excommunication of the Pope. It would not have been expedient to take him to Augsburg. In all probability he would have been killed on the spot. But while it is documentarily certain that the Elector and his counsellors wanted Luther nearer than Coburg, it is highly probable that they did not want him

*Original letter is given by Prof. Kolde in *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, pp. 155-7.

†Original in Kolde's *Analecta Lutherana*, p. 119.

‡Von Kaden delivered this information *viva voce*. But he carried with him an "Instruction," written by Lazarus Spengler, which gives many reasons why Luther could not be received at Nuremberg. Original given by Kolde in *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, pp. 257 *et seqq.* Very justly does Kolde say: "The Nurembergers did not have the steadfastness and the courage to expose themselves to danger."

§Kolde's discovery and publication of the correspondence between the Elector and the Nuremberg senate, has enabled us to perceive the final reason why Luther was left at *Coburg*, and not taken to Nuremberg.

at Augsburg. At least we meet with no expression of desire to have him at Augsburg, and learn of no effort having been made to remove the obstacles that opposed his going thither. There were, on the contrary, two kinds of personal reasons why Luther would have been a *persona non grata* at Augsburg. He was literally "hated" by the Electoral Prince, John Frederick, who ascribed to Luther's influence much of the resolute opposition shown by the Elector to the Emperor.* His presence at Augsburg would have been intensely exasperating to the Romanists, and would have rendered negotiations more difficult. He was enthusiastic in defense of his cause, uncompromising in spirit and violent in discussion. It would have been highly impolitic on the part of the Elector, and very dangerous to his expressed purposes of conciliation and fellowship with the opposite party, to take Luther to Augsburg. It would have been like the throwing of a bomb into the camp of an enemy. One can readily see how the whole cause of Protestantism, which was now on trial, would have been brought into greater peril by allowing Luther to appear at the Diet. This must have been foreseen by the Elector and his counsellors. Hence after reading all the known contemporaneous documents relating to the question of Luther's detention at Coburg, we cannot resist the conclusion that, much as the Elector desired to have Luther as near as possible for consultation, he did not want him at Augsburg to assist in the pending negotiations. Such also, essentially, is the conclusion expressed or intimated by not a few historians who cannot be justly accused of *tendenz*, nor of prejudices, nor of insufficient information;† and such a conclusion is in no sense contradicted by Luther's declaration: "It was not safe to take me

*See Melanchthon's letter to Luther, May 22nd, C. R., II., 61; and Walch's *Luther's Werke*, XVI., 819.

†Mathesius (1565) says: "For great and important reasons Doctor Luther was left at this castle (Coburg), lest the enemy should be rendered more bitter by his presence, and the chief cause should be brought into discredit." *Eighth Sermon*. See Pfaff: *Geschichte des Angsb. Glaubensbekenntnisses*, I., 198; Weber, *Kritische Geschichte der A. C.*, I., 27; Strang's *Martin Luther*, p. 603; Facius' *Geschichte A. C.*, p. 42; Engelhardt, Niedner's *Zeitschrift* (1865), p. 570; Koehler's *Journeys of Luther*, p. 284; Kahnis, *Dogmatik*, II., 423; "Personally too exasperating."

to Augsburg,"* nor by his expressions of impatience with his detention at Coburg. It was not Luther's fault that he was not taken to Augsburg. The responsibility in the matter rests with the Elector, who had to consider the peaceful issue of the Diet, as well as Luther's personal safety.

At all events the Elector commanded Luther to remain at Coburg. Michael von Kaden explained to him "briefly and very gently" the reasons why he could not be taken to Nuremberg; and von Kaden reports that Luther declared to him that his "original counsel had been to be left at Wittenberg, since he did not believe that anything more would be accomplished at the pending Diet than had been accomplished at former ones."†

April 23rd the Elector and his party left Coburg, and, proceeding *via* Bamberg and Nuremberg, reached their destination May 2nd. But Luther was safe in the castle of Coburg. Yet his heart and his prayers went with his friends. Even on the first day of his residence in the castle, he wrote three letters, one to each of his three friends, Melanchthon, Jonas and Spalatin;‡ but he makes no reference to the "Apology," and no serious reference to the Diet. To Wincellaus Link he writes, April 23rd: "We are sitting here at Coburg uncertain about the Diet and the coming of the Emperor. Perhaps you have more accurate information. My companions have gone to Augsburg, but the Prince wants me to stay here. You will see

*De Wette, IV., 27.

†See Michael von Kaden's official report to the Nuremberg senate in *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, p. 263. Von Kaden says *inter alia*: "I think my gracious lord the Elector will send Doctor *Martin* back to Wittenberg." See Dr. Heinrich Rinn's *Die Entstehung der A. C.*, p. 17. It is evident that neither von Kaden nor the Elector gave Luther all the reasons why he could not be taken farther, for April 18th he wrote to Nicholas Hausmann: "I am commanded by the Prince, while the others go to the Diet, to remain at Coburg, nescio qua de causa. Thus all things are uncertain from day to day." De Wette, IV., 1. Kolde thinks that von Kaden gave Luther only the general reasons why he could not be taken farther. *Kircheng. Studien*, p. 255. Certainly the Elector had not been full and explicit.

‡De Wette, *Luthers Briefe*, IV., 2, 3, 4, 12. Knaake, Köstlin and others have shown that these letters were written, April 23rd, and not April 22nd, as the date is given by De Wette.

Philip, Eisleben, and Spalatin.”* The next day he wrote to Eoban Hess, of Nuremberg: “I send you four living, speaking, most eloquent epistles. Gladly would I have been the fifth, but one said to me, keep silent, you have a bad voice.”† There is no mistaking the meaning of this last sentence. Somebody, perhaps the Electoral Prince John Frederick, perhaps one of the electoral counsellors, had expressed an unwillingness to have Luther go to Augsburg. The explanation of Engelhardt is as charitable as the facts will allow: “The meaning of the expression manifestly is not that they did not like his faith and his dogmatic views; but that they did not think him possessed of such calmness and gentleness as the proposed work of peace required. This, to be sure, was a second reason why the counsellors of the Elector agreed to leave him behind; but it was subordinate, and entirely unessential for the question of theology.”‡ There is no proof that Luther was to be ignored, or was to be denied the opportunity of further influencing his associates in the faith. But that he should be kept from Augsburg, because of his impetuosity, and of his unfitness for negotiations, is just what prudence would seem to dictate. Luther was not the man to appear at diets. He was not taken to Spires in 1529, nor do we hear of his having been ordered to Hagenau and Worms in 1540, and to Regensburg in 1541. Luther could fight with devils, and fanatics, could tear up stumps and stones, but he was not endowed with the patience and tact of the diplomatist. In these practical talents he was greatly surpassed by Melanchthon, who in diets and conferences served the cause of the Reformation for thirty years with preëminent success.

MELANCHTHON COMMISSIONED TO WRITE THE “APOLOGY.”

There were also personal reasons why Luther should not be chosen to draw up articles to be presented to the Diet. His articles would have been as offensive to the opposite party as his person. They would also have borne the characteristic

*De Wette, IV., 5.

†De Wette, IV., 6.

‡Niedner's *Zeitschrift* (1865), p. 570.

qualities of their author, and would have defeated the end in view. Hence very properly does the judicious Weber write: "Since according to the Imperial Rescript for the Diet at Augsburg in 1530, the Emperor wished to remove all errors and disputes in matters of faith, and wished to hear the opinion and view of every one, it was wise in the Elector not to turn over to Luther the further expansion of the articles composed by the theologians at Wittenberg, and to have him finish the articles which were to be delivered to the Emperor. For since Luther had been outlawed by the Emperor and could not even be taken to the Diet by the Elector, but had to be left at Coburg, would it have been wise in the Elector and his associates to desire to deliver to the Emperor a confession of which the outlawed Luther was known to be the author? Would Luther, full of enthusiasm for the truth, violent in controversy with his enemies, often incautious and insulting in speech, have been able to restrain himself in elaborating the Confession when once he had to speak on the controverted articles and abuses of the Romish Church? Only read the Schmalkald articles, composed for the Council of Mantua. Had he written the Confession in the same tone and spirit, considering the circumstances of the small band of Protestants at that time, could it have been read in the presence of the Emperor, Electors, Bishops and assembled estates of the Empire? Would it not have increased the bitterness of the opposite party, and thus, humanly speaking, have brought greater injury than profit to the good cause? Valdesius said of Melancthon's Confession, which he read before it was delivered to the Emperor, that it was so bitter that the opposite party would not tolerate it. What would he not have judged in the case of Luther's work? Even Cochleus, who compared the Schmalkald Articles with the Confession, very correctly judged that it was far easier to listen to the latter, and that its words and thoughts were much less offensive than those of the former. Hence it was well planned that Luther with his fire and enthusiasm, who, when the truth was involved, cared as little for a king as for a stupid priest, in a matter so delicate as the affair of religion at that time, should not be allowed to speak before the

Emperor and the Empire. For truth, when it has to contend with prejudice, operates more effectively on the human heart when it appears in modest, pleasing attire, than when it appears in a coarse, rasping dress, which really discredits it, and exasperates and incenses, rather than conciliates the votary of prejudice. Therefore the work was given over by the Elector to Melanchthon; for he, not less than Luther a friend of truth, had a far calmer soul, was gentle and modest, and with the beautiful and pleasing style, in which he surpassed the theologians of his time, knew how to speak the truth without in the least compromising it, and without exasperating the opposite party."*

That the Elector was influenced by some such considerations as those given by Weber, can scarcely be questioned when we take into the account the circumstances, the end aimed at, and the temper and talents of the two men. Melanchthon, because of his supereminent fitness for the work to be done, was commissioned to write an Apology to be used in defense of the Elector before the Diet. This action on the part of the Elector and his counsellors made Melanchthon for the time being the theological leader of the reforming party. That he occupied such a position is seen in the numerous opinions written by him at Augsburg, in the fact that the *Bedenken* brought by the other theologians to Augsburg were turned over to him for examination, that the Nuremberg legates report his actions, and that he held interviews with Schlepper and Valdesius, the Imperial Secretaries.† Never was leadership more wisely and justly bestowed; never was it more modestly and conscientiously accepted; and it came to him so naturally and so fittingly that neither Luther nor any one of the other theologians journeying together to Augsburg, has left on record a single syllable of complaint. Three hundred and sixty-nine years of afterthought has justified the wisdom of the appointment. Melanchthon's moderation, learning, culture, and familiarity with the Witten-

**Kritische Geschichte der Augs. Con.*, I., p. 26 et seqq. Virck, *Zeits. fuer Kirchenges.* (1888). p. 73.

†C. R., II., 119, 122.

berg teaching, pointed him out as the man best fitted to draw up whatever writing was to be laid before the Diet. There can be no doubt that the selection was entirely acceptable to Luther, and that Luther assisted with his advice so long as the two remained together at Coburg. But we do not know the extent of the writing, nor the exact shape it took at Coburg. It is probable that Melanchthon took the so-called "Torgau Articles" as his guide, and produced a writing not widely different from the second part of the Augsburg Confession, and added a Preface—"exordium." It was thought formerly by some writers that by "Preface" is to be understood Part First of the Confession, or the articles of faith, which were intended to introduce the articles on abuses. But that theory is now abandoned, since it is universally admitted that the "Apology," as it was written at Coburg, and further revised during the first two or three days after the arrival at Augsburg, *did not contain articles of faith*.* It is probable that we have Melanchthon's "Preface" in Förstemann's *Urkundenbuch* I., pp. 68, 69, as a part of document "A," which is now very generally recognized as the "Torgau Articles." After making a brief refutation of the charge that the Elector "has abolished all divine worship," and "has introduced a heathenish, dissolute life, and insubordination," this introductory writing says: "To this end it is well to place a long and rhetorical preface," which seems to imply that the thought contained in the preceding paragraph is to be expanded and made more apologetic, so as more fitly to introduce the articles on abuses. And that this "Preface" had some such design, is at once apparent from the words with which it closes: "The dissension now is especially concerning some abuses, which have been introduced by human doctrine and statutes, of which we will report in order, and indicate for what reasons, my lord is induced to cause certain abuses to be abated." It is quite likely that it is of this "Preface," expanded and improved, that Melanchthon writes to Luther from Augsburg, May 4th.†

*See this matter fully discussed in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for July, 1897, pp. 311-313, July, 1898, 355 *et seqq.*

†C. R. II., 39, 40.

Naturally and necessarily Melanchthon, with all fidelity to the truth, and after giving due deference to the suggestions of the theologians and civil counsellors, would impress the characteristics of his own mind and temper on the product of his pen. "Certainly Luther would have expressed himself very differently, but there was nothing in the Confession that was un-Lutheran."* It was the mildest possible expression of the doctrines taught and of the ceremonies observed in the churches which had been already reproachfully named *Lutheran*. "It is at the same time a confession and an apology, its aim being to serve the cause of peace. The whole first part, which in brief articles states what is taught by the Evangelicals, proceeds to show how little they deviate from the Roman Church, and that the very heresies, which Eck had catalogued against them, were expressly rejected. The centre of gravity is found in the second part, which treats of abuses. It is shown that for conscience' sake certain universally recognized abuses had to be abolished, and that not only the Holy Scriptures, but also the practice of the early Church, and of the recognized teachers, was on their side."† But we do not learn from any contemporaneous writer, when or under what particular circumstances, the Elector commissioned Melanchthon to prepare an "Apology." It is evident, however, from one of Melanchthon's letters that the commission had been given at Coburg or before the arrival there, April 15th, since, May 4th, two days after the arrival at Augsburg, he writes: "I have made the exordium of our Apology somewhat more rhetorical (finished in style) than I had written it at Coburg. In a short time I will bring it, or if the Prince will not permit that, I will send it.‡" On the same day he wrote as follows to Veit Dietrich, who was with Luther at Coburg: "I will soon run over to you to bring the *Apology* which is to be delivered to the Emperor, that it may be examined by Luther."§

*Prof. Kolde, *Martin Luther*, II., 345.

†Prof. Kolde, *ut supra*.

‡C. R. II., 39-41. In this Letter Melanchthon informs Luther that Eck has sent a "big batch of propositions" to be discussed before the Princes. See LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, July, 1998, p. 355-6.

§C. R. II., 40-41.

Several things are evident from these letters:

1. Melanchthon has been making changes in the writing which now for the first time we hear called "Apology."
2. That this "Apology" was written with the express purpose of being delivered to the Emperor.
3. That Melanchthon was desirous of having the "Apology" examined by Luther before its delivery to the Emperor.

But of the exact form and contents of the "Apology" at this time we know nothing. It probably did not differ materially from the second part of the Augsburg Confession (Article XXVIII. omitted) as we now have it, though evidently important changes had been made between April 23rd and May 4th, otherwise Melanchthon would not have wished to make a journey of nearly two hundred miles to show it to Luther. It was but just and wise that Luther should be consulted, though he was not allowed to speak the final word nor to see the Confession in its final form before delivery, as the facts incontestably prove.

THE APOLOGY IS CHANGED INTO A CONFESSION.

Melanchthon was not permitted to carry the "Apology" to Luther, neither was it sent to him in the form that it had received up to May 4th, for up to that time it did not contain articles of faith, as is now universally admitted by competent scholars. It was simply a defense of the abolition in the Elector's dominions of certain ecclesiastical customs that obscured the Gospel and deceived the people. The theologians believed that they stood on the revealed word of God, and on the teaching of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Hence they did not believe that they were under the necessity of making a confession of faith: and it may be that the Elector did not deem it important to send the "Apology" at that time to Luther, or, the sudden change in the plan of defense, may have been the reason why the "Apology" was not sent to Luther in its earliest form. When the Evangelicals, now assembled at Augsburg, saw Eck's "big batch of propositions," his 404 gravamina against them,

their eyes were opened to the fact that their enemies charged them with innumerable heresies, and identified them with ancient and modern heretics. The entire aspect of the situation was changed. New dangers required new defenses. The Exordium (Preface), whatever it was, had to be abandoned. Articles of faith, that is, positive statements of doctrine were needed, as a means by which the Lutherans could purge themselves from the terrible charge of heresy, and repudiate the company in which their enemies had put them. Thus it was Eck's Propositions that gave the occasion for the preparation of articles of faith for the "Apology," inasmuch as no articles of faith had been composed, nor revised, at Wittenberg (March 14th-27th), for the Diet, for it was maintained, and proclaimed in the "Torgau Articles," that the doctrine taught was salutary and Christian.

It is not improbable that the Electoral party came in contact with Eck's Propositions on the way from Coburg to Augsburg. Because of these Propositions, or for some other reason, the Elector, about the last of April or the first of May, sent a confession of his faith to the Emperor. This confession consisted of fifteen of the Schwabach Articles, revised and translated into Latin.* Consistency would require that these same articles should be prefixed to or made the basis of articles of faith for the "Apology," especially since only a few months earlier they had been presented at Schwabach under the title: "Articles of the Elector of Saxony concerning faith." It was the prefixing of these revised and changed Schwabach Articles to the Apology, and the addition of several new articles, that changed the "Apology" into a confession of faith. This revising, changing and adding, was the work of Melanchthon. Who originated the idea of changing the "Apology" into a confession of faith, is

*The writer has never seen these fifteen articles, nor is he aware that they have ever been published. They were discovered by Prof. Brieger, of Leipzig, in the Vatican Library in 1884, and have been briefly described by him. He says: "*In essentials they agree with the Schwabach Articles.*" He notes particularly that "the tenth article is a (not faultless) translation of the tenth Schwabach (worthy of notice is the statement here: *Quod vere et substantialiter praesens sit verum corpus et sanguis Christi.*" See *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, p. 312 et seqq.

not a matter of record. We may fairly infer from Melancthon's letter of May 11th (hereafter to be quoted) that the happy thought originated with him. As in all probability he revised and translated the fifteen articles sent by the Elector to the Emperor, he could in a short time make another revision, and some additions, and thus finish the first draft of the *Augsburg Confession*. At any rate, May 11th, the "Apology" was in a form fit for presentation to the Emperor, as the Elector's vindication against alleged heresy, and as a justification for the change of ceremonies in his dominions.

THE CONFESSION IS SENT TO LUTHER.

As the Emperor was not nearer than Insbruck, and was known to be advancing towards Augsburg slowly, and was not expected at Augsburg within two weeks,* there would be time enough before his arrival, to send the, "Apology" to Luther for examination, and for revision by him if deemed necessary. Accordingly the Elector sent it May 11th, with the following letter: "After that you and our other learned men at Wittenberg, in accordance with our gracious purpose and desire, drew up a statement of the controverted articles of religion, we will not conceal from you that *Master Philip Melancthon* has further revised the same and brought them into a form which we herewith send you. And it is our gracious desire that you should not hesitate further to revise and to consider them. And if you like them to such a degree, or if you think anything should be taken therefrom, or added thereto, note it on the margin (Und ist unser gnädiges Begehren, ihr wollet Dieselben weiter zu übersehen und zu bewegen unbeschwert seyn. Und wo es euch dermassen gefällig, oder etwas davon oder dazu zu setzen bedächet, das wollet also daneben verzeichnen), in order that on the Emperor's arrival, which we expect in a short time, it may be composed and ready; and return the same hither immediately, well secured and sealed, by this messenger."† On the same day

*C. R. II., 46.

†C. R. II., 47. Following the lead of such eminent German authorities as Pfaff, Weber, Kolde, Schmidt, and others equally conversant with the meaning of German words, and with this particular correspondence, we

Melanchthon wrote a letter to Luther which contains the following. "Our Apology is sent to you, though it is more properly a confession; for the Emperor will not have time for prolix discussions. Nevertheless I have said those things which I regarded as either specially important or becoming. I have embraced about all the articles of faith, for the reason that *Eck* has published the most diabolical slanders against us. Against these I wished to oppose a remedy. Judge about the whole writing in accordance with your spirit."*

Melanchthon's letter is important as noting the change of the document from the form of an "Apology" to the form of a confession, and as requesting a free expression of Luther's opinion about "the whole writing." The Elector's letter, while requesting Luther not to hesitate to revise, add, subtract, as he saw fit, nevertheless confines his observations to the margin; though it is not probable that Luther would have felt himself specially hampered by such restrictions; and there can be no doubt that his suggestions and criticisms, had he chosen to make any, would have received the greatest consideration at Augsburg. But we know that they would not have been final, for no sooner is the "Apology" returned to the Elector, than we hear that it is to be placed in the hands of Chancellor Brück "to be shaped before and behind,"† that is, as Prof. Kolde explains,‡ to be revised generally; and even later we find that the electoral counsellors and theologians are working on it daily, and are making changes and improvements.§ Moreover, the form in which the Confession was sent to Luther was what the Germans call *Dcr*

have translated *daneben verzeichnen*, *note on the margin*, *am Rande*, as the Germans write it. There is no warrant for Dr. Krauth's translation of *daneben* in this passage by, "at the same time." *Conservative Reformation*, p. 224. Such a translation makes only tolerable sense even in the very faulty translation which Dr. Krauth has made of the entire part quoted above in the original. The italics employed by Dr. Krauth in lines 4, 6, 7 are not warranted by the original, and the same is true of the italics on page 233.

*C. R. II., 45.

†C. R., 62, 71, 78.

‡*Die Augsb. Konf.* 6 note.

§C. R. II., 71.

erste Entwurf, *Der fertige Entwurf*, *Prima adumbratio*. "It was far from being finished."* It did not yet contain Article XX., Of Faith and Good Works, which in extent of matter is nearly one-third of the so-called doctrinal part. Probably it did not contain Article XXI. It did not contain Article 27 in its present form. Article 28, according to the judgment of competent scholars, did not yet exist. Neither the Preface nor the Conclusion had been yet composed. That is, more than one-third of the Confession, as it appeared in its final form, was written after May 11th. What verbal changes were introduced into the various articles, we do not know for certain, though we may conclude from a comparison of the oldest manuscript copies with the *Editio Princeps*, that the changes were many and important.†

*Kolde, *Augsb. Konf.*, p. 5. In the *Realencyclopaedie*, Kolde says: "Of the work, which was far from being completed, we know not how much Luther really saw." II., 244. Planck says: "By May 11th Melancthon had finished a complete draft. This the Elector sent on that date to Luther at Coburg. But that draft was changed so much from time to time up almost to the moment of delivery, by additions and omissions, by elaboration and the introduction of entirely new articles, that a wholly different work arose, for which, however, the Torgau Articles furnished the foundation." *Geschichte des Protest. Lehrbegriffs* III., 41, n. We cannot now think of any two points connected with the Augs. Con. on which the German writers are better agreed, than that Luther saw the Confession, before its delivery, *only* as *Der erste Entwurf*, and that it was in that form far from being finished. Oehler holds that Articles XVIII.-XXI. were added after May 11th, *Symbolik*, p. 256. Noesgen says: "May 11 it yet lacked much as compared with its later size, as articles 20, 27, 28," *Symbolik*, p. 75. The proof of this *lack* is documentary, as will appear in the text.

†See C. R. XXVI. pp. 263-335 for the Latin, and pp. 538-688 for the German. The Spalatin, the first Ansbach, and the Hanoverian, are regarded as the three oldest manuscripts of the Confession, and as exhibiting a text prior to that delivered to the Emperor. See Förstemann, *Urkundenbuch*, I., 310 *et seqq.*, 343 *et seqq.*, C. R. XXVI. 417 *et seqq.* The Spalatin is generally regarded as the oldest MS. of the Confession. Engelhardt holds it to be "the original form of the Augustana sent to Luther." Niedner's *Zeitschrift* (1865) p. 590. The Spalatin MS. has Article 20, Of Faith and Good Works, but it is placed after the present Article 21, Of the Worship of Saints. "But the finer paper on which it is written, shows that it was added later." Engelhardt, *ut supra*, p. 576, 600. Spalatin cancelled the present article 21 in his MS. and did not restore it after he added the present article 20. *Urkundenbuch*, I., p. 322.

That Luther was well-pleased, but not absolutely and enthusiastically delighted with *Der erste Entwurf* of the Confession, is evident from his letter of May 15th to the Elector: Ich hab M. Philipsen Apologia uber lesen, die gefellet mir fast wol, und weis nichts dran zu bessern noch endern, würde sich auch nicht schicken denn ich so sanfft und leise nicht treten kan. Christus unser herr helffe, das sie viel und grosse frucht schaffe, wie wir hoffen und bitten Amen. That is: "I have read over Master Philip's Apology. It pleases me very well. I do not know of anything in it to be improved or changed, nor would it become

Bindseil, describing this MS, as it actually appears, having articles 20 and 21, as described above, says: "It lacks the preface to the Emperor, and the last part of the Confession, namely the greater part of the Article *De votis monachorum* (27), the entire article *De potestate ecclesiastica* (28), and the *Epilogue with the names subscribed.*" C. R. XXVI. p. 419. He describes the Ansbach ("Onold" he calls it) as "containing only a part of the Confession, viz., the first nineteen articles of faith with the epilogue belonging to them." C. R. II., 419--20. He describes the Hanoverian as "presenting the first nineteen articles of faith with the epilogue belonging to them, and the proem to the controverted articles." C. R. XXVI. p. 422. Very properly does Engelhardt say: "The first MSS. which we have of the Augsburg Confession, must show us how these articles arose (Articles XVIII.--XXI). As already remarked this MS. has Article 20, but on finer paper—a sure sign that it was added later. Likewise the first Ansbach and the Hanoverian MSS. do not have articles 20 and 21; but the Epilogue follows immediately after Article 19. In the latter only subsequently were the Preface, Articles 20 and 21, and the controverted articles, and the later improvements, added by a different hand. By reason of this deficiency these three MSS. point to the earliest period of the composition of the Augustana. The Spalatin has the controverted articles, though Spalatin suddenly stops in the third part of the Article on Monastic Vows (27) at page 62, and was only accidentally hindered from further copying." Engelhardt then concludes: "From this it is clear that Articles 18 and 19, were in the first draft (*im ersten Entwurf*), and that Articles 20 and 21 were added later. As already shown, Article 21 was added after June 16. This is proved by the French translation in the Archives at Cassel, which has Article 21, but not the controverted articles and what is yet lacking in MSS. It thus represents a further step. Now only were the controversial articles added. For this step the Spalatin MS. is proof, since it has Article 21, but numbered it 20. Later he erased it when he introduced the Article, Of Faith and Good Works, as 20, without restoring it after Article 20." Niedner's *Zeitschrift* (1865), p. 600. Printed copies of the Spalatin and First Ansbach MSS. are given in Förstemann's *Urkundenbuch*, I., pp. 310 *et seqq.*

me, since I cannot move so softly and lightly. Christ our Lord grant that it may bring forth much fruit. Amen."*

We may agree perfectly with Prof. Kolde as to the meaning of this letter: "Notwithstanding the undeniable allusion to Melanchthon's well-known effort, to give offense nowhere, he (Luther) wished to express his complete agreement."† Undoubtedly Luther would have expressed himself polemically, and more positively than Melanchthon had done, and, as we learn from one of his later judgments of the Confession, he would in all probability have included in it several additional articles.‡ But the letter disappoints us. It expresses no enthusiasm for the "Apology," and no interest in the coming Diet; and equally are we disappointed to find in his letter of the same date to Melanchthon, that Luther has made no reference to the "Apology," and none to the Diet.§ An explanation is to be sought, not in the supposition that Luther was soured by having not been allowed to take part in the Diet; but rather in the fact, as already stated, that he did not expect any favorable results from the Diet, and was supremely occupied by his own work at Coburg. Nevertheless his letter to the Elector, barring the "*leise Ironie*," shows Luther's full approval of Melanchthon's work *in so far as* it had been submitted to him—*der erste Entwurf*.

MELANCHTHON'S LETTER OF MAY 22ND.

May 22nd, or earlier, Melanchthon hired a messenger to go to Coburg and to Wittenberg. But after hiring this messenger,

*De Wette's *Luther's Briefe*, IV., 17. We have taken our German copy from Weber's *Kirchliche Geschichte*, I., 29. He copied the original in the Weimar Archives.

†*Die Augsburgische Konfession*, p. 5. In his article on the Augsburg Confession in the *Real-Encyclopædie*, Kolde says: "Notwithstanding the ironical allusion," etc. In his *Martin Luther*, he says: "In the reference to Melanchthon's well-known inclination nowhere to give offence, and to his (Luther's) own inability to select such mild forms, *Klingt eine leise Ironie durch*. Nevertheless he wished to express his full agreement. A few margined notes, which according to a later notice, he seems to have added, are scarcely worth mentioning." II., pp. 336-37.

‡De Wette, IV., 110.

§Ibid., IV., 16.

and just as he was beginning to write, he received a letter from Luther,—*Jam conduxeramus nuntium qui ad te, et deinde Vuitebergam proficisceretur; resciverat enim Jonas de filii morte ex literis Violae scribae.* Sed inter scribendum sunt nobis reditae tuae literae posteriores per tabellarium D. *Apelli*,—in all probability Luther's letter* of May 15th, since this is the only extant Luther letter which he could have received at that time. Melancthon's letter is not properly an answer to this Luther letter, but is almost entirely a news letter. Besides other items of news he writes in the middle of a long paragraph, and simply as an item of news or of information, the following: "In the *Apology* we change many things daily. The article *De Votis*, because it was more meager than it should be, I have removed, and have put in its place another discussion of the same subject, somewhat more elaborate. I am now treating also of the power of the Keys. I wish you would run over the articles of faith. If you think there is nothing wrong in these, we will treat the rest as best we may, for they are to be changed and adapted to circumstances."†

This, now, is *all* that the letter contains about the "*Apology*." It is chiefly an item of information, with the request that Luther would "run over the articles of faith." The letter does not contain even the slightest intimation that the "*Apology*" or any part of it, was at this time sent again to Luther. The very opposite is to be inferred from the whole face and tone of the item. The writer manifestly goes on the supposition that Luther has a copy of the *Apology* by him. There is no intimation expressed or implied, that Melancthon knew that Luther had returned the *Apology* to the Elector. Indeed, how could he have known of the return of the *Apology*, since it was returned to the Elector, or to his chancellor,‡ and Melancthon

*De Wette, IV., 16.

†C. R., II., 60.

‡Knaake, *Luther's Antheil*, p. 58. It is the judgment of the most competent scholars that the same messenger that brought Luther's letter of May 15th to Melancthon, also brought the letter of the same date and the "*Apology*" to the Elector, May 22nd. Knaake *ut supra*; Engelhardt in Neidner's *Zeitschrift*, (1865) 572-3; Köstlin *Martin Luther*, II., 426; Krauth, *A Chronicle of the A. C.*, p. 30.

wrote this letter to Luther *immediately*—"inter scribendum"—after receiving Luther's letter of May 15th, in which there is not the faintest allusion to the Confession? Moreover, Melanchthon would have had no right to send the *unfinished* Apology to Luther. It was not his. It belonged to the Elector. Hence we do not hesitate to say that it is absolutely gratuitous for Dr. Krauth to write: "It (the Confession) was sent again, on the 22nd of the same month (May), by Melanchthon, and was received by Luther, in its *second form*."* Such a statement is an assumption pure and simple. Neither the letter of May 22nd, nor any other contemporaneous document, contains one word that can be construed in favor of any such sending, and all the circumstances and known facts are directly against any such supposition. Nor is there any tradition from the times of such

**Conservative Reformation*, p. 232. On p. 228 Dr. Krauth had written: "The Elector sent the Confession May 11th. Luther replied May 15th, probably the very day he received it; his reply probably reached Augsburg May 20th, and two days after, Melanchthon sends him the Articles of Faith, with the elaboration which had taken place in the interval, and informs him of what he had been doing, and designs to do." See Krauth's *The Augsburg Confession*, p. XVII. There is no *probability* that Luther's letter of May 15th to the Elector reached Augsburg May 20th. In his *A Chronicle of the Augsburg Confession*, p. 30, Dr. Krauth says that the letter to the Elector, of May 15th, and the letter to Luther of the same date to Melanchthon, came to Augsburg together. The proof is certain that the letter to Melanchthon came May 22nd (C. R. II., 59. See above in text, *inter scribendum*). *Ergo*. "Sends him the Articles of Faith," etc. Neither in Melanchthon's letter of May 22nd, nor in any other existing document is there the shadow of a warrant for this assumption repeated again and again by Dr. Krauth. Such a statement would be instantly ruled out of a court of cassation for the utter lack of evidence to sustain it. In 1577, that is, forty-seven years after the delivery of the Augsburg Confession, George Coelestin wrote: "Yet (after Luther's approval May 15) Philip, some days after, sending a copy to Luther again (*remittens*), writes May 22nd." (We employ Dr. Krauth's translation). In 1578 David Chytraeus repeats this statement verbatim, showing that he simply appropriated it from Coelestin, who, we may charitably suppose, misread or misunderstood Melanchthon's letter. This *πρωτον φεβδος* was long ago abandoned by the historians of the Augsburg Confession. See the matter discussed at length in *THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY*, July, 1898, pp. 382 *et seqq.*, Knaake's *Luther's Anthiel*, pp. 58, 68; Niedner's *Zeitschrift*, (1865), p. 572.

sending. Besides, it is impossible to believe that Melanchthon would have sent the Confession to Luther at this time, or at any other time, without in some way mentioning or alluding to the fact. The *onus probandi* rests upon him who asserts.

Dr. Knaake, whose sympathies would naturally be in an opposite direction, has said: "We must admit that Luther did not receive the Article Of Faith and Works, and it is probable that the judgment expressed on the Confession as sent to him, is to be limited to the first seventeen articles.

"After May 11th only the already quoted communication of Melanchthon about the Confession, of May 22nd, reached Luther. In his subsequent letters he does not refer to it again. We see from that passage that at that time Melanchthon in connection with the other learned men, was working on the two last articles, *de votis* and *de potestate clavium*. Thus the second part of the Confession under consideration was nearly finished. At the same time we there find the purpose expressed by Melanchthon not to send anything more to Luther, because the other articles on the abuses to be abolished had to be changed according to time and circumstances: *reliqua utcunque tractabimus*; subinde enim mutandi sunt (articuli) atque ad occasiones accommodandi.

"In the letters exchanged between Luther and Melanchthon, there is, consequently, to be recognized no influence of the former upon the composition of the Confession. Yet that he expressed a favorable judgment on it, in so far as it was submitted to him, cannot be doubted;"* that is, in the form given

*Knaake's *Luthers Anthiel an der A. C.*, pp. 76-7. It is highly probable, that Luther received Melanchthon's letter of May 22nd. It is certain, however, that we have no answer to it. After this letter begins that long silence on the part of the men at Augsburg of which Luther so bitterly complains, saying in one place that "for an entire month he had no news from Augsburg" (De Wette's *Luther's Briefe*, IV., 44), and in another, that for "three full weeks he had been tormented by unbroken silence" (*ut supra*, p. 45). Finally when letters came Luther was so angry that he refused to read them—(C. R., II., 141). Messenger after messenger came to Coburg, but they brought no letters for Luther (De Wette, IV., 60). Melanchthon and Jonas tried to throw the blame on the letter-carrier, but Luther indignantly replied: "The fault is yours and yours only" (De

to it by Melanchthon up to May 11th; and there is not one *scintilla* of evidence that Luther saw the Confession in any other than this first form,—*Der erste Entwurf*,—until after it had been read before the Emperor. And yet it underwent many changes even after May 22nd. On its return from Coburg we find it next, May 24th, in the hands of Chancellor Brück, who “had to shape it before and behind,”* that is, as already explained, to revise it generally, and, doubtless, to give it a diplomatic shape, as it was a political as well as a theological document.

Wette, IV., 50). Knaake says: “Melanchthon’s silence extends over the whole time from May 22nd to June 13th.” *Luther’s Anthiel*, p. 51. Köstlin says: “Luther remained without a letter four weeks,” *Martin Luther*, II., 655. Plitt says: “For three weeks long, he (Luther) heard nothing from Augsburg,” *D. Martin Luther*, p. 369. See Kawerau, *Jonas’ Briefw.* I., 161, n. As the letters of Melanchthon and Jonas of May 22nd, were sent by a special messenger, they were probably received by Luther, May 26th. From that time to June 20th he received no news from Augsburg, that is, about twenty-five days. “The messenger was innocent, and Luther’s complaint was well founded.” Kawerau, *ut supra*.

*This we learn from the Reports of Christopher Kress and Clemens Volkamer, the Nuremberg legates, who with other of their fellow citizens, came to Augsburg May 15th. Their official Reports give with great minuteness an account of almost every transaction relating to the Confession and to the Diet. It is so specific that it has been called, “The Protocol.” Bretschneider has had lengthy extracts, and sometimes entire letters extending over several pages, printed in the *Corpus Reformationum*, Vol. II. This Nuremberg Protocol is indispensable in ascertaining the history of the Augsburg Confession from May 24th, until after its delivery. It ought to be read in connection with *Mitteilungen des Vereins fuer Geschichte der Stadt Nuernberg*, Viertes Heft, 1882, which contains the letters of the Nuremberg Senate to the legates at Augsburg. In his *Conservative Reformation*, and in his *The Augsburg Confession*, Dr. Krauth scarcely noticed this Nuremberg Protocol. In his *A Chronicle of the Augsburg Confession*, he has ignored, or at least failed to report, those passages which bear with absolutely fatal effect on his theory of a *third* sending of the Confession to Luther prior to June 25th.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

ARTICLE IV.

THE GOSPEL FOR A WORLD OF SIN.

BY PRESIDENT S. A. ORT, D. D., LL. D.

The world is in a state of deep unrest. It is an unrest not merely with respect to the life of men. A most serious misfortune has befallen the human family. The course of its life is amidst ills and wrongs and woes of keenest sort. The world is in sin. It lies in wickedness. It is separate from God and without hope. It is lost. Deplorable condition, indeed! True for every generation, for every age. But what remedy may avail? How can a sinful race be recovered from the way unto death and be presented before God altogether just? What kind of gospel can meet the extraordinary requirements of the situation and be that mighty power which can lift a world of sin out of the depths into which it has fallen, and place it on the eternal foundations of righteousness and love? To this inquiry divers replies have been given. Various schemes have been devised by the wit of man and tested by his credulity. Some have come down to the present hoary with age, leaving their advocates age by age deeper in misery and moral corruption at the end of their career than in the beginning. Others have run their course and been buried in the far off past. Of all the religions which have been and are now extant among men, none has proved itself able to overcome the difficulties of sin and assure man an immortality of honor and of glory, save one, the gospel of the crucified Nazarene. This is the gospel of which Paul says, that it is not after man, neither did he receive it from man, neither was he taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. It is the divine method for the recovery of sinful men and not a human device. It is from above and not from beneath, "the power of God unto salvation to every one who believeth."

For this gospel a substitute is now offered. The proposition of an up to date religion comes not from the avowed opponents of the Christian scheme, but from those who claim to be its wisest and truest friends. The old faith with its doctrinal statements is no longer serviceable. The credal exhibitions of divine truth are every one of them faulty. Even the teachings of the Apostle Paul are objectionable. Emphatic distinction is made between dogma and religion, philosophy and gospel. The pure truth aside from all forms of human thought alone is the doctrine, or rather, it is said, is the revelation of Jesus.

The long accepted evangelical conceptions of Christian belief are wide of the mark. They exhibit the most glaring inconsistencies and misrepresent the revelation of the Carpenter's Son. All this when reduced to its simple meaning, signifies that in getting the sense of the word of God, we dare not think, because to think of necessity requires some form in which the thinking may be set before the mind. And yet, strange to say, the men who claim to have gone back to Christ and found his real religion abstract from metaphysics and also from the history of our Lord, in what they are pleased to call the spirit of Jesus, are everlastingly trying to make the finest distinctions and arguing that their ideas of the gospel, which this world needs, are correct. Taken all in all, this new religion, which is to be the religion of the twentieth century is about the most metaphysical faith of which we have knowledge.

Much stress is laid on the word reasonable. The constant appeal for conviction is on this basis. Whatever of religious belief does not commend itself to dame reason must be laid aside as unsound, or which, in the end comes to the same thing, does not approve itself to an inner spiritual feeling, should be set away as false.

Strong emphases is placed on feeling. It is given out as a pure soul affection. It is the very essence of religion, or the consciousness of the life of Jesus. John Locke maintained that all our knowledge is derived from sensation. So these new religionists profess that all our knowledge of divine things is the result of a deep inner spiritual feeling.

But a little inspection shows that this spiritual feeling of which they make so much has its source in the intellect rather than in the spiritual susceptibility, and is hence an intellectual affection instead of a feeling aroused by contact of the Holy Ghost with the spiritual nature of man. And so we may rightly expect that, like the extreme mysticism of a former age, this new faith will run its course and terminate in the most ultra form of rationalism, the substantial elements of which it already embraces.

But this new gospel, the twentieth century religion, is now here for inspection. It is put forth with high manifesto as the Gospel which our world of sin needs. Long has mankind waited for this happy day. Eighteen centuries of dogma, beginning with the great Apostle, have burdened and held back the human soul; but now in these latter times, lo! the heavy load is removed and a world of sinners unobstructed rushes back to Christ to find what? A Redeemer who for our sakes became poor, made himself of no reputation, died the just for the unjust, was a propitiation for our sins, and on the third day rose from the dead for our justification? Oh, no, not this never so much, as to find what? The Spirit of Jesus!

Orthodoxy and Pietism are both refused by this extra reasonable religion and a new term, called spiritualism, adopted instead. It is defined as "the predominance of those incentives which are addressed to us through our spiritual nature, the fullness of that rational life which judges all things by their relation to righteousness, the rectitude of the soul itself." Or again, "Spiritualism, or the supremacy of the higher and purer activities over the lower and grosser ones, is the normal unfolding of the mind of man. Without it life fails to become truly rational and rapidly falls off from its possibilities." These statements describe a condition and a process, both of which are within natural lines. The whole may be summed up in a culture which is esthetic, scientific and ethical. In short it is the rationalistic conception of the spiritual and spiritualism.

The new religion is quite fond of this word. In fact it uses it as its shibboleth. It would have us know that its preëminent characteristic is the choicest. The friends of the old gospel

are wont to talk about sound doctrine, and emphasize piety, but the most modern religion has little, if any, concern for these. It rises to a much higher sphere and purer atmosphere. Its home is in the realm of rational affection. It wears the robe of the spiritual. It is spiritualism.

Suppose now we put this new faith, so finely paraded before the public, to a moderate test. Let us seek to ascertain for ourselves whether it has claims sufficient to justify a forsaking the old paths and a walking in the new. For this purpose we will content ourselves with three inquiries: 1st. What does this new gospel teach concerning God? 2nd. What does it say concerning the person of Christ? 3rd. What does it teach concerning sin and atonement?

We premise the discussion of the first question with the following proposition, namely: The gospel for a world of sin must furnish a revelation and, therefore, an adequate and true knowledge of the God who actually exists.

Every religion has its deity. Without this any religion would be impossible. All false religions teach an ideal god. The one true religion reveals the living God. The new gospel of our day claims to be a divine revelation of the essential nature of God. It brings to view merely the acts and manifestations of the Supreme Being. Knowledge of the divine nature is impossible. With this we have nothing to do, since all our objects of knowledge are phenomena. The deity of this religion then plainly must be only a phenomenal existence. The revelation it professes to contain must be only an exhibition of divine acts independent of their ground or source, and fails utterly to give right information concerning the character of the God who actually is. It has well been said "that such phenomenalism is unthinkable, if we are to retain our hold on God as a real Being. Acts and manifestations have only meaning as expressions of a nature or character." Again, this new religion declares its God to be a spiritual personality, and that this personality is Father. Father of whom? Of Jesus Christ and the community of believers. To use the language of another: "An interesting question here arises as to the sense of this term Father. It

seems clear that Fatherhood is simply a synonym for God's will of love as it rests first on Jesus and then on his disciples united with him." But the Jesus of whom mention is here made is only that historical person in whose life is realized completely the mind and will of creating love. He is the Son of God, but an historical Son. His existence is a time reality. He pertains absolutely to divine acts and manifestations. Back of these it is impossible to conceive of him having any being. His Sonship is outside eternity. He is not the eternal generation of God the Father.

Fatherhood of God is consequently not the eternal fact resident in the life of Deity himself, designating primarily an internal relation of the Godhead, as Father and Son, but only a time relation, having reference solely to creature existence. True, Christ is the Son of God, but he is not the eternal Son as God himself is eternal. He does not possess the very essence of Deity. He is not "God of God, life of life, light of light, begotten, not made." Nor, taking the words just as they read, can we say: "He was in the beginning with God, and was God." "But unto the Son he saith, thy throne, O God, is forever and ever." The most that can be claimed for him is, that he possesses perfectly the will and purpose of divine love. "In the intimacy and unity of this relation, perfectly responded to in the loving truth and obedience of Jesus, is realized Fatherhood on the one hand and Sonship on the other." And this is all that is left of an eternal paternity of God. Nothing remains of the one great fundamental truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, namely, that the God who actually exists is the eternal Being who is Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

In addition to what has just been indicated, the new gospel declares with enthusiastic speech that God is love. This is strictly scriptural language, and leaves the impression, that the conception of the Divine Being, which this reorganized faith entertains, is soundly Biblical. If, however, the question be raised, does the term love describe the very nature of God, the answer must be in the negative. That it should so do is inconceivable, since the only God we know is composed of acts and manifes-

tatious. Love is neither nature nor essence. It has existence only in the relation of God to a world of spiritual beings. It is the way God determines himself toward such a world as his chief end. In short, "love is will directed to the furtherance of the ends of the one loved." As will, it is said, God can only be thought of in his conscious relation to the ends which he himself is. Nothing is to be thought of in God before he determined himself as love. Either he is thought of thus or he is not thought at all. Love therefore is not what he is, but what he determines in relation to a spiritual universe. It is merely an act of will. From this it follows that were there no moral creature existing, or no world of spiritual beings, God would not be love, because there would not be any object existing toward which the divine energy could direct itself. God would be without an end of action, and therefore without love. In other words, God can only be thought of as love in connection with a universe of rational being. This certainly must bring us at last to the conclusion, that for the perfection of the God we know, the universe of spiritual creatures is just as necessary as that a God is necessary for the existence of such a universe. And this, as we have long since learned, is the pantheistic theory.

On the other hand the old gospel tells us that God in his very nature is love, and that this love finds the fittest object of its activity and the absolute realization and satisfaction of itself, not in a creature but in infinite personality. Itself eternal and infinite, the object on which it centers its energy and in which it is completely absorbed is likewise eternal and infinite. The first and supreme end of its action is not outside, but entirely within the realm of Deity. The Father has an only begotten Son, eternally generated by him, of the same essence with him, bearing the image of his person and the brightness of his glory, on whom he can pour the love of his infinite heart, and this love in all its fullness is reciprocated by the Son. And as the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, he is the object of their mutual love, which in turn is given back by

the eternal Spirit and thus the three are bound together in one life, which is the life of love, and this is the life of the ever blessed God, perfectly blessed in himself, needing nothing external to himself to make him what otherwise he would not be. Here we have indeed a revelation of the eternal, personal God. Through the teachings of this revelation we are able to say who it is dwells beyond the sky, what is his nature, how he exists, and what is the relation which he bears to the world outside himself. The new gospel knows nothing of God as he is in himself. He is here the dark unknown, and unknowable, the inapprehensible absolute of human philosophy. And now I put the question whether the trinitarian conception of God as held in all Christian ages and made known to us, is not far more reasonable, than the idea, confused and ambiguous, which the new gospel offers for our belief? Is not the God of the Nicene Creed and of the teachings of Paul more acceptable to reason, than the theory which rejects a trinity of persons and maintains that the only God for us is a Deity of phenomenal acts and manifestation? While the new gospel uses freely the terms Father, Son and Holy Ghost, let us not be deceived into the supposition that it retains the doctrine of the Evangelical Church. For the Son is only the production of the creating will of love, and as such the supreme object of divine affection, "while the Holy Spirit is the knowledge which God has of himself and of his own end, and designates in the New Testament the Spirit of God so far as he is the ground of the knowledge of God and of the specific religious and moral life in the Christian community, for the practical knowledge of God in the community dependent on God is identical with the knowledge which God has of himself."

Thus it is seen that these sacred names of distinct persons in one essence, so fundamental in the old gospel, become under the speculative manipulation of the new, on the one hand, a creative relation, and on the other, sheer creature knowledge. The God of this up to date religion is hence radically other than the God of the Apostles John and Paul or, if you please, of the New Testament. He is merely an ideal Deity, of whom in his actual existence we know, as Spinoza has long since said, absolutely

nothing. One can readily see that these new religionists in getting rid of dogma, lost the truth itself. True they have retained the names revered by every Christian age and imbedded in Sacred Scripture, but in their reorganized faith are meaningless and empty. They are mere deceptions of the valid doctrine. The early Christian Church made no mistake when in answer to this same false gospel it declared: "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father. And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, and who with the Father and Son is worshipped and glorified." This is the eternal, living God who has revealed himself to a world of sin in the unfolding of that scheme of redemption which alone can save a sinful race.

The second inquiry relates to the person of Jesus Christ. Here again we enunciate another proposition, namely: The gospel for a world of sin must realize and exhibit the highest possible union between God and man.

The recovery contemplated is not temporary, but permanent. The sinful race is to be secured for God beyond every doubt of future loss and to be bound to him in the most real, living way possible forever and ever. But this can be accomplished only as God takes up into himself or, which is the same thing, only as the two natures, divine and human, are brought together in such way that their union, forever inseparable, constitutes a divine human personality. This means incarnation or the word made flesh. The union of the prophet and God is of a much lower order. Here a dualism abides. Two persons are in fellowship but the fellowship is a communion between the spirit of God and the spirit of man. The union of the God and hero gets rid of this but at the expense of losing one of the factors. As a result we do not see God and man in the unity of one person, but only Deity. According to this idea, which is the heathen view, the human race if recovered from sin, would thereby forever disappear. According to the idea of Judaism,

which is the union of man with God illustrated by the prophet, the communion between God and his sinful human creature would be only mediate and partial, liable at some time to be disturbed or broken up, as it was originally, or the divine may become so thoroughly humanized as to be ultimately lost. According to the view of the gospel, the union in question is a union of natures, divine and human, in one person. The natures throughout retain their identity. Human nature is still human nature, Divine nature is still Divine nature; thus avoiding the idea of heathenism; and these two natures taken together form one person, thus overcoming the dualism of the Judaistic view.

At this point I cannot refrain from quoting Bishop Martensen. He says: "The idea of God himself being in Christ was offensive to the Jewish mind, and therefore it reduced Jesus to the rank of a divinely endowed man. On the other hand the heathen mind found it incredible that God and man should really form one essence, that their union should be more than one of thought and essence, and therefore it maintained that Christ had a body merely in appearance. The former is the meager, common sense, moral view of Christ. The latter is the speculative, phantastical view. These are the fundamental forms of all heresy; the prototypes of all images of Christ, that is of the images which, in leaving out what is offensive, leave out also what is new and original. They make their appearance ever afresh, and as often as they present themselves, the Church repels them."

In the light of what has previously been shown to be the conception which the new gospel has of God, it is easy to observe what is the view which this religion holds concerning the person of Christ. He is merely a creature, a human being on whom the will of God has directed itself as love, or, as is sometimes said, a divinely endowed man. There is here no union of the two natures, human and divine, but merely the revelation of that union between the human and the divine which is by nature the proper portion of us all. The new gospel utterly repudiates the doctrine of incarnation, together with the resurrection, ascension and kingly power of Christ. It maintains that

the Deity of Christ can only be expressed by saying that the mind and will of the everlasting God stand before us in the historically active will of this man. The mind and purpose of God are the mind and purpose of Jesus the human creature, and he is, hence, the revelation of the divine will, but not of what God is in himself. If all this be true, then Judaism was correct in its estimate of the Christ, and rightly opposed our Lord in his claim of actual Deityship. Then too Arius and Sabellius were far nearer the true doctrine concerning Jesus of Nazareth than Athanasius and his colleagues in belief. Then also every form of modal trinitarianism is a truer exhibition of the person of Christ than the much despised dogma of God being actually with his very nature in the Carpenter's Son. Well, what more need be said? It is so easy to understand how the creative will of God becomes the will of Jesus and so impossible to apprehend that the Word was made flesh, that further comment is unnecessary. — But I would still have the reader remember that this new religion is quite ancient, and that it offers him no living, personal Christ. The man Jesus is dead. All that is left us is the spirit of this life by which we can become as he was, of the same mind and purpose with God. But there is no personal Jesus who exhibits and realizes in himself our immediate contact and union with God, and the recovery of a sinful world everlastingly unto God. Nothing of all this obtains for us, but only a good life of supreme devotion and self-sacrifice is the gospel given us for our redemption from sin and for membership in the kingdom of God.

Yet I must openly say that I prefer the old gospel with its divine human Christ. True the doctrine involves a most profound mystery. I cannot understand how it is that the divine nature and my nature were united so as to give rise to a new, original person, Jesus of Nazareth. But I believe it is true. And this faith I have on the strength of what the inspired word of God teaches, all quibbling, theorizing, rationalizing and spiritualizing of the sacred text aside. If the Christ which the human race needs is not God manifest in the flesh then surely

there is no hope for a world of sin. Salvation is a dream and eternal death the portion of us all.

I come now to the third inquiry: What does the new gospel teach concerning sin and atonement. Again I offer an additional proposition, namely: The gospel for a world of sin must furnish a sufficient ground for the exercise of divine forgiveness.

According to the common view, sin is transgression of the law. The law is an expression of the essential holiness and righteousness of God. It is a transcript of the divine nature. While the law is that which God wills, yet this willing is determined by what he is. He commands the right and the holy because he is just and pure.

Sin is therefore an offense to the very nature of God as well as a deviation from his will. It is the violation of the normal relation subsisting between God and the moral creature. It is the rupture of an original bond between the soul and God, an evil which has entered through the misuse of human freedom and which entails on the race a heritage of depravity and woe. Connected with this is the sense of guilt arising not from a consciousness of having gone contrary to some individual standard of duty, but from the conviction of having despised the law of God and on that account being under condemnation and exposed to the divine displeasure.

A far different conception is framed in the new gospel. From what has previously been shown to be its idea of the Divine Being, it can readily be inferred that sin can have no significance for God. There is no absolute, ethical nature. There is no inherent, divine righteousness. God is real only in the form of will. What he wills is the kingdom of God. This is the highest good. The contradiction of this good is sin. But this divine will which produces a world of spiritual beings is in itself neither holy, nor righteous, nor, in determining itself, does it rest in any background. Therefore sin is not separation from God, but only opposition to his kingdom.

Before Christ there was really no sin. At most it was only ignorance and hence at once pardonable. There was no original state of innocence. Sin originates in ignorance as the example

of children distinctly shows and may finally issue in the rejection of the kingdom of God as history proves. There is no inherited depravity. Sin consists only in acts of will and never exists in a nature. Children hence have no tendency toward moral evil through birth. The universality of sin is the result of ignorance, of the natural desire for freedom, of education, example, and perverted social influences. With this theory of sin goes a corresponding idea of guilt which is merely, for one thing, a dissatisfaction with oneself for the nonfulfillment of duty and for another, separation from its end to which God as will determines himself, namely, a kingdom of spiritual beings. To be separate from this kingdom or, which is the same thing, from God, is to experience punishment for sin. That God himself, because of what he is as a righteous, holy being, punishes any evil-doer, is not for a moment to be entertained. He is displeased with no one. He only and always loves all. Strictly speaking not any of his moral creatures is accountable to him except so far as he has willed himself into a kingdom of rational being, for it is only in this as righteous and holy love that he in knowable manifestation exists. But enough of this. The old gospel with its conception of God, of sin and guilt, teaches that prior to the exercise of forgiveness toward the sinner and to his becoming the subject of the gracious operation of the Holy Spirit the divine righteousness in its claims against the transgressor must be entirely satisfied. A vicarious atonement for the sin of man must be made. Full satisfaction must be rendered to God who has been sorely displeased by the sinner. Before pardon can be granted to the offender and he be received back into the divine favor there must be a propitiation for sin. Otherwise the penalty attached to a holy law violated must be inflicted on the transgressor without delay. This is clearly the view of the gospel which we teach and preach. But how is it in the case of the new religion, the gospel for the twentieth century? Altogether different, Christ is no God-man. At most he can only keep the law for himself. He cannot be a substitute for a sinful humanity. It is impossible for him to bear our sins in his body on the cross. He can offer no vicarious sacrifice.

All that he can do is to prove faithful to his purpose and express perfectly the will of God, and assure us and all men that we too can approach God. This in the only meaning of Calvary and the cross. The death of Jesus was no satisfaction of the divine righteousness and thereby making it possible for the divine mercy to exercise itself in the rescue of the perishing. Nothing of this, but only an example of sublimest devotion to a purpose and unflinching fidelity to a most noble calling. It was only the death of the martyr and the hero. In fact the new gospel, so popular in some quarters, has no place for the vicarious sufferings and death of a God-man who laid down his own life himself, no man taking it from him, who went down into the kingdom of death and there destroyed the last enemy, who came forth presently declaring, "I am he that was dead and am alive again, and behold I am alive for evermore," who has gone up into the most holy place, there to make intercession for a world in sin and who now is at the right hand of the majesty on high, the world's perfecting Redeemer, glorious in his apparel, omnipotent is his strength, mighty to save. Of such a Saviour the new gospel knows nothing, but instead would have us hear of a very good man who once lived a beautiful life and died a noble death and has left behind him a most winning influence to draw into and hold sinful men in the kingdom of God, and that is about all. Surely this cannot be the Gospel which a world of sin needs. Oh no, the unrest, the misery and woe of Adam and his sons are far too keen and deep-seated to be driven out of the human heart by any such expedient; the ungodliness and wickedness of men are far too heinous and unyielding to be expelled from the soul of man by such a device, and sin itself in its guilt is far too real and destructive in its power to be lured out of the human heart by good example and sheer martyrdom. Forgiveness then is free and ample, but only by the merit of the suffering and death of the man of Calvary.

In conclusion I must say that I still prefer the old gospel of God manifest in the flesh, crucified on Calvary, preached into the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up unto glory; that old gospel which assures me a poor helpless sinner that

God so loved *me*, dead in trespasses and sins, that he gave his only begotten Son to die for *me* that I might not perish, but have eternal life, and that this beloved Son was despised and rejected of men, for *me* that he was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, for *me* that he was wounded for *my* transgressions, was bruised for *my* iniquities, that the Lord laid on him *my* iniquities, that he was oppressed and afflicted for *me*, and that for *me*, a guilty sinner, he was brought as a lamb to the slaughter. I prefer that old gospel which tells me that the humiliation, the atoning sufferings and death, and the glorious resurrection of God's only begotten Son, all were *for me*, and that through this Son I have peace with God and eternal redemption.

ARTICLE V.

WAS THE SON OF MAN THE SON OF GOD?

BY REV. A. B. TAYLOR.

This question has been answered both positively and negatively,—positively by the large majority of mankind to whom the gospel has come, negatively by a comparatively small number of philosophical and literary critics. Rationalism, having asserted that miracles are impossible, has ruled a divine-human being “out of the court of reason.” Literary criticism has undertaken to throw out as spurious parts of the gospels most essential to the Christian's faith. If, in opposition to the critic's position, it is asserted that epistles of Paul, whose authenticity is firmly established, present the substance of the Church's belief, the attempt is made to shake the Christian's position by the reply: “As any manifestation of the deity through the human is impossible, it is irrational to give weight to any statements that Christ was more than man.” Since these hypotheses have been formed and adhered to regardless of the facts in the case, it is readily seen that this method of disposing of the question of the nature of Christ is entirely inadequate.

Such *a priori* methods of reasoning continue to be applied to the determination of religious questions, while they have long since been abandoned in the scientific and historical fields. Instead of making use of such out-grown methods of investigation, the logical student now applies the method of induction. Not that the formation of hypotheses is not useful and sometimes necessary in arriving at the truth, but hypotheses are valuable only as they are promptly rejected when it is discovered that they do not account for the phenomena. But, so far from pursuing the inductive method, the man intent on dethroning Christ, clings to his theories as with a death grip. Over against these methods of hypothesis and assertion, we place the inductive as the one best calculated to lead to the truth. It is not contended that religion can be reduced to mathematical or logical principles, but the method that has been instrumental in inaugurating the present scientific and progressive era, is most likely to lead to the true answer to the question under discussion.

The inductive method is not urged in contradistinction to that of the rationalist alone; it is also emphasized as being preferable to what may be called the dogmatic or churchly method. The latter aims to furnish a completed creed respecting Christ, which is expected to be received without qualification or question. This method is to be rejected because "it offers us essentially a doctrine of Christ, which is to be appropriated, instead of offering us the living Christ himself. We want a knowledge of Christ,—knowledge in the strictest sense. But this knowledge begins with beholding, with living perception, and ends with a concept. The method mentioned places at the beginning that which belongs at the end."

It has been maintained by some that Christ was an impostor,—that he deliberately set about to deceive. But this theory presents such marked discrepancies with the well-known characteristics of Christ's teaching and methods that it is not strange that it has now been generally given up. All through Christ's life there are strong proofs of his entire sincerity, but at the very beginning of his ministry there is one that is not generally noticed. Consider the call of the first disciples. It was abrupt

and evidently without prearrangement, but instantly they left all and followed him. If Christ had been an impostor would he have begun his work in this risky manner? There were certainly many chances of those whom he called refusing to obey if he had been a mere man like those whom he addressed. If Christ had been a mere schemer he would have taken a more round-about course to accomplish his object. He would have pursued some of the methods of the politician. He would have cultivated the acquaintance of his intended dupes and have been lavish in his promises of reward. The course which he pursued on this and many other occasions clearly indicates his conscious possession of divinity.

“If the character of Christ had been different from what it was—had he been a great scholar in occult science—had he been invested with great social rank or with political influence or power—had he been cunning or ambitious— * * * had he ever faltered, or indicated want of faith in himself or in the doctrines he taught—if any of these things could be alleged with truth against him—and, were he an impostor, some one or all of them would have been certain—there would have been reasonable ground of doubt. But what one of them can be charged against him?”*

A larger number of critics have rejected the idea that Christ was a deceiver, and have substituted the theory that he was an innocent but deluded enthusiast. But here again a gratuitous assumption persists and has more weight than the well-known phenomena of that wonderful life.

Christ lived a perfectly natural life, *i. e.*, natural for him. And from end to end, and between part and part, it presents an entire harmony. The enthusiast is not always the same; he is not always equally enthusiastic. In his thinking and actions there is a marked lack of balance and proportion. But not so with Christ. “In other men we discover that, no matter how great they are in some respects, they are signally deficient in others; but in Jesus we have the vision and faculty divine by which the poet is distinguished, and along with that the philo-

*Foster's “*The Supernatural Book*,” p. 262.

sophic character in its highest development, while at the same time we have the sagacity and shrewd common-sense of the most practical man." Study Christ's discourses, from the sermon on the mount to that wonderful last prayer, "Father, the hour is come," etc., and then calmly settle the question whether Jesus was unbalanced or balanced. Surely there is too fine discrimination and too firm judicial balance manifested in that discourse, in which he lays down the guiding principles of his kingdom, for it to be the production of a mere enthusiast. Could any mere man, laying aside the idea of enthusiasm, have produced the Lord's Prayer,—a production acknowledged to be a work of most remarkable comprehensiveness and condensation? Then it is not strange that this theory is being rapidly abandoned, for surely it is not applicable to the case of Jesus Christ.

A theory with regard to Christ that has been more widely held than either of the above, is that his character is a fictitious creation. This theory has been well stated as follows: "The historical Jesus was a very great man, who succeeded in attaching to himself a number of enthusiastic and credulous followers. These imagined him to be the Messiah of certain old predictions, and, believing that the Messiah must do such and such things, they fondly believed that Jesus actually performed them. This tendency greatly increased during the century which followed his death. Numerous ideologists invented a number of stories, which ascribed to him a superhuman character and the possession of miraculous powers; and the credulity of the primitive followers led them to mistake these stories for the facts of the historic life. The fact was that the historic Jesus became gradually metamorphosed into a mythic hero, and the real events of his life became buried under a mass of myth, legend, and ideology. In this state of things the authors of our first three gospels took these legendary reminiscences in hand; and out of them, with the aid of a number of brief documents already in existence, composed their respective gospels, which speedily acquired such a degree of popularity among the primitive believ-

ers, that they have caused all the other legendary accounts to sink into oblivion.”*

Do our gospels bear the marks of having been the productions of highly credulous, imaginative men? The disciples were not credulous as is evidenced by the fact that they time and again sought proof in support of the statements of the Lord. And, notwithstanding the fact that their Master had frequently predicted his own death and resurrection, his disciples could scarcely be convinced that he had risen from the dead.

If the gospels present a fictitious creation, how is it that the feat has never been repeated? One character stands immeasurably above that the world has ever seen in life or embalmed in literature. Is this greatest triumph of the literary artist the work of “unlearned and ignorant men?” Is it such an artistic triumph? Is it not rather the description of a life as it was observed by the writers of the gospels, and that without exaggeration and embellishment? It is the theorizer, not the student of the gospels, who asserts that Christ as we understand him is a fictitious creation.

Especially is the theory we are considering seen to break down when we consider that the same man is the ideal, not of Palestine only or of any one type of civilization, but that he is the ideal man wherever he is known. “So far has the many-sidedness and richness of his character transcended the thoughtful analysis of the closest observers, that scarcely any man or section of men, has been able to appreciate more than one of its purely human aspects. The knights of old saw in him the mirror of all chivalry; the monks the pattern of all asceticism; the philosophers the enlightener of all truth. To a Fenelon he has seemed the most rapt of mystics; to a Vincent de Paul the most practical of philanthropists.”

Happily all such theories have been, or are being, abandoned. The increasing importance of material science and its methods is, in some respects, reacting favorably upon religious thought. Men are more and more compelled to give a reason for the faith

*Row's "*Manual of Christian Evidences*," pp. 79, 80.

that is in them. A gratuitous assumption no longer satisfies. Applying the approved methods of scientific and historical investigation, in order to decide Christ's true position,—whether he was an impostor, an enthusiast, a myth, or God,—we find that men are coming with greater unanimity to accept the last view. Without resorting to the argument from prophecy or miracles, or even to Christ's resurrection, let us review some less familiar reasons for accepting his divinity.

It has been claimed by many in recent years that Jesus Christ was the product of his times,—that the law of evolution accounts for his life. According to Mr. Spencer, if we seek for an explanation of Christianity, we must not look for it in the life of Christ, "but in the aggregate of those conditions out of which both he and it have arisen." That is, he holds that Christ and Christianity are related not from being cause and effect, but that they both arose from the social, religious and political conditions existing at the beginning of the Christian era. While there is truth in the idea that every man, and Christ among the rest, is influenced by the conditions under which he lives, to hold that Christ was made what he was by his times is evolution run mad. Wm. S. Lilly, in his work entitled "Chapters on European History with Introduction on the Philosophy of History," well says, "Do not let us shut our eyes to a plain fact of history. The victory of Christianity was the personal victory of its founder."

What were the characteristics of the times in which Christ lived? Were they Utopian? Were the conditions present from which we would expect the ideal man to arise? We know that history presents us a picture which is quite otherwise. The ages in which noble empires flourished seemed to have passed. The great artists, orators and poets have lived in the past. At this time there were not those living who even dreamed of a golden age and, with skilled hand, pictured its joys. A man who then lived has left us a picture of the times which is appalling rather than attractive. Tacitus wrote: "What is unknown is thought grand and mighty; but no longer is there any tribe beyond us, nothing but waves and rocks, and Romans fierce,

than they, whose unrelenting cruelty you would vainly escape by obedience and good behaviour. Blunderers of the world, after the land fails from their ravage, they grope into the sea, being greedy of his wealth if the enemy be rich, imbibing his servility if he be poor; men whom neither East nor West can satiate. Alone of mankind, they covet alike men's affluence and men's indigence. Theft, butchery, and robbery, they falsely name empire, and where they make a desert they call it peace." To say that Jesus Christ was the product of such times, could be no more correct than to say that the spring, with its singing birds, balmy air and beautiful flowers, is the product of the ice and blizzards of winter.

A strong argument that Christ was more than man is seen in his influence. The manner in which he seemed to rise over his time and transform it, as the rising sun dispels the cold and fog, has never been approached by the influence of any mere man. Consider the conditions. Christ's public life was confined to his young manhood. He organized nothing and wrote nothing, but upon his appearance there appeared a power that determined the course of history. He did not seek influence through political intrigues, or even in profound learning; from all the means of influence which are highly esteemed among men he turned away. And yet Christ must be acknowledged to be at the head of the greatest empire the world has ever known. The perpetuity of Christian institutions accords with no other assumption but that Christ was divine. Just before Christ's death he broke bread and drank wine with his disciples and commanded them to do the same as a perpetual memorial of his death. Since then many centuries have fled,—centuries in which the customs of the world have been changed, but on Sunday in every clime multitudes gather around the memorial table. Within the last two thousand years the world has been radically changed. Ancient institutions have passed away and the seat of civilization has been transferred to lands which were then inhabited by savages. But among all the agencies which have been at work tearing down and transforming, one power has remained and steadily increased. It is the Christian Church.

“But it were simply to tell over again the best known miracle of the ages to tell of the conquests of Jesus—how without money and arms he has conquered more millions than Alexander, Cæsar, Mohammed, and Napoleon; how without the learning and science of the schools he has cast more light on things human and divine than all philosophers and scholars combined; how without writing a single line he has set more pens in motion and furnished more themes for sermons, orations, discussions, and learned volumes, works of art and songs of praise than the whole army of great men, ancient and modern; how, though born in a manger and crucified on a cross, he now rules a spiritual empire that embraces one third of the inhabitants of the globe.”*

Christ, while he has influenced the past, has not left the world, but is in it to-day to shape its life and direct its activities. The knotty problems of the world are still solved, when solved at all, by Christ. We find that his words are marvelously full of light for the questions which men have striven in vain to settle. Christ, though claiming to be a king, for the most of his life lived the life of a laboring man and, though he said scarcely anything on the relations of employer and employed, what he did say is clearly the only solution for the vexed question of capital and labor. It is said that when the traveler visits the Church of the Sepulcher, in Jerusalem, the guide will point to a circle of precious stones and say, “This is the centre of the earth.” This story is now known to be false, but it is typical of a very impressive truth. Every year it becomes more evident that Jesus Christ is the centre of the world. He has been the leader in the progress of the past and is now the centre of the hopes of the world.

Let us turn now and ask what evidence there is for Christ’s divinity in the matter of testimony. We shall first refer to the New Testament writers. It is replied that the Bible is ruled out as evidence. Who has authority to rule it out? The writings of Peter and Paul are historical documents, and their testimony must be admitted. This is true especially as Peter,

*Schaff’s “*The Person of Christ*,” pp. 29, 30.

at least, was an eye-witness, and so well fitted to help to solve the problem to which we are now seeking an answer.

A well established utterance of Peter's is recorded in the Acts. "We believe that through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved." Knowing Peter's manner of thinking, and knowing that this is a typical expression of his, can we conceive of his saying, "We believe that through the grace of Moses we shall be saved?" No. Peter, a man of sound judgment and one who had been closely associated with Jesus, was accustomed always to think of him as divine.

Turning now to Paul, what is his testimony in this matter? If it be objected that Paul was not an eye-witness of Christ's life,—let it be remembered that Paul had abundant opportunity to judge as to the character of Christ through his intimacy with those who were eye-witnesses. And it is altogether likely that, before he changed from a persecutor to a servant of Christ, Paul made diligent investigation of the facts of Christ's life. Let it be remembered also that the four largest epistles of Paul are not questioned, as to their authenticity, by any of the critics of to-day. The references to Christ's divinity in Paul's epistles are far too numerous to mention separately. The Rev. William Arthur has made such an excellent summary of passages in Paul's writings in which Christ is identified with God, that it is copied here.

"Passing to the Church, it is now the Church of God and now the Church of Jesus Christ; and the kingdom, likewise, was now the kingdom of God and now that of Jesus Christ. Did he speak of the Grace of Christianity? faith is the gift of God and is the faith of Jesus Christ; love is the love of God and the love of Jesus Christ; peace is the peace of God and the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ; joy is the joy of God, is rejoicing in Jesus Christ, is joy in the Holy Ghost; and, in one word, grace is the grace of God and the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ; does he speak of the object of faith and worship? he believes in God and he believes in Jesus Christ. * * * It is God that will raise the dead, it is Christ that will raise us up; it is God

that will judge the world, it is Christ that will judge the world. In fact, when he would prove the fact that we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ, the evidence that he adduces is that every one of us shall give an account of himself to God."

Different ancient writers beside the authors of the Bible make mention of Christ. We shall quote but one of them, but that one was a Jew and would naturally have been led to reject the divinity of Christ. Josephus, in his *Antiquities*, XVIII, 3, 3, wrote as follows:

"Now, there arose about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such as received the truth with pleasure. He carried away with him many of the Jews, and also many of the Greeks. He was the Christ. And after Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, his first adherents did not forsake him. For he appeared to them alive again during the third day, the divine prophets having foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of those called Christians after him is not extinct to this day."

To come down to modern authors, it would be easy to multiply what might be called expert testimony to the divinity of Christ. But it would be easy to reply to a large share of this, that the witnesses were prejudiced. Therefore, without calling many witnesses, let us content ourselves with the testimony of one, and that one, not a theologian but a general. It is well known that Napoleon I. is reported to have been the author of various statements of belief respecting the divinity of Christ. If we inquire as to Napoleon's qualifications as a witness on this point, it will be universally conceded that he knew men. But as there may be doubt as to their genuineness, the reader is assured that such current statements are, in substance at least, fully authenticated. For an account of a thorough investigation of the authority of these statements ascribed to Napoleon, reference is made to an article by Alexander Mair, entitled, "Testimony of Napoleon I. with regard to Christ," published in the *Expositor* for May, 1890. Having made this reference, portions

of Napoleon's conversations bearing upon the person of Christ, are here transcribed :

"I know men, and I tell you that Jesus Christ is not a man. Superficial minds may see some resemblance between Christ and the founders of empires, the conquerors, and the gods of other religions. That resemblance does not exist. I see in Lycurgus, Numa, Confucius, and Mahomet, merely legislators ; but nothing which reveals the deity. On the contrary, I see numerous resemblances between them and myself. I make out resemblances, weaknesses, and common errors which assimilate them to myself and humanity. Their faculties are those which I possess. But it is different with Christ. Everything about him astonishes me. Between him and anything of this world there is no possible term of comparison. He is really a being apart. His ideas and his emotions, the truth which he announces his method of producing conviction, can be explained neither by the organization of man nor by the nature of things. His birth and the history of his life, the profoundness of his teaching—which truly reaches to the very summit of the difficulties, and which is their most admirable solution,—his gospel, the uniqueness of this mysterious being, his appearance, his empire, his march across ages and kingdoms, all is to me a marvel, a mystery unfathomable ; a mystery which I cannot deny, and yet which I am just as unable to explain. Here I see nothing of man. The nearer I approach him, and the more closely I examine him, the more everything seems above me ; everything continues great with a greatness that crushes me."

We said we would quote from but one modern author, but there is the testimony of one still more modern, testimony so pertinent and unprejudiced, that we cannot afford to pass it by. Mr. William H. Channing recently wrote to Mr. Frothingham, the Unitarian writer : "Once again I sought comfort with the blessed company of sages and saints of the Orient and Hellas—with Lao-Tssee and Kung-Fu-Tssee ; the writers of the Bhagava Geeta and the Dhamma-Bada ; of the hymns of ancient Avesta and the modern sayings and songs of the Sufis ; with radiant Plato and heroic Epictetus. Once more they refreshed

and re-inspired me as of old. But they did something better. Hand in hand they brought me up to the white marble steps, to the crystal baptismal font, and the bread and wine crowned communion table, aye to the cross in the chancel of the Christian temple—and as they laid their hands in benediction upon my head they whispered: ‘Here is your real home. We have been your guides in the desert, to lead you to fellowship with the Father and the Son in the spirit of holy humanity. Peace be with you.’ And so, my brother, once again with purer, profounder and tenderer love than ever, like a little child, I kissed the blood-stained feet and hands and sides of the hero of Calvary, and laid my head on the knees of the gentlest of martyrs, and was lifted up by the gentle arms of the gracious elder brother, and in the kiss of mingled pity and pardon found the peace I sought and became a Christian in experience, as through a long life I had hoped and prayed to be. Depend upon it, dear Frothingham, there is on this small earth-ball no reality more real than this central communion with God in Christ, of which the saints of all ages in the Church bear witness.”

One man there has been, and is, who is also God. Happy is he who not only acknowledges this, but who gladly and heartily receives the Son of God as his Saviour and elder brother.

ARTICLE VI.

THE DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES AND THE STATE UNIVERSITIES IN THE WEST AND NORTHWEST.

BY PRESIDENT JACOB A. CLUTZ, D. D.

The territorial limitation of the subject of this paper is placed there for two reasons. One is that the question involved is not such a burning one to our older colleges in the east because these institutions are older and better established, and because the state university idea has not received the attention, nor been given the prominence there that it has in the west and northwest. The other reason is that the missionary colleges which are the chief beneficiaries of the Board of Education, and through them of the whole Church, are located in the west, and this is likely to be the case at least for many years to come.

It would be difficult, it may be safely said that it is impossible, for any one not familiar with the facts by personal experience, or close observation, to understand or appreciate the extent to which the state university idea has been pushed, in recent years, in most of the western states, and the greatly increased difficulty in building up denominational, or independent schools, resulting therefrom. With a view to making this as clear and as concrete as possible, a series of questions were sent some time ago to nine of the leading state universities in the West and Northwest, including those of the States of Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska and Wisconsin. The questions were intended to elicit information that would present the status of these institutions ten years ago, and their status at the present time, in order to show both their present condition and their rapid growth. Very prompt and generally very satisfactory answers were received from all of them. But instead of presenting these answers in tabulated form, as was the first intention, it will, perhaps, be best to simply give a general statement of some of the facts reported.

For example, the number of professors and instructors in the faculties has increased from an average of 43 ten years ago to an average of 136 at present, the highest number now being 225 in the University of Minnesota. The average attendance of students has grown from 560 ten years ago to 1,534 at present, the highest number now being 3,229 in the University of Michigan. Only three of these universities maintain preparatory departments, and in two of these the number of students is comparatively small. No tuition is charged in any of them except the University of Michigan, where the tuition to residents of the State is \$30.00 a year, and to non-residents it is \$40.00. Some of the others charge a tuition fee in the professional departments, as of law, or medicine. The State appropriations for building purposes range from \$10,000.00 to \$83,000.00 per annum, and for support from \$57,000.00 to \$249,650 per annum. The total annual income for current expenses is reported at from \$95,000.00 to \$541,672.00, or an average of \$235,515.00. The total estimated value of the several university plants, including grounds, buildings, equipments, &c., is from \$400,000.00 to \$1,550,000.00. Though all these institutions are supported mainly by the state, by direct taxation of the people, some of them have large invested funds, the amounts reported being from \$200,000.00 to \$1,100,000.00. Other facts might be presented, but these will be sufficient to show the liberality of these several States in making provision for their universities. It is easy to see at how great a disadvantage our small denominational colleges are placed in competing with such institutions for students.

But there are some other things which make this competition still more unequal. Chief among these is the prestige which has come to be attached to the State schools just because they are State schools, and of which students expect to reap the benefit, not only while they are students, but also after they leave the institution and are looking for a situation, or are seeking to build up a business or a profession. The mere fact that a man is a graduate of the State university, or has even been a student there, is expected to give him prestige, and to make it

easier for him to get a situation, or to succeed in business or in professional life. Scattered throughout the State are thousands of graduates and former students of the State university, and each one of these feels a personal interest in every other graduate or student and tries to help him on, because he realizes that every successful one adds to his own prestige and chances of getting on.

Moreover there are thousands of citizens who are prejudiced in favor of the students at the State schools, either because they regard it as a matter of State patriotism, or because they are hostile to the Church and all its institutions.

Another thing to be remembered is that in the West the public schools are largely under the control of State university men, or are conducted in the interests of the State university. All the courses of study, from the first year in the primary school on up through all the grades, and especially in the high school, are arranged with a view to preparing the pupils for the State university. That is their *terminus ad quem*. Nearly all the teachers, and especially high school principals, and city and county superintendents, even when not themselves university men, yet somehow come to look forward, and to point the pupils forward, to the State university as the cap-stone and crowning glory of our noble public school system, and as the goal, therefore, which every ambitious student should aim to reach.

The newspapers also help on the crusade in behalf of the State school. They are proud of the university as a State institution, and are ever ready to sound its praises and to publish, without charge, the advertising matter which is sent out by the chancellor, or the regents, from time to time.

At the high school commencement the chancellor of the State university, or some member of the faculty, is frequently invited to address the graduating class. And thus, and in a hundred other ways, the State university is kept before the minds of the young people, and of the parents also, until it becomes almost as much a matter of course for those young men and women who desire to pursue a higher course of study, to pass from the high school to the State university, as it was to go from the grammar

school to the high school. Under such circumstances the wonder is, not that so many go to the State university, but rather that so many, or any at all, can be drawn aside from the strong current in that direction to enter the denominational colleges.

But perhaps enough has been said on this phase of the subject. Our next inquiry will be as to the proper solution of the problem thus presented. What should the friends of the denominational colleges do? What can they do?

In seeking to answer these questions there is one thing that can be assumed as settled. This is that the State university is here, and is here to stay. We may have doubts about its expediency. We may question the right of the State to tax all its citizens to furnish to a select few—and the number must always be few and select—a higher education which is not intended to fit them for citizenship, the public schools do that, but which is designed to prepare them to earn a livelihood, or to acquire position and wealth in one of the learned professions or in scientific or business pursuits. We may deny that the State can give a fully rounded and complete higher education, including the moral and spiritual nature of man. And we may, therefore, assert that the State should not attempt to carry its work beyond the public schools, believing that a one-sided education, which has no place for the religious element, is false and dangerous, at once an injury to the individual and a menace to society and to our free institutions, rather than a benefit and a blessing. But in spite of all that we may say the State university will remain, and it will grow stronger in resources and in influence from year to year. So we come to ask again, What shall we do about it? What can we do?

Three possible solutions of the problem have been suggested and may be considered.

The first one is to close up all the church schools and turn all education over to the State, higher education as well as lower.

This is undoubtedly the plan which would meet with most favor among those who are engaged in State school work. Some of them may say very kind and complimentary things

about the denominational colleges, on public occasions or in private conversation with church-college men. But there is good reason to believe that the great majority of them would be greatly pleased to see all church colleges abandoned, and that not a few of them are working to this end both secretly and openly. In all matters of legislation, and in the interpretation of law, they are ever disposed to throw all possible hindrances in the way of the denominational colleges securing due recognition, or enjoying granted privileges. Another evidence of this is found in the manner in which the State universities arbitrarily discredit the work of the church colleges in spite of the fact that the latter frequently maintain higher requirements for admission to the college classes than the universities themselves, and do their work with at least equal fidelity and conscientiousness.

But can we afford to turn over the education of all our young men to the State? The writer is among those who believe that we cannot. Under our system of government the State is essentially secular and non-religious, even if not irreligious. It is true that certain forms of religion are maintained by the State, such as the appointment of chaplains in State institutions, the opening of the sessions of the State legislatures with prayer, etc. So also is it customary in most of the State universities to conduct chapel exercises for the benefit of such students as may care to attend them, and also occasionally to hold other religious services. And in some cases these services are very well attended and are made very profitable. Many of the professors in the State universities, perhaps a large majority of them, are devout Christian men and women. Much voluntary religious work is done among and by the students also, and in some of these State schools the general atmosphere is as distinctively and as strongly Christian as in most of the denominational colleges.

But the difficulty is that in a State institution all this is incidental. It might be said that it is accidental. That is, it is not definitely provided for or required by law. It is largely a

matter of tradition. It grows out of the general sentiment of the community, and it will probably last as long as this is pre-vaillingly Christian. To a considerable extent, it grows out of the fact that the earliest colleges in this country were founded by the Church and were distinctively Christian. Though Harvard college has not, in recent years, always been true to her ancient motto, "*Pro Christo et Ecclesia*," that motto of the oldest college in America has been so stamped upon our whole college system that even the State schools have felt it and have yielded a considerable measure of respect to it.

But it is hard to see by what law these religious features of our State schools could be maintained, or enforced, if the men in charge of them should not care to maintain them, or if the community at large should become generally indifferent to them, as is now the case in some communities in the west, or if any considerable number of unbelieving citizens should choose to object to them and seek an injunction against them in the courts. Only about a year ago the State Superintendent of schools in one of our western states officially interpreted the provision of the State constitution forbidding the use of public money for the support of religion as making it unlawful to allow any religious service of any kind whatever to be held in any public school building. It is well known that similar provisions in other State constitutions have been interpreted as forbidding public school teachers to open their schools with the reading of the Bible or with prayer. Now it is hard to see how, in such a state, the holding of daily chapel exercises, with the singing of hymns, the reading of scripture and prayer, can be legally allowed in the State university, or in any of the State schools. It is a question whether it would be allowed in some of them if it were not for the existence and competition of the denominational colleges. That the difficulty is felt by at least some university men is evident from a remark made by President Adams, of the University of Wisconsin, in a paper published last year. Pleading for more active work on the part of the different denominations in behalf of the religious welfare of the students at the State uni-

versity he says, "The regents of the university under the constitution and the ruling of the supreme court, can do nothing."

Besides, the mere fact of holding daily chapel exercises, and other occasional religious meetings, does not of itself make a school Christian. It is little influence for good these will have, if the head of the school and a majority of the professors and students are absent, and perhaps plainly showing their impatience with the whole performance, as is said to be frequently the case in one of our western State universities.

To make a school really and positively Christian, the entire work of school, in all the departments, must be pervaded by the Christian spirit. This must show itself in every class-room, and in every recitation, not necessarily by distinctively religious instruction, but by the fact that all truth is regarded and presented from the Christian standpoint. God must be recognized as the center and source of all truth. All truth must be made to point to him and lead back to him. And the fact must always be remembered that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," and that personal consecration to him and to his service is the first and the highest duty of man.

Religion cannot possibly be given this place and emphasis in a State school. No religious test can be applied in the selection of teachers. No religious teaching can be required of any, or indeed allowed. The professor may be a Christian, or an unbeliever; he may even be an atheist and a bald materialist. If he understands his subject and is able to teach it, and is of good character, that is all that can be required. Hence the Church cannot afford to close up its schools and give the entire work of education over to the State. There are too many risks involved in this for the Church, and too much peril for the State itself.

But it may be asked, in the second place, can we not combine the two? Is it not possible for the Church and the State to unite in the work of education, at least to such an extent that the Church may secure for her young people the benefits of the liberal provisions for instruction made by the State without at the same time surrendering her own care of the young people

themselves? Why not let the State educate the head and the hand, and have the Church supplement this with the culture of the heart and the care of the soul?

This is, in a general way, the solution of our problem offered by the advocates of what has sometimes been called "the Church Annex to the State University." Professor Ely, of the State University of Wisconsin, may be regarded as the father of this plan, or at least as its best known and most persistent supporter, though many other well-known men have also approved and advocated it. The plan is, in brief, for each denomination to provide a dormitory, or dormitories, contiguous to the State universities, in which the young people of that denomination attending the university may find rooms and board. These dormitories are also to be equipped with libraries and reading rooms, and also with suitable rooms for lecture and recitation purposes, and for various religious exercises and uses. The persons in charge of these dormitories are to look after the spiritual interests of the young people residing in them, and to give them instruction in the Bible and the Catechism, and perhaps in church history. It has even been suggested that students for the ministry might in this way do a sufficient amount of work during their college course to omit the first year in the theological seminary and complete their theological course in two years. Indeed some of the advocates of this plan would have all the theological seminaries conducted also in connection with the State universities so that the students might do most of their work, practically all except Dogmatic and practical Theology, in the university.

Now it must be granted that, at first thought, this plan seems to be very simple and practical. It looks as though it might offer an easy and a quick solution of our educational problem. But further examination hardly bears out this promise. The fact is that this plan is open to nearly all the objections to the first plan, already suggested. It would still leave the chief work of education in the hands of the State with no assurance at all of Christian teachers, or of Christian teaching. And every one who knows the influence which a strong teacher may acquire

over the mind, and the heart, of a bright and alert student, will appreciate the danger which lurks in this uncertainty. It is true that this plan seems to make provision for the religious instruction and care of the students in the church dormitory—if you can get them there and keep them there. But to those who are familiar with the tastes and habits of that peculiar specimen of the genus *homo*, the American student, it will seem very doubtful whether many of them would care to place themselves under the restraints of such a church dormitory, or to load up with a lot of work in Bible study, or other religious subjects, when it has no special connection with the regular courses of study, and the neglect of it will in no wise compromise their standing in the university. There is good reason to believe that, in many cases, one of the chief arguments for going to the State university, in the minds of the young people, is that they will not there be subjected to the restraints that are placed upon students in the denominational colleges.

Moreover, this arrangement, even if otherwise successful, would still leave the students in the secularized atmosphere of the State school and subject to all the secular tendencies which are always predominant in these schools. Hence it would be sure to furnish the Church with very few candidates for the ministry. Even those who might go there intending to enter the ministry would be in great danger of being turned aside from their purpose, as has been the case with some.

It may be practicable, and it might be wise, for these denominations which have the funds to spare for this purpose, to establish at the seats of the various State universities denominational "Halls"—buildings, or perhaps simply a room, which shall be maintained as a kind of denominational headquarters to which students may resort, and where they may always find some good reading matter, and some innocent games, and especially a sympathetic friend who will be ready to help them in any time of need. But this seems to be about all that should ever be undertaken in this line of work, and all that is practicable.

We come, then, to the third possible solution of our problem

and the one which seems to be the only true and safe one. It is to keep the denominational colleges intact, and entirely independent of all connection with the state schools, and to place them upon such a financial footing that they can fairly compete even with the State university in the work which they undertake to do. And this suggests some limitations to their work. Of course they will not offer any professional courses, nor should they attempt any post-graduate work at all unless they are thoroughly equipped for it both in teachers and in apparatus. But the ordinary undergraduate work required for the Bachelor's degree can be done just as well in a properly equipped small college, as in the State university, and often very much better. And the people will recognize this. Of course, there will always be some who will prefer to go to the State university, or to send their children there, just as there will always be some church members who, it seems, would rather attend any other church than their own. But the great majority of Lutheran people are loyal. They are loyal to their churches, and they will be loyal to their schools when they are made worthy of their confidence and patronage. And this would not require anything extravagant or unreasonable. It is plain that our denominational colleges in the west can never expect to rival the State universities in material equipment such as buildings and libraries and apparatus, nor in the number of teachers or the variety of courses of study offered. Nor is this at all necessary, because they are not likely ever to have the same number of students, or the same demands.

But what they do need, what they ought to have, what they must have, if they are to maintain their places and do their work, is an equipment in buildings and apparatus that will enable them to care for and properly teach from 250 to 300 students, and an endowment adequate to support at least eight professors in the collegiate department alone. Under such circumstances the preparatory department would probably be self-sustaining. This would mean an additional endowment of from \$100,000.00 to \$150,000.00 for each of our western colleges. Is this extravagant? Is it unreasonable? Is it impossible? It is neither.

In a Church with as many members and as much solid wealth as belongs to the General Synod, the raising of two or three hundred thousand dollars to place Midland and Carthage colleges on a solid basis, or even enough to include Hartwick and Susquehanna, ought not to be regarded as an Arabian Knight's dream.

But this is what it would mean. It would mean a great revival of interest in the subject of Christian higher education throughout the Church. It would mean a new and juster estimate of the place and importance of our educational institutions in the whole work of the development of the Church and the saving of the nation. It would mean also a clearer, and more general recognition of the fact and duties of Christian stewardship, and enlarged liberality in giving for this department of the Lord's work, not only through the Board of Education, but in special gifts directly to the institutions themselves. All our institutions ought to have more money, the older ones as well as the younger ones, those in the east as well as those in the west. And it ought not to be necessary for the presidents, or other representatives of these institutions, to spend their time and wear out body and soul, traveling about in the churches to coax it from unwilling or reluctant contributors. It ought to be given freely, spontaneously, gladly, by those whom God has prospered and made able to give and to give in large sums, by the hundreds, and the thousands, and the tens of thousands, and in at least a few cases by the hundreds of thousands.

ARTICLE VII.

THE HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

BY REV. W. A. LAMBERT, B. A.

How many books might be and ought to be written on the "Amenities of Literature"! Too little is known of books, their character, value and humor. Librarians especially, who in the course of their professional labors accumulate immense stores of valuable and interesting information might communicate their knowledge in forms more interesting and readable than bibliographical bulletins, more connected than Disraeli's works, with better intentions than Andrew D. White in his "Warfare of Science with Theology," and with more definite purpose than Richard Burton in his "Anatomy of Melancholy."

It is not, however, in the character of a librarian that I am to write here, but in that of a chance visitor, who has taken his time to study the contents of the Historical Library for several definite purposes, and has incidentally been requested to furnish an account of what he met with in the course of his studies.

An account of the Historical Library could not be complete without a sketch of its history. But completeness will hardly be found an attribute of this description; and inasmuch as the QUARTERLY has already published an article on that topic by one who was far better able to prepare it than I could possibly be at present, (Dr. Hay), the omission may perhaps be pardoned. If any will take the trouble to find and read that article, which was also published separately as a pamphlet, they may share the feelings of all who may visit the library: admiration of the amount of material here gathered, and disappointment in the very partial success with which the Curators have so far met in their very praiseworthy undertaking.

But we are not to express either our astonishment, or our admiration here; we are to visit the library, and reveal its treas-

ures,—only in part, of course, and hastily; giving just enough to excite the curiosity of those who ought to have, but have not yet made a pilgrimage to this little temple of Lutheran literature.

Let us walk first to the far corner of the room, and give our attention to the closet in that corner. Opening the glass doors we meet a strange medley of books and papers. Below are massive folios marked "Records," "Protocoll," etc., indicating that their contents are the written authoritative minutes of synods and conferences. On the top shelf we find small thin books, such as might readily be carried in the inside coat pocket. A glance within proves them to be diaries—the journals of a long-lived man, whose sermons and correspondence—a large part of it official, connected with the West Pa. Synod—are also somewhere in this closet. We can here trace Rev. G. A. Reichert from Germany to Nova Scotia, from Nova Scotia to the West Indies, and back, then to Pennsylvania, and through interesting periods in the Church's life, almost to the day of his death. More: we can tell what books he owned as a student, and what he paid for them. This may seem a trifling matter,—but does it not enable us to judge of the training theological students received full eighty years ago?

We may go back farther however. Here we find a few letters of the Patriarch Muhlenberg in his own handwriting; an autobiography of his contemporary, Handschuch, a diary of Brunholtz, and strange books in manuscript by Jacob Goering. Or perhaps we wish to hear Helmuth and Schmidt preach in Philadelphia; here one has saved us the labor of digesting their lengthy discourses; he has written brief sketches of them, and—that we might not be surfeited with German Lutheranism—has entered an occasional English sermon by the Episcopalian rector.

And yonder—truly strange are the vicissitudes of time—we may go to school in Helmstedt with Helmuth in 1759, and watch him as he writes down the German his teacher dictates, then laboriously matches it on the opposite page with what should be its Latin equivalent, but which the teacher's red ink

proves only too imperfect. How different appears the page, somewhere not far away, on which this same Helmuth, a poor old man of almost seventy years later, gratefully acknowledges a slight gift! A library strangely disregards time; it places the record of a man's boyhood and old age even more vividly before us than the family Bible, as though it would turn preacher, and proclaim the mortality of man.

But note that mass of books and papers, filled with writing in a rather small hand. What might they contain? They are the record of the active life of an active man. Lectures on almost all branches of theology and on philosophy, articles written and re-written, resolutions and plans drawn up, some almost without a clue as to their intended use—these are the work of Dr. S. S. Schmucker. Yes, there are even several proofs, with the corrections by his hands, showing that sometimes at least, he was not chary in his changes. Sermons, also, and lectures are here preserved which bear marks indicating that the Doctor found his productions worth repeating occasionally, and sometimes after long intervals.

Here among these letters whose dates run from 1747 to within a few years of the present, we can trace the movements which have made the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania what it is. We read the protest of David Henkel against the establishment of a Central Seminary—and his suspicion, nay, positive charge that the members of the General Synod of 1823 are not Lutherans! We can trace the Seminary through its struggles, follow Dr. Schmucker through the United States and Europe trying to gather funds; we read the recommendations of the Seminary and of the cause of the German Lutherans flowing in from all quarters. We see the growing efforts for Church union, the commendations and criticisms of the "Fraternal Appeal"—among which that of Dr. Chas. Hodge, of Princeton, is a brilliant specimen of keen insight into the springs of the movement. Here we also find the question discussed as to the return of the Pa. Ministerium into the General Synod in 1853, and the separation in 1866.

And here we can call back earnest, pious old John Stough to

tell us—though it is in the difficult manuscript of his aged son—of the beginnings of Lutheranism in Ohio, and the zeal with which the travelling preacher labored almost a century ago. Or again, Father Heyer will contribute a few scenes to what we know of his labors extending from India in the east to Minnesota in the west.

May we now leave these MSS.—English, German and Latin, and turn our attention to what is here in print? One moment, please; we have not yet seen the oldest of all these papers. We may disregard those transcripts by Dr. Fritschel, made from two rare books treating of the early American history of the Lutheran Church; while valuable, they are not really relics. But here, wrapped in pasteboard as it was returned by a careful borrower, is an old record, and in a fourth language—the Dutch,—telling us of early doings in New York and Nova Scotia. Shall we increase the list of languages? Then it may be interesting to study Goering's Hebrew lexicon, all in MS., prepared 1783; and somewhere I am sure we could find a little Greek.

Only one manuscript more. A single page written in a script belonging to a bygone age, it seems to be a fragment from some baptismal record, and bears the date 1590. Is it of value? That can hardly be told unless the whole of which it was once a part can be rediscovered.

I have promised to leave the MSS.—and yet I have not given all. What a collection of autograph signatures might be made here! But I will turn to the clippings, and mention other MSS., only incidentally. One of the plans of the curators of this library was the collection of congregational records and histories. Certain it is that all sound reasoning must suggest that all valuable documents should be placed in a safe and accessible library or archives, rather than be left to moulder away in the garret of some uninterested descendant, or on the table or bookshelf of some thoughtless pastor. It is equally certain that the history of congregations is an important feature in the history of a Church. The more reason to regret that the curators have not been able to collect, still less to arrange the histories of all the churches. But the clippings gathered from

church and secular papers, though not yet rendered very accessible, give proof of no little activity in this direction. When to these are added the MS. histories prepared by J. R. Focht (Allegheny Synod) and others, no mean start will be seen to have been made.

Now to the books: We will begin right here at the end near the closet containing the MSS. We cannot refrain from expressing here our pleasure and our regret. Here *should* be a copy of every work published by a Lutheran in America; yes, we will not limit it to any district or organization—for the founders desired no limitations to be placed here. As the great library at Washington should contain a copy of every book published in America, so this Historical Library should contain a copy of every book published by a Lutheran. But would any one so seriously insult our Church as to hint that this is a complete collection? We will not enumerate even the most prominent omissions—enough to say that there are abundant such, sufficient to hamper the work of a student, though there are enough here to occupy a student for months.

Here we may see that Lutherans are not all theologians: stories, histories, biographies, travels, poems and works of science are scattered here and there; works of S. S. Schmucker, W. J. Mann, J. G. Morris, Dr. Bachman, C. W. Schaeffer, C. F. Schaeffer, B. Kurtz, and a host of others.

But we must go to the opposite side of this shelf to see the pride of the library. Here, neatly bound, stand the minutes of the various synods; if not entirely complete, at least very nearly so: Pa., West Pa., N. Y., Franckean, Olive Branch, Pittsburg, Va., S. C., Allegheny,—they are all here, and this is not a complete list—and the Gen. Synod and Gen. Council

Facing these volumes are volumes of bound pamphlets, such as are scattered here and there on the other shelves. They almost induce one to believe that Lutherans write—or did write nothing but pamphlets, and having now largely given that up, have not yet begun writing books. How much interesting history, how much valuable material is scattered through these occasional productions. They are all catalogued, but, alas! the

catalogue is in yonder case, and it should be in the hands of the Lutheran pastors!

What are these unbound pamphlets filling five shelves, and why have they not been considered worthy of a more durable dress than the original paper? Those, the curator will tell you, are duplicates, and—you may have what you need from that lot—their space is more valuable than their presence here.

Here at least we have come to a gratifying sign, proof positive that printers are not all non-Lutherans, nor authors either. The table is filled to overflowing; new books, you see—some of them, and some old enough to have been here twenty years ago.

At last we are approaching the end of our journey through this little room. We have passed by a few things. Back in the closet we left a number of photographs and larger pictures of ministers and churches; now we are passing by several albums filled with similar pictures, and with older cuts of the Reformers and their companions, etc.,—a collection which would fill a book-lover with fearful thoughts of the mutilated volumes from which the title pages and frontispieces have been clipped. We also pass by that collection of books on Luther and the Reformation; not because it has no claim upon us or has offended us by the numerous and conflicting reports it contains of Luther and his work, but because it merits, and will doubtless receive special attention.

Last then we meet the record of the Church's history, not this time in letters or lectures or books on various subjects, but in that mirror of church life—the church paper. A tolerably complete file of the *Lutheran Observer*, the *Lutheran and Missionary*, the *Workman*, the *Luth. Zeitschrift*, and a number more, the names of which may be read in Dr. Hay's printed catalogue. These can be appreciated only by him who has examined them, and noted the articles from famous pens which fill their columns.

Having now passed through the Historical Library, have we not noticed one great lack? Books in abundance, unworked mines of the richest ore—but where is the librarian to make the most of this storehouse,—to make its treasures accessible?

Would not that be a life-work for some one—especially since the Lutheran Church nowhere has a librarian in this country, and having no librarian, has no accessible library? But this is merely a short sermon after a long text; I hope it may be pardonable.

ARTICLE VIII.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY PROF. DAVID H. BAUSLIN, D. D.

In the study of comparative religion the racial equation is always strong and widely different. Among no people is this racial factor more prominent in their religious thought and life than among the peoples of India. It is a gloomy religion marked by strong distinctions based upon blood and inherited prejudices; which teaches that men transmigrate through countless bodies, that the bondage to birth and death is due to ignorance and maintained by works whether good or bad, and in which life is viewed as a calamity, and personal existence as exposure to successive cycles of conscious miseries under multitudinous forms. Its hidden recesses may be gloomy and forbidding, but the study of a religion is full of interest when the grand problem is how to attain the final beatitude, which is the loss of conscious personality; a religion in which good works and bad, virtue and vice are, because of their consequences, undesirable, and hinder by creating merit or demerit, the final emancipation of the soul. The study of a religion, too, must have some attendant profit as well as admonition, in which virtue needs to be rewarded, and when its reward is exhausted, birth into another form is necessary, and so new virtues can only prolong the miserable cycle of births and deaths, in which vice needs to be punished and when its demerit is exhausted

birth must again happen, and more vice leads to births *ad infinitum*.

The characteristics of a great world religion, only a glimpse of whose numerous teachings has thus been hinted at, add much interest to the leading article in the current issue of the *Contemporary Review*, by that competent student of comparative religion, Dr. A. M. Fairbairn. He gives us an elaborate study on "Race and Religion in India," in which he points out the fundamental differences between the Eastern and Western mind and the extreme difficulties in the way of the one understanding the other. The Hindu mind as contrasted with the occidental mind, thinks Principal Fairbairn, is a metaphysical mind and is accustomed to use mythology as its thought form. He says, "We can understand a mythological as an historical age, as an early period in literature, or as a stage in human development out of which man passes; what we cannot so easily understand is the continuance of this stage into a highly rational or speculative period. But this is precisely what we have in India."

Another fact which makes it so difficult for the East and West to come closer together is the indifference of the Hindu mind to history and the inaptitude for criticism which it conjoins with its unwearied literary activity. Dr. Fairbairn gives some illustrations from his own experience in India, whither he had gone as the "Haskell lecturer," of this "want of the historical spirit, the feeling for reality which is the mother of all genuine criticism." He recounts a conversation with a learned Pundit on the Vedas, in which all his own suggestions as to the development noticeable in the vedic literature, the differences between its earlier and later contents, were met by the constantly repeated formula that the Veda was eternal, and that what was eternal, did not admit of the successions of time. The Western mind can only stand astonished and helpless in the presence of such an attitude of persistent stolidity. It is, however, on the question of personality that the East is at farthest remove from the West. Dr. F. again says, "Where Europe and India differ absolutely is as to the mode in which the infinite being is concerned to realize himself in time. The transmigration of the

soul is the native and invincible faith of India; but it is an impossible belief in Europe. * * * In the dawn of Greek speculation it appears, as a simple and childlike guess, which died with the growing maturity of thought, or as a borrowed belief which the native mind refused to assimilate; in Plato it takes a form singularly illusive and imaginative, floating like a cloud on the edge of his thought, without ever penetrating it or obtaining a solid place within it. * * * But the idea holds the Hindu in an iron grasp, which neither the lapse of time nor the change of religion can loosen."

A notable passage in this fine article also gives a Hindu appreciation of the notion of transubstantiation as taught by Romanists: "We," said the Hindu, "have nothing so gross in our religion as you have in yours. We make an image or a symbol of our god, but we never confound either with the god it speaks of. But you, you take a piece of bread and a cup of wine, you mutter over them a prayer, and they straightway become the flesh and blood of your God, which you offer up in sacrifice and then consume. In all Hinduism you will find no idolatry so gross as this."

In India our writer finds the most bewildering and multitudinous polytheism that man has ever known, justified by a pantheistic monism so absolute that a monotheistic religion as vigorous as Islam looks like a pale pluralism by its side. His portrayal of the contradictions of this religion, the supplanting of which constitutes, one of the most difficult and interesting of modern missionary problems, is worthy of being reproduced for our readers at more length than our space permits. We cannot, however, forbear to transcribe the following, "There is an authority more infallible and coercive than that of Rome; but there is no dogma which defines it, no person who embodies it, no legislature or magistracy which enforces it. There is a religion which is in its worship sensuous and idolatrous, unmoral and sacerdotal in a degree without parallel; yet the men it esteems most holy are men who have despised the most sacred acts and observances of the worship. It is a religion without church or creed, so open that it may say, 'Nothing that is nat-

ural to man is alien to me,' and so elastic that it may add, 'Every religious belief or custom man has had or yet has I can comprehend'; but it is so closed and exclusive as to boast the most inflexible sacerdotal system, and the most inviolable social order which time has ever realized. Within it the most bestial practices and the most ideal speculations live side by side in mutual toleration, the practices untroubled by reproach, the speculation untouched by disgust. The religion has no moral law and attempts no moral discipline; but it has erected and sealed, by sanctions which it will allow no man to break, distinctions of classes and laws regulative of man's relations to woman and woman's to man that involve the very gravest moral principles and issues. And the religion which is thus a mass of anomalies to us is no anomaly to the Hindu. He and it have so grown up together that it is a perfect mirror of his history, the complete reflex of his mind. We feel its contradictions, but he does not. The speculative monism and the practical polytheism neither offend nor perplex his intellect as they do ours; the rigor of caste regulations and the want of both moral authority and power in the religion do not strike him as the incongruous and inconsistent things they seem to us. Yet we confess that he is a man as subtle and sane in intellect as we are, with a reason quick to detect absurdities, and able to exercise a keenly critical dialectic."

The London *Church Quarterly Review* presents an elaborate review of a recently published history of the popes, by Dr. Louis Pastor, of the university of Innsbruck, which we should judge from the finely written review to be a most elaborate and exhaustive work. From the review we learn that Dr. Pastor finds in the excessive individualism fostered by the pagan Renaissance the primary cause of the evil development of that widely important movement. To the humility, the self-renunciation, the mortification of Christianity, it opposed the egotism, the pride, the ambition, the vanity, the personality of pagan antiquity. In this, it is held, lies the explanation of its strange

VOL. XXIX. No 4. 73

combination of classical and artistic culture which was united to shameless wickedness, perfidious craftiness, and the most absolute contempt for morality. Earthly grandeur, sensual enjoyment, and a burning thirst for the immortality of fame, to be obtained through the accomplishment of something great and memorable, were the ideals at which it aimed. To appear large in the eyes of their cotemporaries and of posterity, to be invested with great importance and to have their names on men's lips, to be conspicuous and pre eminent, if only for detestability, in this world, for they believed in no other; such according to this recent standard history, were the motives and the principles which avowedly and without a tinge of compunction animated the pagan Renaissance. We quote the *Church Review's* portrayal, as based upon Dr. Pastor's history:

"The preachers of the day inveigh in the most direct and impassioned language against the unbridled licentiousness, the luxury which spreads like leprosy, and which no sumptuary laws can check; the passion for gambling, in which whole fortunes are dissipated and children are beggared; the usury, by which not only Jews but Christians grind down their poorer brethren, in violation of the edicts of Holy Church; the iniquities of the theatre and of slavery openly practiced; the indecency which taints the poetry and other literature in growing circulation. All the vices of two civilizations seem to be stalking abroad unabashed; and if their prevalence is exaggerated, and the main body of the Italian people were untouched by these evils; if a determined effort was made by the religious orders to promote social reforms and the foundation of *Monts-de-piété* provided invaluable help against too frequent oppression, it is yet unquestionably true that nothing was too monstrous or too bizarre for the Humanists, and it was they who occupied the most conspicuous places at that epoch in the Italian States. How largely vice in every form—and some of its phases were unspeakable in their enormity—was enthroned in high places is amply illustrated in the pages of Machiavelli, Ariosto, and such classical scholars as Pulci and Poliziano and Pontano; in the fact that many ruling Italian princes were of illegitimate birth; in the

contempt in which human life was held, and the friend of yesterday was assassinated to serve the convenience of to-day. A strange medley of Christianity and Paganism was substituted for Catholic orthodoxy. Superstition and belief in astrology supplanted faith in the gospel of Christ, and the depravation of morals, already scandalously notorious in convent and cloister, among the ranks of the clergy and Sacred College of the Cardinals, reached its zenith when, in the person of Alexander VI., the incarnation of the pagan Renaissance was seated on the throne of the chief of the Apostles."

Two of the most important indices of theological thought in Great Britain and America are to be found in two recent publications, viz: Vol. 2, of the Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, and Prof. Brigg's "*General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture*." In the Dictionary we should say that the most valuable and reliable, from the orthodox and evangelical standpoints, are the theological articles which have been prepared, many of them with great care and elaboration, while the least reliable, and indeed most dangerous articles are those on critical questions. Among the most important articles on Biblical Theology are such as Forgiveness, Gehenna, Glory, Gnosticism, God, Grace, Hades, Heaven, Hell, Hinnom, Holiness, Holy Spirit, Hosanna, Immanuel, Incarnation, Inheritance, Jesus Christ, Justification, Kingdom of God, and Foreknowledge. The omission of Inspiration from this list is explained by the fact that Dr. Hastings, who writes under this head, refers to the article Bible in the first volume, for the doctrine of the inspiration of the Bible, though he observes here that the Revised Version rendering of I. Timothy follows the oldest English renderings. The eschatological articles on such subjects as Hades, Heaven and Hell, furnish a comprehensive examination of the Scriptures and of the rabbinical teachings. They teach that there is no probation after death. The article on God is composite, being written by Professors Davidson and Sanday. There is a decisive assertion of the truth that in the Old Testament "God is fully personal from the first," and the recognition that Matthew Arnold's theory

about "a power not ourselves making for righteousness," is dispelled by the facts. The treatment of God in the New Testament is very comprehensive, beginning with tendencies toward monism, transcendence, and particularist limitations in the contemporary Judaism in the time of our Lord. The main object of the article is to show what new elements are added, and what old elements are specially developed or emphasized in the New Testament.

When we pass to Christological articles we find that the longest, and in many respects, the most important article is that on Jesus Christ, by Prof. Sanday. It is so voluminous that it would make a good sized volume, and the writer has realized what Hooker said about the Incarnation and the Sacraments,—that "in other things we may be more brief, but the weight of these requireth largeness." The chief objection to the article is that it contains too many suspended judgments upon so vital a subject in all correct religious thinking and life. We should not pronounce it such an article as would establish faith and quicken men's belief in Jesus as the world's Redeemer. Dr. Sanday's judgment, p. 653, too, that "no one has ever touched the gospels with so much innate kinship of spirit" as Newman, may be questioned.

The important article on the Incarnation is written by Mr. Ottley, a strong writer. It contains many passages that are admirable and some which do not satisfy. His language is sometimes ambiguous, and that not infrequently at a crucial point of his subject. He comes finally to the conclusion that "Jesus of Nazareth was not only the expected Messiah of Prophecy, but in a unique, absolute sense, divine; God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God."

The article on the Holy Spirit by Dr. Swete, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, is full, the author proceeding through the whole Bible in his examination. He investigates the work of the Spirit in creation, intellectual life, prophetic inspiration, anointing the Messiah, and the moral and the religious life of men. The article is an excellent one and may be profitably

read, and with it Professor Stewart's article on Grace, and Dr. Simon's on Justification.

Turning from questions of Biblical theology, we have a great variety on antiquities and biography, on geography and archæology. Important articles on antiquity and biography are those on the Flood, Food, Genealogy, Herod, Hittites, Idolatry, Incense, Grace, Israel, Jacob, John the Apostle, John the Baptist, and Judas Iscariot. If one is looking for some of the advanced views of the "Higher Critics," or what is better, the "Destructive Critics," he can find them in the article on the Flood, by F. H. Woods, Theological Lecturer of St. John's College, Oxford, and in that on Genesis, by Canon Ryle. The first of these articles is written upon the assumption that "it is a fact admitting of no reasonable doubt, that the account of Genesis is really composed of two flood stories, one of which belongs to the early source of the Hexateuch known as J., the other to the post-exilic P." The writer endeavors to establish a four-fold argument against the historicity of the flood. His logic is highly rationalistic. His article dwells much on stories or legends alleged to have been found in folk-lore and early literature of all peoples, and has the cock-sureness about it, so characteristic of the critics.

The article on Genesis is a careful piece of work, done in popular style, and takes it for granted that modern critical theories are the only ones any longer allowable, the writer hardly even taking the trouble to allude to works of learned writers on the other side.

These articles afford samples of the new critical methods recognized, especially in articles on Old Testament subjects, in the new dictionary. The scholarship that does not accept the post-exilic priest-codex theory, seem to have no standing. The writings of the Old Testament are reconstructed on a negative basis, the text, as we believe, being uniformly parcelled out into its supposed literary sources. Our feeling is, that on this class of subjects this great work is one-sided in that it seems to be dominated entirely by ingenious literary theories. Even the critics themselves are not in accord in their hypotheses, as for example in the article on Isaiah, Dr. George Adam Smith,

sharply calls Dr. Cheyne and others to account for too great concessions to destructive rationalism, in the discovery of glosses in the text. It is but fair to say that the New Testament articles are likely to appeal to a wider circle of readers, and with more success, the writers of the Tuebingen type, on that class of subjects, not only having been repulsed but long since driven from the field.

The *Introduction* of Dr. Briggs contains a vast amount of detail, and embodies the well known critical views and methods of that industrious, but very erratic scholar. One characteristic feature of the book is the manifest pleasure that the author takes in posing as a martyr to the truth, apparently at least, classifying himself with Galileo and nearly every profound thinker since the day of Socrates, who has been obliged to pause in his work and defend himself, like the apostle Paul, against these "days" and "evil workers" whom, a few sentences later, he describes as "the theological bourbons who never learn anything from past defeats." This is not temperate and scholarly speech. Dr. Briggs should, at least, remember that he has not yet finished his course, and is not yet canonized, as some to whom he compares himself. He is yet among the spirits being tried now—not so much by ecclesiastical courts, as by the canons of sound criticism, and the law and the testimony as apprehended by a sound and scholarly Christian judgment of such men as William Henry Green, Howard Osgood and others. Dr. Briggs should not grow impatient and place himself among the martyrs because his revolutionary views are vigorously challenged, and because the "spiritual intuitions, the conscience and the reason" of Rev. Dr. Briggs, an Episcopalian priest, and an erstwhile Presbyterian minister, do not always commend themselves to a sober and well-balanced spiritual intellect. In view of anything like a wide induction into the facts of history, it is as one has expressed it, the "altitudinous immensity of egotism" for any man, however gifted and learned, to suppose that his theory is the only one to be selected by posterity as embodying the very truth.

Dr. Briggs is especially severe on what he calls "speech, har-

dened into dogmatic terms." His book is full of erudition, but is pre-eminently deficient in sound judgment, the place of which is supplied by the very thing he denounces in others as dogmatism, assertions which the reader is expected to accept on the bare statement. If any dogmatic assertiveness can surpass his manner of speaking of the "Higher Criticism" as "exact and thorough in its methods," and of the theory that "Moses did not write the Pentateuch," and that "Isaiah did not write half the book that bears his name," and of the sure results of his views as being accepted by all genuine critics the world over, then we are not acquainted with that sort of assertiveness. Professor Briggs betrays all through his book strong confidence in himself and his associates, and an equally strong tone of contempt for all who differ from him. But he should not be surprised because his judgment is not looked upon as infallible when he employs methods of criticism and interpretation on the Old Testament, which, if applied to some chapters in the gospels would dissolve the Incarnation entirely; and because, for example, men can not agree with him in regarding the first chapter of Genesis as unhistorical to criticism *because it is poetry*, and the second chapter of Luke as historical to criticism *because it is poetry*.

The system employed in this *Introduction* leaves Christianity in grave doubt on an important subject, viz: Whether the inspired Bible is only that of the original writers, or whether additions and changes and corrections made by redactors and emendators are also inspired. It is an awkward position, to say the least, into which Professor Briggs forces men, upon the gravest of all subjects, on p. 317 of his book, when he says: "The only question of integrity with which inspiration has to do is the integrity of the canon, whether the interpolations, the separate parts, the writings as a whole, are real and necessary parts of the system of divine revelation—whether they contain the divine word. *This can never be determined by the Higher Criticism.*"

This is a matter of great importance, for according to Prof. Briggs and company, it is the function of the Higher Criticism

to disintegrate the sacred scriptures into their alleged sources and component parts, and then coolly to decline all sort of responsibility for the work of reconstruction upon the simple ground of incompetency. Tradition is good, bad, and indifferent, and it is some compensation to have a critic of Dr. Briggs' temper announcing the inability of his science to tackle any sort of a critical task; but we submit that the traditional view can do better than the above indicates. His book also indicates, as we have pointed out in the case of the *Dictionary* above, that the critics are not at one by any means among themselves; for on p. 287, the author scores Dr. Harper, of the Chicago Baptist University, for not coming out more openly as a Higher Critic. We could cite passage after passage to show the certitude with which the author speaks, as for example on pp. 322, 327 and 565. About it all there is a positiveness of statement and a confident assurance and sort of *ex-cathedra* utterance to which as a scientific work Professor Briggs' *Introduction* is not entitled. We are led to the conclusion that the "microscope of criticism," of which he speaks, is even more likely to distort facts than are the "spectacles of tradition," to which he sneeringly alludes.

One of the most specious and delusive systems of religious thought ever articulated is represented in this country. It is known abroad from its most distinguished representative as Ritschlianism, and is participated in we believe, to some extent at least, in this country, by many who know but little or nothing of Albrecht Ritschl. It is a system of religious thinking that disavows definition altogether and desires to substitute for it mere feeling. It has been shown by such strenuous conservatives as Frank, Drickhoff, and Luthardt, that the theory of this vague theological school makes the questions what God, Christ, and the resurrection are in themselves, a matter of indifference, and only attaches any importance to our own judgment of their worth to ourselves. One of the best, and even most luminous examples of this specious system, we find in the leading article in the July number of the "*American Journal of Theology*," by

Professor Freidrich Loofs, of the University of Halle, the title of which is "*Has the Gospel of the Reformation Become Antiquated?*" "What is the gospel of the Reformation?" asks the Professor, and true to the tenet of his school regarding definition, he says further, "Among evangelical Christians this ought to be an entirely superfluous question." But he soon finds himself under the necessity of making definitions and accordingly proceeds to say what he means by the gospel of the Reformation. Manifestly it is a gospel that would not be recognized by the reformers who at the first rescued the real gospel from the perversions and corruptions of the papacy. The author of this article prefaces his definition of Reformation theology by an attempt at rescuing Luther from some merely incidental beliefs and methods of interpretation. This is his language: "Now the following is beyond all doubt, beyond all need of proof: (1) That many of Luther's representations of the life, the person, and the work of Christ have their origin entirely in the fact that Luther accepted as indisputable everything that is narrated by the Holy Scripture, and, furthermore, that he interpreted the Scriptures according to the standard of mediæval traditions which he had retained; (2) That this valuation of the Scriptures as the *verbaliter* inspired word of God, and certainly his acceptance of erroneous mediæval traditions concerning Scripture interpretation, do not stand in any constant inner connection with his central thought. Everything therefore in his Christological representations, which originates solely in this valuation of the Scriptures, either directly, or inasmuch as the then prevailing interpretation of Scripture seemed to support many old theological traditions, indirectly, I regard as the temporary garb of the gospel of the Reformation. But to this does not belong his conviction that in the Holy Scripture we hear the word of God addressed to man, and that his Holy Spirit generates faith in us through the word; nor does it include his estimation of Christ's death as the act performed for our salvation; nor his belief in the resurrection of Christ; nor yet his view of Christ as the *deus revelatus*. For in Luther these four elements stand in such con-

stant and inner connection with the *promissio remissionis peccatorum* that each one of the thoughts—‘the word shall they have unassailed,’ ‘Given for you,’ ‘Christ is risen,’ ‘God revealed in Christ,’ became for him on more than one occasion a distinguishing mark of the gospel.”

Proceeding from this effort at delivering Luther from the thralldom of his sturdy misconceptions, Professor Loofs goes on to define: “The gospel of the Reformation is the message of God to our humanity, offering us justification only through faith in Jesus Christ the Saviour, in whom the eternal God has revealed himself to the world in the *life of a human person*, by whose death and resurrection he has redeemed us from sin and death.” Much of this sounds well, and is like unto the speech of the Evangelical Canaan. But Prof. Loofs proceeds at once to supplement the above definition with this comment, “In the name of Scripture authority the demand is made that we include in the conception of the gospel (a) the ‘born of the Virgin Mary,’ (b) the ascension as a distinct event, separated from the resurrection by a period of forty days; (c) our redemption ‘out of the power of the devil.’ No doubt Luther included all these in the glad tidings of Christ. Is it, nevertheless, possible with sincerity to espouse the cause of the gospel of the Reformation without including in it these three elements? Most assuredly. It is not only justifiable, but also a two-fold duty, not to confuse the conception of the gospel with these three things.” This disciple of Ritschl proceeds further to give a four-fold reason why the gospel of the Reformation, as interpreted by Luther and others, is foreign, not to say offensive to the present age. He gives the reasons thus: “The first is the dependent relationship of man to God, presupposed by the gospel of the Reformation, or rather to speak more accurately, by the reformers, the second, the fundamental stress which it lays on the remission of sins; the third, the conditioning of this remission upon the death of Christ; and the fourth, the supernaturalistic interpretation of history by the reformers, especially with reference to the person of Christ.” We have presented, at some length, these views, that readers of the QUARTERLY may know something of how

this representation of a widely current article of religious thought tries to join together what God has put asunder, viz : evangelical phraseology and a specious and delusive alien interpretation.

The writer concludes with what he regards as the religious necessity of the times : "An honest, whole-souled, out-and-out fight for the gospel of the Reformation, [of course as interpreted by Prof. Loofs & Co.,] and an equally determined fight AGAINST all obsolete tradition and dogma. *This* standard I believe would carry success with it in the modern world, such as no other watchword, whether traditionalistic or liberal, could hope for."

The latest issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, contains an article by the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, a congregational pastor, strongly confirmatory of the Lutheran position on the subject of the indoctrination of the youth in the use of the catechetical methods. The title of Mr. Chalmer's article is "*The Catechuminate ; its Achievements.*" A few extracts will give his estimate of the utility of the method he advocates on the ground that some other methods of religious work have been weighed in the balance and found wanting : "It is the method that, at all earnest times in the moral history of the race, the Church has relied upon with greatest success, and with a keen sense that the moral evils of our day are great enough to call for the most humble and earnest searching of means by which they may be stayed. We have been led to an old method as a practical plan for social regeneration."

Speaking of the use of the method in Scotland, Mr. Chalmers says : "The invigorating effect of this one hundred years of campaign on the intellectual character of the people may be understood by King James' slur at Hampton court conference, when he said that 'in Scotland every son of a good woman thought himself competent to write a catechism.' "

"In our advocacy of a restoration of the systematic catechuminate, we are often met by the objection that it is aping the Roman Catholics. As a matter of historic fact, it seems hardly necessary to state that the restoration of the catechetical method

in the Roman Catholic Church follows the rise of Jesuitism, and was a shrewd application of lessons learned from the Protestant enemies, and was the mightiest means by which ground lost by the Roman Catholics was regained by them."

On the neglect of this method the writer says: "We firmly believe that for the neglect of this definite pastoral catechumenate, there are souls this hour being dragged to ruin and the grave. A weeping, sin-stricken civilization is weighing us in the balance; the day of summing up is approaching, and the thieves and harlots will be our judges."

Dr. Augustus H. Strong, President of the Rochester Theological Seminary, has for years made a study of *The Great Poets and Their Theology*. He has given the results of his studies on that subject under the above title. *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* contains a discriminating study of the subject from which we select some extracts:

"The great poets whose theology Dr. Strong seeks to set forth are Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, Wordsworth, Browning and Tennyson. He does not maintain that the poets are 'conscious theologians.' In their vocation as seers, however, they have glimpses of truth in theology, as well as in philosophy and physics. From their higher point of view, indeed, they sometimes descry truths which are yet below the horizon of other thinkers. Poetical expressions of these truths are all the more valuable because they are clothed in the language of feeling and appeal to our sense of beauty. 'The great poets, taken together, give united and harmonious testimony to the fundamental conceptions of natural religion, if not to those of the specifically Christian scheme. This testimony is cumulative, and it follows the law of evolution, by advancing from vague to clear. Even poets like Goethe, who proclaim another gospel, witness, in spite of themselves, to the truth as it is in Jesus.'"

As samples of his specific method of dealing with the fascinating subject we may instance Dr. Strong's treatment of Goethe and Wordsworth. Goethe he calls "the poet of Pantheism:"

“He believed only in a God who was identical with nature, who consecrated the lower impulses of man as well as the higher, who could be approached without confession or repentance of sin. His writings affected only an aesthetic, never an ethical, reformation. ‘It was a pagan culture which he set himself to tain. He was the ‘great heathen’ of modern times, and he was not ashamed to be known as such. * * * Goethe had in his heart turned away from the true God, the personal God, the God of holiness, the God who imposes moral law, the God who offers pardon through Christ—and he had put in his place a God of his own wishes and imagination, a God to whom evil and good are both alike, because both alike proceed from him, a God who is best served not by self-restraint and self-sacrifice, but by the unhindered development of all our inborn instincts and powers.’ ‘Goethe’s history shows that he loved darkness rather than light because his deeds were evil.’ ”

“Wordsworth is treated as ‘the poet of nature.’ He was ‘primarily a seeker after truth.’ To him, ‘truth was reality ; the inner life of things.’ ‘The world of nature and of man expressed not only thought but feeling, and this thought and feeling was the thought and feeling of a Being greater than the world, because he was the Maker and Life of the world.’ ”

The *Reformed Church Review*, in its most recent issue, contains a strong editorial on *The Authority of the Heidelberg Catechism*. It contains some timely and wholesome reflections on such subjects as creed subscription, denominational honesty, etc. Of the form of subscription maintained in the Reformed Church it says: “The Reformed Church in the United States unites in the confession of her adherence to the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures as set forth in the Heidelberg Catechism, taking the same in its historical (or original) sense ; and declares that any departure from the same is unauthorized by the Church ; and renewedly directs all her ministers, editors and teachers of theology faithfully to preach and defend the same.” This declaration, adopted in 1881 by the General Synod “as the conclusion of a long period of controversy, may be supposed now to form

a part of the organic law of the Reformed Church in the United States."

In defining the term "*historical* or *original* sense" the *Review* says: "The historial sense of a book is that in which its author or authors understood it, and which is conditioned by the circumstances, questions and antitheses of the age in which it was produced."

"The existence of denominational divisions in the Church of Christ is itself an evidence of uncompleted development. It is, however, not inconsistent with the idea of Christianity as an advancing order of life, so long as the denominations do not claim their individual peculiarities to be essential to the absolute being of the Church, and deny the quality of Christians to other religious communions. Their peculiarities may be legitimate as distinguishing particular phases of Christianity which are required for its constitution as a whole; and, indeed, it is only as possessing such peculiarities that a Christian body can have a right to separate existence. A denomination that should be just like some other, ought to unite with that other."

"Loyalty to the Catechism demands first of all devotion to its fundamental purpose, and agreement with the answers which it gives to the fundamental questions of the time. No man can be true to the historical sense of the Catechism and adopt the Romish theory of church authority, or of the rule of faith, or the Lutheran theory of the Lord's Supper. Loyalty to the Catechism requires one to be *Reformed* and not Catholic, or Lutheran, or Methodist, however ready he may be to grant that the Catholic and Lutheran and Methodist Churches are true parts of the Church of Christ."

Speaking of Arminianism, in his book entitled *The Church in the Mirror of History*, Dr. Karl Sell, the Reformed author says: "It possesses no psychologically matured certainty of divine grace like Lutheranism or Calvinism." A similar sort of concession seems to be made by a Methodist writer in the "*Methodist Review*," He says, "In its inception Arminianism, unlike Calvinism, was not a thoroughly articulated and scientific sys-

tem of theology, but simply a principle of loyalty to truth leading ultimately to the adoption of a rule of interpretation in dealing with the great facts of history, providence, and the human soul—with the constitution and principles of God's moral government over men, with the truths of revelation, and with man's relation to God and to the work of redemption—demanded alike by the character and purpose of God, by the general tenor and scope of sacred Scripture, and by the intuitions of the reason and the conscience."

II.

GERMAN.

BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A. M.

Prof. Meinhold begins a review of recent literature on the Old Testament with a *quasi* acknowledgement that the charge that there is a counter-movement in Old Testament criticism has adequate foundation. Even the address of Fries before the Stockholm conference shows this, in spite of statements that it contains to the effect that the Wellhausen theory, that the priest-codex did not come into existence until after the time of Ezekiel, cannot be overthrown. Fries claims, however, that many of the points in this theory are regarded by the critics of to-day as very doubtful. Gimbrel showed in 1895 that in order to come to a proper understanding of the Old Testament more must be gotten from a study of the comparative history of religion. In the same year Winkler emphasized the need of a more thorough knowledge of general history, and finally Fries himself and Hoonacker came forward with the claim that the Old Testament commandment knew nothing of an absolute centralization of cult, although it actually occurred. This showed that the Ariadne's thread of Wellhausen's method was misleading. And, after briefly reviewing the works of Buhl, Koenig, Cornill, and Kamphausen, Fries concludes that even the critics on Wellhausen's side are more and more inclined to regard the patriarchs as historical personalities. Meinhold criticizes Fries very severely, denying unconditionally his and Hoonacker's claim that there was no commandment concerning the centralization of

cult. Meinhold also minimizes the study of the history of religion and of general history, because we know so little about it. Petrie's Menephtah finds and the Tell-Amarna tablets really prove nothing. The inscription of Pharaoh to which Fries attaches great importance is quite unreliable, as Wiedemann has already proven. "We learn from it merely that there was an Israel, nothing more." Several other works on Old Testament subjects are reviewed, all of which receive the same condemnation. In speaking of "*Lex Mosaica*," which has recently appeared in German, he recognizes Sayce's scholarship, but adds that he gives such free rein to his imagination that his conclusions are unscientific and untrustworthy, just as is the case with Hommel.

Under the title "Was Israel ever in Egypt and how did it pass into Canaan?" F. Schiele gives a short and remarkable recension of Old Testament history, which may be considered quite characteristic of the extreme students in this field. There was a stay in Egypt, but not of Israel for it did not yet exist. The Leah stems, *i. e.*, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar and Zebulun, were in the pasture lands of Goshen that belonged to Egypt. Their condition in a settled mode of life soon became unbearable to them, for they were really nomads. The Levite Moses eventually freed them, after first having made some vain attempts. In the house of a Midianite or of a Semitic Jahve priest, he went over to Jahve and his oracle, with which neither he nor his people were acquainted before. Jahve was probably the league god of a confederation of states. In his name Moses prophesied to his companions freedom and inheritance in the land of Canaan. The effort to gain freedom was successful. Thus Jahve became a god of history, and the Israelitish religion the immediate preliminary step of Christianity. In the conquest of the land of Canaan, successful on all sides at first, but at length disastrous in the west, Simeon and Levi were swept away, but the southern part remained under the Hebrews. In the middle and north the young stem of Joseph, which at first settled the mountains of Ephraim, soon became a powerful tribe. Here also appeared the name Israel, which was combined with

the Canaanitish clan heroes. Joseph's migration was remembered and was eventually claimed by all Israel. Levi, through his defeat on the one hand and through his knowledge of the customs and cult of Jahve worship on the other, became the chief bearer and preserver of the legends of the stay in Egypt. "Is it then to be wondered at that the Levites fused their historical remembrance of the stay of their tribe and companions in Egypt with the legends of all Israel?" It is refreshing to know that even Meinhold raises some serious questions concerning some of these strange assertions.

Karl Mueller, the talented and popular Reformed professor of Erlangen, published a little volume of addresses which show him to be a rather extreme representative of his Church. Yet he turns down the old protestant doctrine of predestination, refusing to draw its logical consequence of rejection by God, and teaches with the Formula of Concord election and the universality of grace, which, though inconsequent, is in most excellent agreement with the standpoint of faith. Throughout the book the relation between election and the certainty of salvation by faith is established with energy and clearness.

It is now generally acknowledged that the last quarter of a century has marked a great change in the treatment of the history of dogma, and the initiative in making this change is attributed by almost all students in this field to the liberal school. A. Hegler, apparently a disciple of Harnack, in the "*Theologische Rundschau*" of March, 1899, speaks on this subject somewhat as follows:

The present work in this field is characterized by the receding of the speculative historio-philosophical element, caused, (a) by the thorough investigation of sources which lead to new questions and new points of view, and (b) by the greater emphasis placed upon historical relations which supplant the old idea of the inner necessary movement of dogma by explaining it from the concrete circumstances of its genesis and formulation.

Thus the individual conditionality of a doctrine receives much greater emphasis than it had in that history which was written under the influence of Hegel. The wonderful completeness which the speculative method gave us is lost, but the variation is greater, the problems of the science are studied more, and in many places the real relation of things become plainer. In a word, the science receives a more historical character. When the abstract elements recede the unity of the whole process is nevertheless preserved, because dogma at every step of its development appears as the expression of a well defined conception of Christianity, the tenacity of which depends chiefly upon the constancy of the fundamental religious conceptions. The necessity of the course of development is not overlooked by this method, but is regarded less logically and more historically. A uniform norm is found in the primitive Christian doctrine of salvation conceived of in the sense in which the Reformation embraced it, yet in such a way that an attempt is made to free it from the metaphysical relations in which the Reformation possessed it. The conclusions of our new theology and philosophy concerning the relation of religion and science, the peculiarity of religious knowledge, etc., help to determine this norm and to direct its use. It was Adolf Harnack's great work that opened these new paths to the history of dogma, and gave it a cast that differed greatly both from the conceptions of Baur and from the presentations that came from a stricter or more mediating orthodoxy. He found his general premises for the most part, in Albrecht Ritschl's dogmatics, but used them in such a free way that on the one hand the old liberals found a basis for common work and on the other his history of dogma greatly influenced the conservatives. Seeberg's "Text-book of the History of Doctrine," shows this influence in many things, such as the arrangement, general conception, and even style. As in the writings of Harnack and Loofs the attention paid to the more philosophical elements is decidedly less than that devoted to the all important doctrine of salvation.

During recent years considerable attention has been paid to methodology, as is shown by the pamphlets of Krueger, of 1895,

and Stange of last year. Harnack, in the new edition of his history, (chiefly in the preface), treats the subject, as does Loofs in his article under this head, in the new edition of the *Realencyklopaedie*. Seeberg and Loofs distinguish between history of dogma and history of theology, to which Stange objects.

Zahn's introduction to the New Testament has been before the theological world long enough to have made a well-defined first impression. The work, especially the second volume, which treats of the four Gospels, Acts, Heb., I. and II. Peter, I. II. and III. John, Jude and Revelation, had been awaited with much interest by all parties. And judging from the various criticisms that it has received from all sides, it seems to be about what was expected as to method and results, and fully what was expected in point of learning. No criticism, however severe, that has thus far come to hand, professes to reflect upon the breadth and thoroughness of his scholarship. All agree in placing him first among the conservatives in the field of primitive Christian literature, and some insist that he does not stand second to any man in all Germany. One reviewer in arguing for this latter estimate notes the fact that he and his great opponent, Adolf Harnack, in their recent works are much nearer each other in chronology than they were, which nearness is wholly due to Harnack's approaching Zahn. The "*Theologischer Literaturbericht*" mentions Zahn as "the greatest German student of patristics," and says that his work was produced by the "incomparable knowledge of sources, the penetrative acumen, the fine psychological understanding, and the talent of presentation of the master." Professor Haussleiter, of Greifswald, says that in many important respects it surpasses any work of its kind that has ever been written. Another reviewer writes: "Should the author's name not lead one to expect that his work would be of such importance that scholars in this field would have to reckon with it for years, or perhaps decades? A glance at the immense amount of new material will convince him at once." On the other hand the reviews from men of the liberal school are just as severe as these are complimentary. They agree that in

breadth of learning and penetrative acumen Zahn is about first, (though some who acknowledge this at one place in their reviews deny it at others,) but they invariably add that the work is vitiated by his having used his scholarly attainments in the interest of preconceived opinions. With one accord they condemn him of having paid too much attention to tradition. Professor Schnierer, of Goettinger, says: "It was his guiding star." Professor Johannes Weiss, of Marburg, acknowledges that he had a finely, almost exquisitely, developed historical taste, but adds that it was developed all in one direction. He also recognizes his keen penetration in the field of tradition, but claims that there was also present "an obtuseness of vision and sense for those things that speak against tradition, so that we can note only with painful pity the inharmonious flaw that mars the unity of this great and learned character." Very few of this school have hesitated to call him a master of early Christian tradition, but they also claim that, to a certain extent, he was its slave as well. Schnierer asserts that his investigation of the text always bows to tradition and that he frequently forces a text till he gets from it that which he wants. Nevertheless all his opponents, whose reviews have thus far come to hand, readily acknowledge that there is much to be learned from his work.

His conclusions as to the chronology of the New Testament are briefly as follows: Christ crucified, probably 30 A. D.; conversion of Paul 35; epistle of James about 50; Paul's epistles, Gallatians, I. and II. Thessalonians in this order in 53; I. Cor., spring of 57; II. Cor., Fall of same year; Romans from Greece, 58; Ephesians, Cobsians, Philemon and II. Peter, 62; in this same year Matthew wrote his Gospel in Aramaic in Palestine; Philippians, 63; I. Peter, 64; Mark's Gospel, probably begun in Rome in this year, but not published until 67; I. Timothy and Titus, 65; II. Timothy, 66; Epistle of Jude, 75; St. Luke's Gospel and Acts by Luke, and Letter to the Hebrews, about 85; the Gospel and epistles of John, between 80 and 90; and Revelation about 95.

Zahn gives us the entire New Testament as genuine with the general epistle of James, written by James the brother of our

Lord, and the epistle to the Hebrews, written perhaps by Barnabas, but more likely by Apollos, as Luther thought.

The theory of the composite authorship of the pastoral epistles (Harnack, Juelicher,) he dismisses with the remark that such theories are not accepted by anybody save their authors, and merit our attention only for the keenness and painstaking shown in their invention. All of the so-called Johanine writings are undoubtedly from the Apostle. Zahn identifies the Presbyter and the Apostle referred to in a passage from Papias quoted and interpreted just the opposite by Eusebius. Harnack ascribes the gospel to John the Presbyter, who had things reported to him by John the apostle, and asserts that Revelation is from the same author. It is curious to note that Zahn does not refer the "Logos" of John I., 1, to the pre-existent Christ, but rather to his earthly condition. Luthardt does the same. According to Zahn, chapter XXI. was not written by John, but by some one else during his life and with his approval.

[There will be more in a later issue concerning the synoptic and Johanine question and concerning Acts.]

ARTICLE X.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

A System of Ethics. By Friedrich Paulsen, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Berlin. Edited and translated by Frank Thilly, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Missouri. Royal, 8vo. Pp. 723. \$3 00.

Let me say at once concerning this work of Professor Paulsen's that it is the most stimulating and attractive book of Ethics that it has been my happy fortune to read. In the first place, it has none of the cut and dried flavor of the average text book and it avoids, on the other hand, the diffuse and discursive method of many scholastic volumes by German writers. I have hard work, indeed, in believing that in either material or style it is the work of a professor, and a German professor at that. This book of Ethics was written out of doors, but it sprang from the heart, through the intellect of a man of wide culture. How much of its charming language-form is due to the fine literary touch of Prof.

Thilly I am unable to guess, but the sanity of spirit and the breath of philosophy that is brought to bear by the author, upon the principles and problems of ethical study are the real illuminating and creative forces of the book. I am devoutly glad that the science of conduct has been made so attractive by the combined labor of Professors Paulsen and Thilly.

The original work is divided into four books. The first outlines the historical development of the conceptions of life and moral philosophy from the time of the Greeks down to the present, and is one of the most fascinating surveys of the subject ever written. The second examines the fundamental questions of theoretical ethics. The third, which is full of practical wisdom, applies the principles of Book II to our daily conduct and defines the different virtues and duties. The fourth is sociological and political in its nature, and deals with the "Forms of Social Life." This last section has not yet been published in English but we urge both Prof. Thilly and the publishers to add it to future editions of the work, despite its present bulk, for, after all, the application of ethical law to social and industrial organizations is *the* problem of modern ethics. Its elemental principles were settled by the Greeks—especially Plato and Aristotle.

Professor Paulsen in his preface to the second edition thus defines the ground principle of his system, "Let me here briefly outline the conception towards which the thought of the age seems to be tending; I call it the *teleological* view. It is limited and defined by a double antithesis. On the one side by *hedonistic utilitarianism*, which teaches that pleasure is the thing of absolute worth, to which virtue and morality are related as means. In opposition to this, teleological ethics contends that not feeling of pleasure, but the objective content of life itself, which is experienced with pleasure, is the thing of worth. Pleasure is the form in which the subject becomes immediately aware of the object and its value. *Intuitionistic formalism* is the other antithesis. This regards the observance of a system of *a priori* rules, of the moral laws, as the thing of absolute worth. In opposition to this, teleological ethics contends that the thing of absolute worth is not the observance of the moral laws, but the substance which is embraced in these formulæ—the human historical life which fills the outline with an infinite wealth of manifold concrete forms; that the moral laws exist for the sake of life, not life for the sake of the moral laws."

Professor Paulsen denotes his point of view as "teleological energism." On page 223 of Book I he says, "The first question, as our historical review has shown, gives rise to two theories, the *teleological* and the *formalistic*. The former explains the difference between good and bad by the effects which modes of conduct and acts of will naturally produce upon the life of the agent and his surroundings. Acts are called good when they tend to preserve and promote human welfare; bad, when they tend to disturb and destroy it. Formalistic ethics, on

the other hand, claims that the concepts good and bad, taken in their moral sense, designate an absolute quality of will, without any regard to the effects of acts or modes of conduct; that this quality can not be further explained, but must be accepted as a fact. "That will is good," says Kant, "which is determined by respect of duty; that will is bad which is determined by the opposite." I am an advocate of the teleological view.

The second question: What is the end of all willing? has also given rise to different answers, which may be reduced to two fundamental forms: the *hedonistic* and the *energistic*. The former asserts that the will is universally, and invariably bent upon pleasure, (or avoidance of pain), and, hence, that pleasure is the highest absolute good, which is not desired for the sake of anything else. The energistic view, on the other hand, holds. The will does not aim at pleasure, but at an *objective content of life*, or since life consists solely of action, at definite concrete activities." Theologically phrased Professor Paulsen is perfectly willing to adopt the dictum and theistic implication in Christ's words. "I am come that ye might have *life* and that ye might have it in abundance."

If space permitted, I would like to review in extenso each part and chapter of this masterful book—in some instances I should assume the impertinent role of dissenter. I might as well mention the two most grievous differences I hold against the author. In the historical section, despite an apologetic note, I can not accept his interpretation of "The Christian conception of life." He makes it a too ascetic and watery affair, a thing of mere world denial (*Welt überwindung*). He knows that such a presentation seems to emasculate our conception of early Christianity, but his reply is go back to the gospels and early Church and you will find Tolstoi nearer right than Hase.

The second disagreement I have with Professor Paulsen is that his Christian abutments are selected solely from what I must call the ethico-theistic material of scripture, and ignores, in some instances denies, what I would consider legitimate historical and dogmatic reinforcement of his noble thought structure.

Prof. Paulsen is not a tyro attempting to build up a system of ethics without metaphysics or religion. He is theistic, not agnostic, idealistic, not materialistic. His chapter on pessimism is the sanest and most lucid explanation and condemnation that I have ever read. I am sorry poor Schopenhauer could not have sat beneath the teaching of this sunny, healthful analyst of life. Literature, history, and philosophy are combined in exquisite proportion all through Paulsen's theodicy.

I fancy it is in his chapter on "Duty and Conscience" that his ideas will cause some shock to the traditionally trained pupil. The effect of the doctrine of evolution is clearly at work in this chapter. It is because it is so clearly and frankly applied to the genesis of the moral sense that we intuitionists and "conscience the direct voice of God"

party hold our breath as the Professor traces the biological background, and advances through social experience toward the human sense of duty and the "categorical imperative." Lest I misrepresent this carefully written chapter I will not attempt to state my difference in my limited space. But I must save Professor Paulsen from a possible misunderstanding by any reader who will not accept my advice to procure and digest the book. He does not make duty and conscience the product of simply the brutal and tribal experiences of the past. Compliance with beneficent custom is tremendously emphasized but it is because the natural is permeated with the divine. Let him summarize for himself: "The form, however, is universally the same: *a knowledge of a higher will [parental, communal, cosmic] by which the individual will feels itself internally bound.* This higher will is, in the last analysis, universally regarded as the will of a *superhuman*, of a *divine power.*"

"In 'Egoism and Altruism' he shows how inseparable these two are in a genuinely fruitful life. Seemingly antagonistic they are united in the higher harmony.

"In Virtue and Happiness," one feels how inextricably one is linked to the other and we hold on to virtue though it brings us to the cross. His discussion of "The Freedom of the Will" is, on the whole, satisfactory to our earlier ideas of personal initiative and responsibility, though the idea of "metaphysical" freedom is gravely questioned.

But for the third book, *Doctrine of Virtues and Duties*, we have unstinted praise. The chapters on *Self Control*, *The Bodily Life*, *The Economic Life*, with its lenient squint towards the political control of many private industries, and a graded income tax; the fine chapters on *Spiritual Life and Culture*, and the wonderful grasp of the affectional life revealed in *Compassion and Benevolence*, together with the strong sections on *Justice*, *Veracity* and *Love of Neighbor* make this book worthy of a yearly reading.

Personally I wish to express my profound gratitude for the moral uplift I owe to Professors Paulsen and Thilly. E. H. DELK.

PERIODICALS.

The *Atlantic Monthly* for October presents a collection of contributions of brilliancy and scholarship. The first article, by President Eliot, of Harvard, on Recent Changes in Secondary Education, is a conservative and encouraging estimate of the subject. A carefully considered paper on the United States and Rome, by H. D. Sedgwick, Jr., is well worth study. President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, whose current contributions to the *Century* on Alexander the Great, have won him such well deserved praise, contributes an article on Language as Interpreter of Life. In addition to these we note, The Works of George Meredith, by Paul Elmer More; Letting in the Light, by Jacob A. Reis. The Road to England, by Thomas Wentworth Higginson; The Louisiana Expansion in its World Aspect, by Charles M. Harvey; The Flaw in our Democracy, by J. N. Larned. In fiction Miss Johnson's serial, To Have and to Hold, gains increasing interest with each chapter and bids fair to gain for this novelist even more applause than her popular Prisoners of Hope. In shorter stories we find P'tit Jean, by Mrs. Prince; Through Old Rose Glasses, by Miss Earle. These, together with some numbers we have not mentioned, will sustain the position this journal holds as the magazine of the literary aristocracy.

TERMS—\$2.50 a year, if paid in advance or within the year; otherwise, \$3.00.

THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

CONDUCTED BY

M. VALENTINE, D. D., LL. D. PHILIP M. BIKLÉ, PH. D.
JAMES W. RICHARD, D. D. THOMAS C. BILLHEIMER, D. D.

WITH THE SPECIAL CO-OPERATION OF

PRES. S. A. ORT, D. D., LL. D. PROF. F. D. ALTMAN, D. D.
PROF. ALFRED HILLER, D. D. PROF. JACOB YUTZY, D. D.

VOL. XXIX.—NO. 4.

OCTOBER, 1899.

GETTYSBURG:

THE J. E. WIBLE PRINTING HOUSE, CARLISLE STREET (SECOND SQUARE).

1899.

CONTENTS OF NO. IV.

ARTICLE.	PAGE.
I. LUTHER AND FREE WILL, BY PROF. LUTHER A. FOX, D. D.	453
II. THE MEASURE OF BENEFICENCE, BY REV. WILLIAM HULL, D. D.	491
III. LUTHER AND THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION, BY PROF. J. W. RICHARD, D. D.	497
IV. THE GOSPEL FOR A WORLD OF SIN, BY PRESIDENT S. A. ORT, D. D., LL. D.	528
V. WAS THE SON OF MAN THE SON OF GOD? BY REV. A. B. TAYLOR.	541
VI. THE DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES AND THE STATE UNIVERSITIES IN THE WEST AND NORTHWEST, BY PRESIDENT JACOB A. CLUTZ, D. D.	553
VII. THE HISTORICAL LIBRARY, BY REV. W. A. LAMBERT, B. A.	564
VIII. CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT, I. ENGLISH AND AMERICAN, BY PROF. DAVID H. BAUSLIN, D. D.	570
II. GERMAN, BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A. M.	
IX. REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE, A System of Ethics—Periodicals.	593

KEE MAR COLLEGE

AND

Music and Art Conservatory,

[CHARTERED 1850,]

Offers Classic, Normal, Music and Art courses for Diploma and Degrees; comprises three large brick buildings situated on a beautiful eminence, a lovely campus, library, apparatus, hot and cold mountain water, steam heat, gas light, electric bells, a suite of rooms nicely furnished for every two or three students, music lessons on Pipe-Organ, Reed Organ, Piano, Violin, Guitar, Mandolin, Banjo, and Cornet.

Lessons in Drawing, Crayoning, Pastel, Oil and China Painting.

German and French languages taught and spoken.

Special attention paid to Elocution and Voice Culture.

Normal course with Diploma for teaching.

Strict attention given to Physical, Social and Religious Culture.

Kee Mar College is located in a most attractive, refined and healthful city of 14,000 people.

Send for catalogue and journal to

REV. C. L. KEEDY, A. M., M. D., President,
HAGERSTOWN, MD.



Anyone sending a sketch and description may quickly ascertain our opinion free whether an invention is probably patentable. Communications strictly confidential. Handbook on Patents sent free. Oldest agency for securing patents.

Patents taken through Munn & Co. receive special notice, without charge, in the

Scientific American.

A handsomely illustrated weekly. Largest circulation of any scientific journal. Terms, \$3 a year; four months, \$1. Sold by all newsdealers.

MUNN & Co., 361 Broadway, New York

Branch Office, 625 F St., Washington, D. C.

Theology of Luther

IN ITS

Historical Development and Inner Harmony.

BY DR. JULIUS KÖSTLIN.

TRANSLATED BY

REV. CHARLES E. HAY, A. M.

COMPLETE IN TWO VOLUMES.

12mo. Cloth, 1110 pages, \$4.50.

At the meeting of the General Synod held at Mansfield, Ohio, the following was unanimously adopted:

“Resolved, That we call the special attention of the ministers and people of our Church to the issue of a translation of Köstlin's Theology of Luther by the Lutheran Publication House; that we commend the issue of this work as of immense importance to our Church; that we express as the sense of this body that this work should be in the hands of all our ministers, theological students, and many of our laymen, both for the value of the work and as an encouragement to the future issue of works of this character.”

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

No. 1424 Arch Street,

PHILADELPHIA, PA.





